















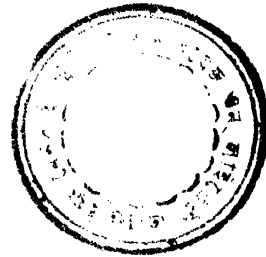






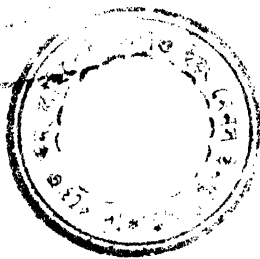
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# Index of Articles

	Page		Page
Abolition of the "Suttee"	272	Establishment of Closer Relations between Kindred Vernaculars	
Agonies of Bengal. The.		Dewan Bahadur Krishn Lal Mohan Lal Jhaveri	618
A. C. Guha	346	Export duty on Jute, Bengal's Claim to it. The.	
All-India Art Exhibition		Abani Mohon Kusari	280
J. K. Sen	416	Finance and Insurance	562, 697
All-India Academy of Sciences. Proposals for An.		Financial Notes	340, 449
G. C. Mukherjee	191	Fierce Vexation	
Answers of Ram Mohon Roy to queries on the Salt Monopoly	553	Verrier Elwin	625
Brajendra Nath Banerjee		Folk High School of Denmark. The.	
Anglo-Japanese Rivalry in Cotton-Industry and India		Mr. Kiron Bose	515
Taraknath Das	8	Fool. The.	
Art and Literature in Russia To-day		Sita Devi	432
Nityanarayan Banerjee	567	Foreign Periodicals	100, 222, 326, 458, 578, 680
Art of Biography		Gandhi Welcomes the revival of Swarajya Party. Mahatma.	
Sudhindra Bose	381	Ramamanda Chatterjee	58
Austrian Riddle. The.		Gandhi Monopolizes Satyagraha for Swaraj Mahatma.	
Subhas Chandra Bose	461	Ramamanda Chatterjee	588
Book-Censorship in America		Cleanings (Illustr.)	214, 319, 705
Sudhindra Bose	286	Government School of Arts Exhibitions.	
Book Reviews	81, 203, 294, 440, 539, 690	Madras. The.	
British Labour Party and Disarmament. The.		Alice E. Adair	551
Wilfred Wellock	69	Henry Derozio: The Teacher-Patriot	
Causation of North Behar Earthquake		Jogesh C. Bagal	611
D. C. Nag	400	Hindu and Muslim Public Spirit in Bengal	
Coin of Dasaratha Maurya		Ramesh Chandra Banerjee	312
K. P. Jayaswal	516	Hindu Scientists on Earthquake	
Coin of Samprati Maurya		K. P. Jayaswal	310
K. P. Jayaswal	617	Historical Background of the Indian constitution	
Comment and Criticism	672	Sudhir Kumar Lahiri & Benoyendranath Banerjee	71
Correggio. The Fourth Centenary of.		How Youth of Europe Spends Holidays	
Subrata Kumar Choudhury	308	Mrs. Hanah Barth	185
Cloud that's Dragonish. A.		In Baiga Land	
Verrier Elwin	523	Verrier Elwin	371
Crime of Colour. The.		Indians Abroad	
Nagendranath Gupta	419	Benarsi Das Chaturvedi	103, 338, 782, 702
David Hare as a Promoter of Education in India		India in Shackles	
Jogesh C. Bagal	46	Major D. Graham Pole	570
Disastrous Twilight		Indian Periodicals	96, 267, 321, 453, 533, 674
Verrier Elwin	293	Indian Renaissance in Mexico. The.	
Dhruva		Suniti Kumar Chatterji	10
Nagendranath Gupta	320	Indian Reserve Bank. The.	
Earthquakes		H. Sinha	305
S. N. Sen	211	Indian Womanhood	95, 202, 552, 701
Earthquake—its Science and Super-stitions		Institute of World-wide Economics and Ocean Transport in the University of Kiel	
G. C. Mukherjee	404	Zohadur Rahim	547
Education and Unemployment		Jayaswal at the Oriental Conference.	
J. M. Kumarappa	494	Mr. K. P.	424
Eleven Years of Fascism—A Study :			
P. N. Roy	35		
End of the Noble Experiment of Prohibition in the U.S.A. The.			
P. Gopala Krishnayya	179		
Endowment of Culture			
O. C. Gangoly	423		

# INDEX OF ARTICLES

3

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Kamakrishna Srititirtha, Mahamohopadyaya		Post-War Changes in England's Foreign Trade	
Chintaharan Chakrabarty	517	Sasadhar Sinha	259
Kamala Raja of Gwalior, Princess,		Pola Negri and Uday Sankar	581
Hiralal Chatterjee	532	Prices, Wages and Profits in the Khadi Industry	
Kathakali: The Classical Dance of India		Melly Zollinger and W. Lank Rao	89
G. Venkatachalam	510	Problem of Irrigation in Bengal, The,	
Keshub Chandra Sen to Miss Manning	558	Sukumar Ranjan Das	267
Key to the Frontispiece	657	Problem of Minorities in Soviet Russia, The,	
Krishna Chandra Bhattacharjya		Sasadhar Sinha	151
Kashbihary Das	136	Problem of Psycho-physics in Western and Eastern thinking, The,	
Labour Policy on India		Kurt F. Leidecker	161
Major D. Graham Pole	671	Printing in India today—Its National Aspect	
Lady Irwin College for Women, The,		I. C. F. Andrews	169
Mrs. Faridoonji & Mrs. Sen	668	H. Nitindranath Ganguly	170
Lala Lajpat Rai I. Early Impressions		Progressive Understanding of Poetry, The,	
St. Nihal Singh	1	Elizabeth Gillespie	216
Lala Lajpat Rai II. Chats on Man and Matters		Protection Policy, Our,	
St. Nihal Singh	188	Nilakantha Das	135
Lala Lajpat Rai III. Discussions Regarding Indian Reconstruction		Psychology of Feminineness in Relation to the Gandhi Movement	
St. Nihal Singh	251	Surendranath Bose	21
Last Letter, The,		Rabindranath Tagore and the Religion of Man	
Jawaharlal Nehru	130	Seraf Kumar Das	390
Legislative Proceedings and privilege of the Press		Racial factor in International Relations, The,	
Parimal Roy	500	Sasadhar Sinha	66
Liquidation of Illiteracy in Soviet Russia		Rajnarain Bose on the Midnapur Public Library	522
G. S. Khair	119	Brajendra Nath Banerjee	
London Letter		Rammohun Roy	
Major D. Graham Pole	115	Madame L. Morin	196
London Letter—Parliament's Present Session		Rammohun Roy's Embassy to England	
Major D. Graham Pole	85	Brajendranath Banerji	19
London Letter		Rammohun Roy, Raja,	
Major D. Graham Pole	208	Sir Brojendranath Seal	262
Mathurapur Monument, The,		Rammohun Roy Centenary Celebrations at Calcutta	180
G. S. Dutt	332	Realism	
Manilal C. Parekh		Sita Devi	316
Ida M. Gurwell	198	Redemption of the Brahman, The,	
Menace to the Hardinge Bridge and its Lessons, The,		Jnan Chandra Banerji	612
G. C. Mukherjee	535	Red-cross and the Banner of Peace, The,	
National and International Foolishness		Hon. Henry A. Wallace	111
Major D. Graham Pole	559	Relative Public Spirit and Enterprise of Hindus and Muhammedans of Bengal	685
Need Our Schools Continue Godless?		Rockefeller, John Davidson	
J. M. Kamarappa	17	P. Gopala Krishnayya	282
Neolithic site in the Satpuras, A, (illus.)		Rural Reconstruction work at Sriniketan	
Duncan Greenless	666	Sukumar Chatterjee	519
Notes	195,227,351,469,591,704	Russia Today—Children's Home	
N. R. A. (National Recovery Act) and World Trade		Nityanarayan Banerjee	300
On Loyalty		Russia Today,	
Frank C. Bancroft	112	Nityanarayan Banerjee	140
On Russia		Sanatorium Universitaire	
Rabindranath Tagore	611	A. K. Majumdar	172
Oriental Students' Congress, The,		Should the League be Armed?	
Amiyanath Sarkar	276	Wilfred Wellock	371
Planet and a Star, A,		Some Legal Aspects of the White Paper	
Nagendranath Gupta	28,155,288,386	K. S. Thaper	393
Play as a Factor in Social Efficiency			
J. M. Kamarappa	147		

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Some observations of the Mirat-i-Ahmed	•	Religious Census in the United States	102
K. M. Jhaveri	555	Race Conflicts	329
So-called Scientific Criticism of Orientals	•	Dr. J. T. Sunderland Busy at 92	457
Dhirendranath Roy	651	Sigmund Freud on War	684
Temples of Nemawar, The,	•	Sinking War, The	683
A. C. Banerji	61	Soviet and the League	327
Training of Teachers for Village Girl School	•	War Situation in the East	681
Miss Usha Biswas	621	Whither Science?	160
Trilogy of Paradoxes, A,	•	Why a Federated World?	222
Frank C. Baneroff, Jr.	161		
Vikrampur Aerial Museum	•		
Rames Basu	636		
Wanted—An Independent Indian Currency	•		
Gilbert Slater	•		
Waters of Destiny, The,	•		
Sita Devi	524, 658		
Will the Tories Smash the Empire?	•		
Major D. Graham Polak	129		
Women's Position in the World and Indian	•		
Women	•		
Mrs. Kiron Bose	631		
<b>FOREIGN PERIODICALS</b>		<b>INDIAN PERIODICALS</b>	
Assembly of the League of Nations	330	Abolish Capital Punishment	325
Asia for Asiatics	327	All about of Seals	155
Avatars	682	Aspects of Modernism	322
Bertrand Russell on Insects	684	At the Back Door of Russia	573
Beware of American Drugs	225	City Planning	679
British Labour wins Municipal Elections	102	Child's Education	98
British Association for the Advancement	•	Chinese Women of To-day	577
of Science	579	Contribution of the Kols to Indian Civiliza-	•
Chinese Youth in the Crucible	330	tion	676
Chinese Ponies and Chinaman	101	Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism	•
Christianity in Bali	579	during the Muslim Rule	321
Collectivization of Agriculture in Soviet	•	Folk High School in Denmark, The	323
Union	578	Forests in India	218
Congress of Young Asia	680	George Carver of Tuskegee	576
Dongan Charter of Political Liberty	329	Health from Sunshine	676
Free the Air from the War	682	Healthy Feet	99
Forest Camps for the unemployed in U.S.A.	159	Hinduism in the Philippines	679
Fruits of Zionism, The	101	Hindu Religion in Java	321
Fascism in Japan	101	How to Teach "New Words" in English	96
Free Press of Russia, The	100	Ideals of Ancient Hindu Education	452
Hitlerism and Labour	225	Imperial Library of Calcutta, the	675
India and the League of Nations	680	India's Rice Trade	574
Indian Tea Planter	682	Indigenous Insurance	97
Indian Labour in Ceylon and Malaya	683	Juvenile Libraries	155
Japan and the British Dominions	681	Kerala and Indian culture	575
Japan's Manchurian Blunder	224	Laboratories of Reconciliation	220
King Faisal	100	Lancashire-Bombay Textile Agreement, The	219
League of Nations	458	Liquidation of Illiteracy	573
Lot of Newspapermen in U. S. A., The	223	"Local Time" and "Standard Time"	677
Land Problem in Japan	326	Modern Bengali Painting	324
1936 or 1934?	683	Musical Genius of Tagore, The	151
Nepal and her Relation to Britain	681	Osmania University, The	452
Negro and the Court of Justice, The	224	Planned Economy	676
Principles of Universal Peace	680	Plight of the Indian Agriculturist, The	217
Pan-American Prelude	327	Poem by Tagore, A	221, 321
Public Health in India	581	Pottery Manufacture in India	678
Peace is Dead	278	Pramatha Nath Basu's Work	675
Quo Vadis, Europa?	326	Reforms in Ceylon, The	323
		Religion of the Aimol Kukis, the	678
		Rice-Bran as a preventive of Beri Beri	678
		Sad Plight of Jute-Cultivators, The	677
		School for Defective Children, A	98
		South America and India	674
		Spread of Literacy among the Bhils	679
		Study of Medicinal Plants	99
		Sugar Industry, The	322
		Sven Hedin's latest Expedition, Dr.	676
		Tagore on Man	674
		Two Poems by Tagore	96
		University Education	97

	Page		Page
Western Tibet	217	Chittagong Magistrate's Drastic Orders	235
Widow-remarriage in Bengal, The	321	Chittagong Scratched !	727
Work of the League of Nations, The	451	Cities Organic Expressions of Culture	109
Women and Law	574	Commander-in-Chief on Wordy Warpath	437
What is Worth Saying in European Civilization	219	Communal Decision and the Poona Pact, The	232
<b>NOTES</b>		Communal Unity	712
Abdur Rahim on the Capitation Charges, Sir	471	Communalism in Education in the Punjab	188
"Abolition of the Sutte," an unknown Tract of Rammohun Roy	110	Compulsory Education in U. P.	715
Academic Conference of Bengalis Residing Outside Bengal	233	Condemnation of the White Paper but not of the Communal Award !	595
Aga Khan to be Prime Minister ? The	362	Conference in Aid of Society for the improvement of Backward Classes	605
Agricultural Institutes for Rajshahi ?	357	Congress and Council Entry	711
Agricultural Education in Bengal	358	Congress and the "Communal Award"	712
Allahabad	127	Confirmation of some Conclusions of Ramaprasad Chanda	115
Alleged Conduct of Soldiers in Midnapur	488	Consumer's Point of View, The	113
Alleged Excesses in Midnapur District	232	Corruption in British Municipalities	720
All-India Oriental Conference	234	C. P. Government and Jyphulpore Municipality	729
All-India Trade Union Congress of Cawnpore	117	Crimes against Women	105, 217
Anglo-Soviet Trade Pact	361	Devenus to be Trained	726
Animal Sacrifice in Madras Presidency	722	Devadhar's Presidential Address, Mr. G. K.	210
Anticipated Effects of the Communal Award, the	591	Devaluation of the Rupee	123
Anti-War Demonstration in America	717	Devanagari As Common Script	177
Art Exhibition in Karachi	725	Development of Earthquake Centre in Bihar	228
Art in the Punjab	725	Disabilities of "Harijan" in Madras	187
Asoka Pillar at Lumbini	236	"Dismemberment of China," The	714
Attempt to meet Criticism of Liberal Party's Position	240	Distribution of Salt import Duty Proceeds	366
Award of the Capitation Charges Tribunal	127	Earthquake, The	227
Basu's Presidential Address, Mr. J. N.	239	Education, Agricultural and Training Colleges	184
B. C. Roy's Presidential Address	122	Education of Negroes in America and of Indians in India	469
Bengal and Jute Export Duty	485	"Educationally almost Saturated"	171
Bengal Budget, The	369	Effects of Last Year's Flood in Orissa	606
Bengal Dacoities and Guns	729	Eighth Session of the All-India Women Conference, The	130
Bengal Hindus and the Poona Pact	247	Excise Duty on Matches, and "Assistance to Bengal	185
Bengal, not the favoured Child	481	Extravagant Educational Expenditure	217
Bengal Waterways	358	"Favoured Child" Indeed !	186
"Bharati Works" and 'Bharati' Pens	723	Flood-Stricken Orissa	716
Bihar Sugar Mills and Sugar Cane Crop	229	Foreign Tribute, to Rammohun Roy, A	243
Bill for fighting Terrorism	245	Four Ministers for Sind !	725
Bill for Suppression of Terrorism	369	Fruit Culture	728
British Sedition Bill, The	708	Future of Agriculture in Bihar	229
Britain's Silver Deal and India	720	Ghose, The late Sir B. B.	722
British Supporters of the White Paper, The	709	Ghose Travelling Fellowship for a Lady	723
British Trade in Arms and Ammunitions	125	Glasgow Indian Union	716
British Troops the Cement of India	127	Glimpses of U. P. Administration Report for 1932-33	715
British Peerage and Indians	230	Government Educational Expenditure in Bengal	359
Buddha's Birth day, The	723	Government Servants and Politics	301
Burma Retrenchment Committee	729	Governor of Bengal on the Terrorist Movement	119
Calcutta Celluloid Works Ltd.	362	Gratuitous Jibe At the Bengali's "Babu English"	179
Calcutta Drainage Outfall	724	Great Japanese Endowment for Scientific Research	213
Calcutta Mayoral Election	606		
Calcutta Mayoral Election Fiasco	723		
Castration for Ravishers	106		
Chablani, The late Prof.	242		
Chamber of Princes, The	728		
Chittagong Doings and Interests	366		

# INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page		Page
Hindu Mahasabha and the League of Nations, The	231	Lord Lloyd on "Britain's Great Heritage"	709
Hindu Mahasabha's reply to League of Nations Letter	241	Lord Willingdon on Lord Irwin	476
Holland Against Export of Arms to Belligerent Countries	729	Lying Anti-Indian Propaganda in Great Britain	706
Home in Brazil for Assyrians	230	MacDonald on Democracy and Freedom of the Press	726
Horrible Hecatomh at Ellore	726	Madan Mohan Malaviya on Untouchability, Pandit	598
House Building in Bihar and Nepal	228	Madhusudan Das, The late Mr.	360
"How long Can Man Live?"	606	Madras School of Arts Exhibition	362
Howard League on Death Penalty in Bengal	725	Mahatma Gandhi and some Provincial Governments	250
150th Anniversary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal	248	Mahatma Gandhi and the Nobel prize	708
Ignorance or Deliberate Misrepresentation? Increase in offences against women officially admitted	710	Mahatma Gandhi and Women's Jewellery	113
Increasing England's Air Force	591	Mahatma Gandhi Answers a Harijan's question	608
Independence Day Arrests	708	Mahatma Gandhi Welcome to Bengal	599
Independence for the Philippines	249	Mahatma Gandhi on Council Entry	112
India at the Olympic Games	176	Mahatma's Hold on the Country	112
India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie Scholarships	715	Sir Malcolm Hailey, Doctor of Laws	111
Indianization in the Army	355	Sir M. Hailey's "Service of Education"	111
Indian Mining Federation point of view, The	127	Maithili in Bihar	719
Indian Pins and Paper Clips	370	M. C. C. Matches	239
Indian States' People and the White Paper	250	Meaning of Austria, The	181
Indian States Protection Bill	367	Meston Award and the Provinces	185
Indian Women's Conference	241	Modern Domestic Economy	107
Industrial and Commercial Enterprise in Bengal	721	Midnapur Magistrate has No use for Mahatma Gandhi	367
Inter-University Conference	190	"Monopoly of Patriotism",	189
Ireland's Progress Towards Republicanism	729	Motichand, The late Raja Sir,	187
Irrigation in Bengal	358	Muhammadian Uprising in Chinese Turkestan, The	126
Irrigation in the Provinces	181	Mussolini Versus Kipling	113
Japanese Ambition	601	Nafar Chandra Pal Chowdhury The late	487
Japanese Budget and the Indian Central and Provincial Budgets, The	180	National Trades Union Federation,	116
Japan's "Hands off China" Policy	503	Nationalism Suits Hindus!	714
Jawaharlal Nehru's Messages, Pandit,	353	New Right Honourables	229
Jawaharlal Nehru's Rejoinder, Pandit,	108	Nobel Prize in Medicine	213
Jawaharlal Nehru's Health, Mr.	728	Nobel Prize in Physics	213
Jawaharlal Nehru on Rammohun Roy, Pandit,	233	Number of Bengal Detenus and Internees	233
Jawaharlal Nehru on work for old letters, Pandit,	238	Offences against Women	592
Jayaswal's Presidential Address, Mr. K. P.	354	Offer to Libraries, An	607
Jamala Raja Scindia, The late Princess	186	Official up-to-do-ness	359
Jausambi	127	One small Reason for Council Entry	595
Khan Obeidullah Khan Not to be Released	177	Oriya Authors Honoured	600
King of the Belgians, The late	370	Outcome of Mr. Nehru's Attack on Hindu Mahasabha	112
Kulabaskar' Ashram in Allahabad	239	"Overtaken by Good Luck"	607
Kumud Nath Chaudhury, The late Mr.	599	Page-Croft on the Safety of Christians in India, Sir Henry	728
Lady Clerks and Soldier Clerk	472	Parmanand and the White Paper, Bhui Patel's The late Mr. Vithalbhai Bequest	217
Laudable Public Spirit of Senhaty Ladies	717	Peaceful Revolution in Bulgaria	726
League of Nations and India, The	726	Permanent Settlement, The	482
League Policy and British Empire Policy	729	Physical and Moral cause of Earthquake	229
Legal Dead Letter in India, A.	728	Police officials Receive Condign Punishment - But in Germany	595
Legislation in Indian States Against "British Indians"	728	Political Outrages in India	600
Literary Activity in Soviet Russia	715	Possibilities of Salt Manufacture in Bengal	721
Literary Activity in India	471	Pramatha Nath Bose, the Late Mr.	599
		Premature Hanging in Lahore	107

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Present Assembly's Verdict would be Worthless	591	So-called All Parties Conference	249
President Roosevelt Wants Criticism of his Programme	125	Social Legislation in Baroda	250
Prevention of Increase of the unfit of Germany	105	Social Reform Legislation	241
Princes' Protection Bill, The	250	Some Advantages Accruing to Provinces other than Bengal	485
Probhas Chunder Mitter, The late Sir	360	Some Evidence on Steel Industry before Tariff Board	113
Promoting Drink and Drug Habit in Bihar	718	Some Sanatanists and Mahatma Gandhi	597
Proposal to Lighten Britain's Philanthropic Burdens	600	Soviet Russia's Preparations against Possible Japanese Offensive	112
Proscribed American Publication	365	States Entry into Federation and Prevention of Dominion Status	710
Prospects of Peace in Eastern Asia	248	Statue of Sir Ashutosh Mukhapadhyaya Unveiled	483
Protection of the Name Khadder	369	Statutory Railway Authority	364
Public Flogging of Women in Kashmir?	607	Steel required for New Howrah Bridge	119
Rabindranath Tagore and Rural Reconstruction	357	Strike of Bombay Textile Workers	609
Rabindranath Tagore in Bombay	117	Subhas Bose's Activities in Europe, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's views	723
Rabindranath Tagore in Ceylon	724	Sudden Coup in Nepal	370
Racial Discrimination in Railways	370	Suggested University for Gwalior	490
Railway Budget Deficit, The	363	Suggested Terms of agreement with Japan and Lancashire	606
Rajendra Prasad's Appeal, Babu	719	Sundar Das Suri The late R. B.	106
Raman's Academy of Science, Sir C. V. (Sir C. V.) Raman's "Indian Academy of Sciences"	717	Supplying Japan With Arms	487
Rammohan Roy Centenary Celebrations	610	Syankal Nehru, The late Pandit	730
Rangaswamy Aiyenger, The late Mr. A	608	Sympathy with Terrorists	487
Reciprocity and Retaliation	359	Tagore's Visit to Ceylon	123
Reconstruction in Behar	126	Temple-Entry and Untouchability Bills	601
Reconstruction of Bihar and Hindu Architecture	354	Terrorism Again	601
Redistribution of Provinces, The	473	Textile Worker's Strike in Bombay and Nagpur	720
Reichstag Fire: An example of Nazi Methods, The	601	Tornado in Sylhet	719
Renewed Trouble in Kashmir	719	Transfer of Sylhet to Bengal	719
Resolutions of the National Liberal Federation of India	369	Travancore Sanctuary for Animals	600
Respectful Co-operation	439	Trial and Imprisonment of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru	351
Revenues left to Different Provinces	473	Turkey for Turks	713
Reviews and Notices of Vernacular Books	481	Turkish women to be Enfranchised	730
Revival of Filipino Freedom Question	118, 129	University Teachers and Politics	715
Revolution Abroad	366	Untouchability in India and South Africa	242
Reward for Bibi Harnam Kaur	369	Uplift of Chota-Nagpur Aborigines	730
Right to Live, The	600	Vernacularization of Calcutta University Matriculation	479
Roy, The late Prof. S. C.	488	Vernacular Medium in the Punjab	719
Russian Winner of Nobel Prize in Literature	726	Viceroy going home on "Private Affairs"	106
Russo-Japanese War Again	242	Viceroy on Unemployment, The	489
Salt Industry in Bengal	370	Viceroy's Bihar Relief Fund, The	716
Sankaran Nair, The late Sir Chittur	246	Visva-bharati Rural Reconstruction Work	117
Sarojinalini Dutta Association	599	Waning and Waxing of Civil Disobedience and Terrorist Movements	591
Schools for the Feeble minded	237	Wars in Two Hemispheres	726
S. B. Samaj Earthquake Relief Work	181	Water Hyacinth Menace in Bengal	118
Science Congress at Bombay	490	What a Seditionist wants and a "Moderate" wants	353
Separation of Burma	235	What is a Terrorist Crime?	108
Shadilal on Independence of the Judiciary, Sir	370	"What is the meaning of the Objectionable Nature of the White Paper?"	610
Shrapnel and Poison Gas	727	Who in Whose Pocket	105
Sivananda, The late Swami	715	Why not Poison Him?	477
Silver Jubilee of Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd.	361	Winston Churchill on the last War	370
Sin and the Bihar Earthquake	369	Wither Britain?	479
Sind Hindus on Sind Separation	475	Work Done by Bengal Industries Department	369
	609	World Population Trends	717

## Contributors and their Contributions

	Page		Page
Adair, Alice. E.		Chatterjee, Ramananda	
The Government School of Arts		Mahatma Gandhi welcomes revival	565
Exhibition, Madras ( <i>illustrated</i> )	551	of Swarajya Party	
Andrews, C. F.		Mahatma Gandhi Monopolizes	588
Painting in India to-day—its National		• Satyagraha for Swaraj	
Aspects.	169	Chatterjee, Sukumar	
Bagal, Jogesh C.		Rural Reconstruction work at Sriniketan	519
David Hare as a Promoter of Education		Chatterjee Suniti Kumar	
in India ( <i>illustrated</i> )	46	Indian Renaissance in Mexico, The ( <i>illustrated</i> )	10
Henry Derozio : The Teacher-Patriot. ( <i>illustrated</i> )	644	Chaudhuri, Subrata Kumar	
Bancroft, Frank C.		Fourth Centenary of Correggio. The ( <i>illustrated</i> )	308
On Loyalty	412	Chaturvedi, Benarsi Das,	
Trilogy of Paradoxes. A	164	Indians Abroad ( <i>illustrated</i> )	103, 582, 702
Banerji, A. C.		Das, Nilakantha	
Temples of Nemawar. The ( <i>illustrated</i> )	61	Our Protection Policy	135
Banerjee, Brajendranath		Das, Rashbehary,	
Answers of Rammohun Roy to Queries on		Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya. ( <i>illustrated</i> )	436
the Salt Monopoly	553	Das, Saraj Kumar	
Rajnarain Bose on the Midnapore		Rabindranath Tagore and the	
Public Library	522	Religion of Man	390
Rammohun Roy's Embassy to England	49	Das, Tarakanth	
Banerji Jnanachandra		Anglo-Japanese Rivalry in Cotton	
Redemption of the Brahman. The,	642	Industry and India	8
Banerjee, Nityanarayan		Datta, Jatindramohon	
Art and Literature in Russia to-day ( <i>illustrated</i> )	566	Relative Public Spirit and enterprise of	
Russia To-day ( <i>illustrated</i> )	140	Hindus and Mahomedans in Bengal.	685
Russia To-day, Children's Home ( <i>illustrated</i> )	300	Devi, Sita	
Banerjee, Ramesh Chandra		The Fool	432
Hindu and Muslim Public spirit		Realism.	316
in Bengal	312	The Waters of Destiny ( <i>a novel</i> )	524, 558
Barth, Mrs. Hannah		Dutt, G. S.	
How Youth of Europe Spends		The Mathurapur Monument	331
Holidays ( <i>illustrated</i> )	184	Elwin Verrier	
Basu, Rames		A Cloud that's Dragonish (poem)	523
Vikrampur Aerial Museum ( <i>illustrated</i> )	636	Disastrous Twilight (Poem)	293
Biswas, Miss Usba		Fierce Vexation ( <i>a poem</i> )	625
Training of Teachers for village girls'		In Baiga Land ( <i>illustrated</i> )	374
schools and community service.	621	Ganguli, Nitindranath	
Bose, Mrs. Kiron		Painting in India To-day—its National	
Folk High school of Denmark, The	515	Aspect II	170
Women's position in the World and		Ganguly, O. C.	
Indian women	631	Edowment of Culture	626
Bose, Subhas Chandra		Gillespie, Elizabeth.	
Austrian Riddle, The	461	The Progressive Understanding of Poetry	264
Bose, Sudhindra		Graham Pole, Major D.	
Art of Biography	384	India in Sackles	570
Book-Censorship in America	286	London Letter	208
Bose, Surendranath		London Letter—Parliament's Present	
Psychology of Feminineness in Relation		Session	85
to the Gandhi Movement	21	Labour Policy on India	671
Chakrabarty, Chintaharan		Will the Tories Smash the Empire ?	429
Mahamahopadhyaya Kamal Krishna		National and International Foolishness	559
Smriti	517	Greenless, Duncan.	
Chatterjee, Hirral		Neolithic Site in the Satpuras. A ( <i>illustrated</i> )	666
The Princess Kamala Raja of Gwalior	532	Guha, A. C.	
		The Agonis of Bengal	346

# CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

9

	Page		Page
Gupta Nagendranath		Roy, P. N.	
The Crime of Colour	491	Eleven Years of Fascism A Study	35
Dhruva	320	Roy, Parimal	
A Planet and a Star	23,155,288,386	Legislative Proceedings and Privilege	500
Gurwell, Ida M.		of the Press	
Manilal C. Parekh	498	Sarkar, Aniyannath	
Jayaswal, K. P.—		Oriental Students' Congress ( <i>illustrated</i> )	276
Coin of Samprati Maurya	617	Seal, Sir Brojendranath	
A Coin of Dasarath Maurya	516	Raja Rammohun Roy	262
Hindu Scientist on Earthquake	310	Sen, J. K.	
Jhaveri, Dewan Bahadoor Krishnalal Mohanlal		All India Art Exhibition ( <i>illustrated</i> )	416
Establishment of closer Relations between		Sen, Dr. S. N.	
Kindred Vernaculars	618	Earthquakes	211
Some Observations of the Mirat-i-		Sen Gupta, Sailendranath	562,597
Amhnedi	555	Faridoonji Mrs. H. R. and Sen Mrs. Hannah,	
Khair, Dr. G. S.		The Lady Irwin College for Women	668
Liquidation of Illiteracy in Soviet		Finance and Insurance	
Russia ( <i>illustrated</i> )	419	Financial Notes	340,449
Kumarappa J. M.		Singh, St. Nihal	
Education and Unemployment	491	Lala Lajpat Rai	1
Need Our Schools Continue Godless?	47	I. Early Impressions	
Play as a Factor in Social Efficiency	147	II. Chants on Men and Matters	188
Kusari, Abani Mohan		Discussions regarding Indian	
Export Duty on Jute : Bengal's		re-construction	251
Claim to it	280	Sinha, H.	
Krishnayya, P. Gopala		The Indian Reserve Bank	305
The End of the Noble Experiment of		Sinha, Sasadhar	
"Prohibition" in the U. S. A.	179	World Trade	505
John Davidson Rockefeller	282	Post-War Changes in England's Foreign	
Lahiri, Sudhirkumar and		Trade	259
Banerjee Benoyendranath		The Problem of Minorities in Soviet	
Historical Background of the Indian		Russia	151
Constitution	74	The Racial Factor in International	
Leidecker, Kurt F.		Relations	16
The Problem of Psycho-Physics in		Slater, Gilbert,	
Western and Eastern Thinking	161	Wanted—An Independent Indian	
M. G.		Currency.	44
Finance and Insurance	565,700	Tagore, Rabindranath	
Majumdar, A. K.		On Russia	611
The Sanatorium Universtaire ( <i>illustrated</i> )	172	Thaper, K. S.	
Morin, Madame L.		Some Legal Aspects of the White Paper	393
Rammohun Roy	396	Venkatachalam, G.	
Mukherjee, G. C.		Kathakali—The Classical Dance Art	
Earthquake Its Science and Superstitions	401	of India ( <i>illustrated</i> )	510
Proposals for an All-India Academy		Wallace, Hon' Henry A.	
of Sciences,	191	The Red Cross and the Banner of Peace	144
The Menace to the Hardinge Bridge		Wellock, Wilfred	
and its Lessons	535	The British Labour Party and	
Nag, D. C.		Disarmament	69
Causation of North-Bihar Earthquake.	400	Should the League be Armed?	371
Nehru, Jawaharlal		Zohadur, Rahim	
The Last Letter	131	The Institute of World-wide Economics.	517
Roy, Dhirendranath,		Zollinger, Melly and Reo, W. Lakshmana,	
So-called Scientific Criticism of Orientals.	651	Prices, Wages and Profits in the Khuli	
Roy, K. K.		Industry.	89
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal at the Oriental			
Conference	421		



# List of Illustrations

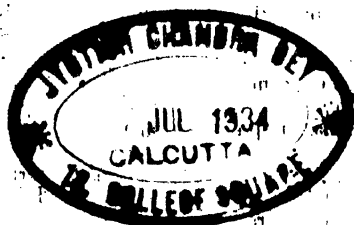
	Page		Page
All-India Art Exhibition, Calcutta		Remains of the school building	ii
Boat Race-- Supplement, April	1	Rai Shahib Sen's House, Leheria Serai	iii
Cluster of Huts (s)	1	Earthquake	i
Grandmother's Pet (s)	1	Road to Keshabpur, Jamalpur	i
Three Ganguli Brothers (s)	1	Samashpur	i
Art and Literature in Russia To-day		Temporary camp of Raj Hospital	
Historical Museum, The,—Moscow	567	Darbhanga	ii
Painting of 9th January Revolution	568	Sugar Mills, Samastipur	iii
A Russian Propaganda Picture	569	Some Officers' Quarters Jamalpur	iii
Soviet Square	569	Earthquake—its Science and Superstitions.	
Asoka Pillar at Lumbini	236	Diagram	408
Austrian Riddles, The		Map of India	411
Busts of Socialist Leaders	466	Map of the World showing Earthquake	
Fey, Dolfuss, Staremborg, Portraits of	466	distribution	407
Karl Marx Hof	462	Photograph of a Seismograph	408
Karl Marx, Hof, Supplement facing	467	Seismograph Record	409
Heimwehr Volunteers "	466	Europe and India	177
Rally of Heimwehr Volunteers	467	Gandhi Mahatma	586
Socialist Volunteers	463	General View of Lumbini	236
Schmitz, Herr	464	Gleanings	518
Street Scene in Vienna	465	Criminals Photographed in the Act	319
Ballal Sen and the Pigeon ( <i>in colours</i> )		Electric Current in soils Kills off the	
Ajodhyalal Shaha	611	Bacteria	468
Baraling Neoliths 17 figures	667	From the Archaeologist Note Book	215
Bhupesh Chandra Karmakar, Mr	509	Human Bullets Raises Speed	216
Coin of Samprati Mourya	647	Lamp for Internal Sun Baths	214
Charlie, Miss	348	Long-tailed Fowl, The	706
Children Snatched from their Mothers' breasts and Dashed to Death	23	Making City Smokeless ( <i>4 illustrations</i> )	705
Correggio		Valve cut off in Quake to prevent	
Noli me tangere	309	Explosion	350
David Hare	47	Government School of Arts Exhibition, The	
Derozio, H. L. V.	645	Avisikarika, May Supplement	1
Earthquakes		Evening Glow	2
Kalyan Bazar, Muzaffarpur	212	Flight of Prithwiraj "	2
Mr. Asoke Bose's newly built Bunglow	213	Rashlila	2
Earthquake Devastation in North Behar, The		Soothsayer	I
Art Studio, Patna—Supplement (Feb.)	iv	Wood Cuts—May Supplement	I
Bazar Muzaffarpur	iv	Hemlata Devi, Sreemati	237
Bridge, Darbhanga "	iii	How Youth of Europe Spends Holidays	
Bangur Building	403	Appell	187
Bazar, Monghyr	203	Camp, July 1933, Moravia, C.S.R.	183
Chowk Bazar, Monghyr (1), (2), (3)	403	The Kitchen	186
A house near Bazar, Monghyr		The Kitchen (from behind)	186
Supplement, Feb	210	The Tents are built	186
Kumar's Palace, Darbhanga	i	Rest	187
The Poor People's Habitation, Monghyr	i	The Tents Complete	187
Matihari, Supplement (Feb)	iv	Washing	187
Muzaffarpur	iv	In Baigaland	
Monghyr "	iv	Are They to Grow up as Illiterate ?	376
Muzaffarpur "	iv	A Baiga Girl	377
Near Burrabazar, Monghyr	i	Baiga Karma, The	379
One of the prominent Mosques, Patna	iii	Baiga Girl Dancers	380
Patna	iii	Children in Baiga Village	374
Raj Hospital, Darbhanga	iii	Daserrah Dance, The	381
Road to Keshabpur, Monghyr		A Group of Baigas	375
		In the Baiga Chowk.	383

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

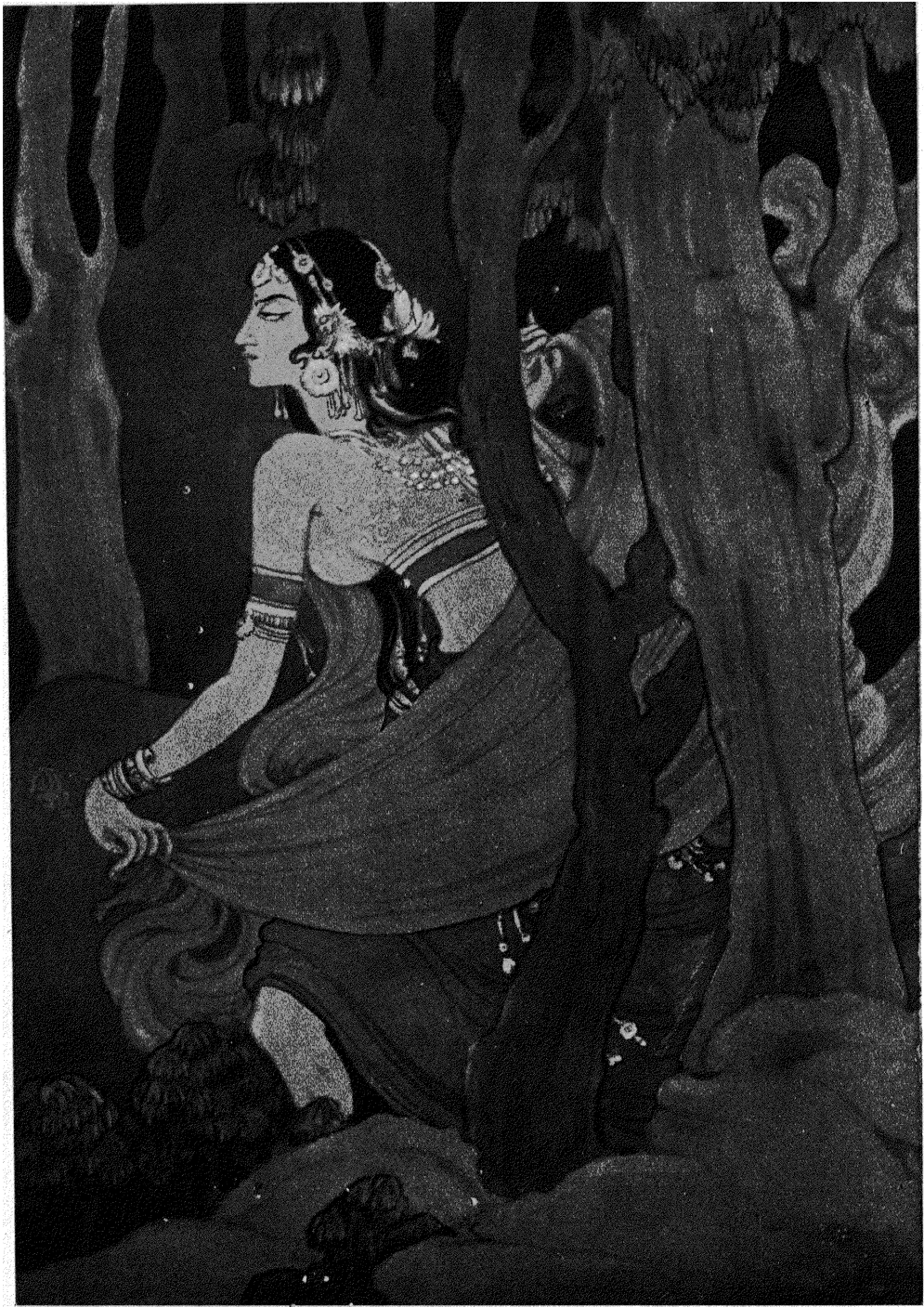
11

	Page		Page
Jarpath Dance, The,	382	Kama Deva—Supplement, facing	419
Typical Baiga Types	375	Kamal Krishna Smrititirtha	517
Indians Abroad		Kamala Raja Scindia, Princess,	486
Aryakanya Pathshala, Suva, Fizi	703	Kamala Raja and her Brother the Present	
Aryakanya Pathshala, Omeni, Mauritius	703	Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, facing	534
Bhai Parmanand	702	Kiel	
Group of Homeless unemployed		General View of the Institute	548
Repatriated Indians	583	Glance at the University	547
Group of Repatriated Indians at Akra near Calcutta	583	Krishna and Bidur (In colours)	
Gulzur and his family	582	Durgasankar Bhattacharjee facing	371
Lotus Club	338	Krishna Chandra Bhattacharjya	137
Singh, Mr. P.B.	582	Liquidation of Illiteracy in Soviet Russia	
Irwin College for Women, The Lady		No -1	420
Cookery Class	669	No -2	421
Experimental Work in Applied Science	669	No -3	423
Laundry Class	669	Mathurapur	
Needlework Class	670	Arrangement of Decorative Mouldings.	
Students Gardening	670	(Supplement, March)	i
Indian Renaissance in Mexico. The,		Author at the Site, The	331
Atl, Dr. Supplement. (Jan.)	iv	Bathing Scene, Supplement March	iv
Aze Mother and Child, An	80	Bharata and Rama	v
Aztec Woman	80	Combination of Kirtimukh and Lion	iii
Diego Rivers, Supplement (Jan.)	iv	Cottage Homes of Bengal	iv
Drawing of Man in Ceremonial		Dancing and Music	iv
costume from a Maya bas-relief		Decorative Moulding	iii
Supplement (Jan.)	iv	Dummy Door, Northface	i
The Feast of Chalma, (Painting by		Ground Plan of the Deul	ii
Fernando Leal)	iii	Inner Section	iii
Interior of Court of Zapotec Palace.--		Krishna Lila	v
Mitla, Supplement (Jan.)	i	Kirtimukhs	iii
Maya Temple at Chichen Poza	94	Lion	iii
A Mexican market (Zapotecs at		Main (Western) Doorway	i
Tehnantepee) Supplement (Jan.)	iii	Marching Lions, The	iii
Part of the Aztec Temples of		Mathurapur in Revenue Map	333
Quetzalcoatl	"	Mathurapur in Rennele's Map	334
Restoration of the Temple of the		Mother Yasada, Supplement (March)	v
Warriors at Chichen Itza.	"	Pious Maiden and Monkey Warriors	iv
Stone Figure of Xochipilli, the Aztec		Rama and Hanuman	v
God of flowers	"	Rural Scenes—Krishnalila	vi
Stone Figure of Quetzalcoatl	iv	Sacrificial Fire	v
Restoration of the Aztec Temple	80	Scenes from Ramayana	vi
Typical Aztec Peasants	94	Sita's trial by Fire	v
Zapotec Palace at Mitla, Supplement (Jan)	i	Western Front	i
Indian Womanhood		Wrestling bouts	iv
Mrs. Amena Khatun,	552	Wrestling Scene	v
Miss Binapani Mukherjee,	95	Oriental Conference at Baroda	356
Chandrawati, Lakshmanpal, Mrs.	552	Pilgrims, The (in colours) by	
Kamabai, N. Vijaykar, Mrs.	95	Manindrabhusan Gupta facing	251
Leita Najmuddin, Miss.	704	Meghnath Saha, Dr.	235
Nilima Dutt, Srimati	704	Oriental Students Congress	
Mai. Warekar, Srimati	202	Council of the Federation	279
Roma Bose, Mrs.	552	Delegates of Third Convention	277
Saralabai Naik, Mrs. B. A.	95	Laying the Wreath on Unknown	
Vimala Gadvel, Miss.	202	Soldiers Grave	277
Jawaharlal Nehru		Mussolini addressing	278
with a Band of Workers	354	Pola Negri and Udaysankar	584
Jayaswal, K. P. Mr.	355	Rammohon Roy, Portrait of Raja	553
Kathakali		Rangaswamy Aiyenger, The late Mr. A.	359
Head-dress	511, 512	Rajendranath Mukherjee, Sir	605
Kerala Kalamam Delam	513	Russia Today,	
Rama and Lakshmana	510	Children Larking	143
		First Residence, The	142

	Page		Page
Picture in Hermitage A. Leningrad	141	Garbhagriha	ii
Russia Today, Children's Homes,		Garbhagriha-back views	ii
Bureau of Labour	304	Sculptures on the walls of the	
Russia Today,		Sabhamandapa	ii
Painting in Hermitage, A	301	Sculptures on the Garbhagriha	ii
Park of Victims of Revolution	302	Sculptures on the wall of the	
Primrose Drawing Room, The	304	garbhagriha.	62
Summer Palace of Tsar, Leningrad	303	Siddhanta-Mahadeva Temple	
Tverskaya-yamskaya Road	303	Supplement facing	64
Red Army Arch	301	Stone Jali work—Siddhanta temple	64
Sanatorium Universitaire,		"This New Freedom"	571
Kacker, Dr. R. K. Vauthier, Dr. and		To The Market (in colours) Sobhagmal	
Majumdar Mr. A. K.	173	Gehlot	491
The Plan	175	To The Tryst (in colours) Ramgopal	
Sanatorium Universitaire	176	Vijayavargiya	1
Vauthier, Dr. L. C.	173	To Utopia	538
Sculpture within the Temple	237	Village Scene, A. (in colours)	
Sunderland Dr. J. T.	457	Nandalal Bose, facing	131
Sriniketan		Vikrampur Aerial Museum	
Typical Scenery of Islampur	519	Gar	640
Workers of Sriniketan	520	Garad	638
Workers of Sriniketan collecting		Garg	637
information	521	Karin	637
Statue of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee	483	Kastikeya	638
Temple of Maya Devi	237	Pedestal	639
Temples of Nemawar, The		Sur	636
Door-frame of the Unfinished Temple		Uma Maheswar	639
of Vishnu	63	Vishnu	638 640
Door-frame of the Siddhanta Temple			
Supplement, (Jan)	i		





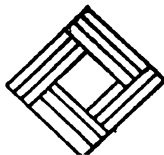


TO THE TRYST  
By Ramgopal Vijayavargiya

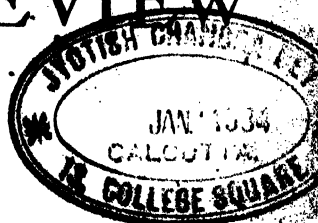
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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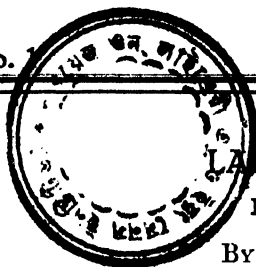


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LALA LAJPAT RAI

I. Early Impressions

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

## I

SIX years ago, on November 17th, Lala Lajpat Rai was flung from his earthly activities into the mysterious beyond.

Even now the tragedy of his passing overwhelms me. But a short time earlier I, then residing in Colombo, had received a hastily written note apologizing for not having fulfilled his promise to pay Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and me a visit and pledging his word that he would make amends as soon as he could.

A few years stood between him and me. His intellectual and spiritual outlook, at least in the beginning, differed from mine.

These differences kept us apart for a considerable time. But for them we might have known each other some twelve or fifteen years longer than we actually did. Of this matter I shall speak a little later.

Once we had met face to face, however, we took to each other instantly. As time went on, our intimacy increased. He did not hesitate to ask me for introductions when he sailed across the Atlantic to the United States of America, then to him a strange land filled with people of whom he knew little. Several years later, when he started the *Bande Mataram*, an Urdu daily in Lahore, he prevailed upon me, busy almost to the shrieking point, to become its London correspondent. When I visited India I went to the jail in the

city of his adoption to hold converse with him. After he had turned Swarajist, he visited England and learning that I had been pressed to accept the editorship of a daily newspaper in Colombo, chided me, as if I were a mere lad, for deserting my motherland; and secured my promise that I would train one or more of his young men in the art and practice of journalism.

During these years of intimacy we saw each other frequently whenever we happened to be in the same city—usually London, where such a large slice of my life has been spent. When land and sea separated us we exchanged thoughts by letter—he a far better correspondent than I.

Perhaps because he was an exile, more often than not through necessity rather than choice, he opened his heart to me, a voluntary exile through a great portion of my life. I thus came to see him from an angle somewhat different from the one from which others, associated with him in one undertaking or another, viewed him.

To know him was to love him. Few men I have known have been more lovable or more loving than he. Never was a more genuine patriot borne by Mother India.

## II

Lalaji—as I and other friends of his usually called him—had shifted his legal

practice from the mofussal to Lahore just about the time I entered the Government College there. Soon after occurred an incident that awakened me to his presence in the capital of the Panjab. Mr. Robson, the Principal, took it into his head that all the students should wear blazers. With him, as I remember him, action followed thought with lightning speed. Without, I believe, consulting any of his colleagues, he issued an order carrying that idea into effect.

Had he discussed this matter with some of the senior students and roused their enthusiasm, a blazer might have been adopted without any dissent and might have become a symbol rousing pride among the under-graduates. Either that the thought did not strike him or he did not wish to take the trouble that such action would involve. He soon found however that the students were not putty to be moulded by him as he pleased.

Most of us did not know what a blazer was. It was necessary for us—myself included—to look up in the dictionary the meaning of the word, which we now heard for the first time. I discovered, upon consulting my lexicon, that it was a jacket, usually coloured or decorated in a distinctive fashion, worn especially for sports.

The play-grounds and hostels hummed with the word. Many of the students did not see the necessity of incurring expenditure upon a blazer. They could not understand why, when our predecessors in the college had not been asked to wear one, we should be ordered to do so.

Finding himself opposed, Principal Robson did a little propaganda work. He got hold of the students who took pride in presenting what they regarded as a "smart appearance," and used them to popularize his idea.

Then, all of a sudden, the controversy took a new turn. A small group of students announced that they had been talking with a pleader who had pointed out to them that while the colour of the blazer and the way it was cut and decorated, might be an important issue, nothing had been said of the cloth of which it was to be made. Was it to be of Indian manufacture and would the money for it remain in India to benefit the traders and workers of our country? Or was it to be

imported from abroad and the money be drained away to add to the wealth of foreigners?

The pleader who had given this new turn to the blazer controversy was Lala Lajpat Rai. I had not heard of him before. He stood, at that time, at the foot of the ladder that was to enable him to climb to dizzy heights of fame.

### III

I was urged by some of the older students who cherished a friendly feeling for me to accompany them to Lalaji's house. I would no doubt have done so but for another incident that occurred about the same time and prejudiced me against Arya Samajists.

A little explanation is necessary to enable the reader to understand the inwardness of this occurrence. Sikhism, as evolved by the ten Gurus, made no differentiation in respect of caste or sex. Such differentiation however asserted itself some decades after the demise of Guru Govind Singh—the last of the founders of the faith. Even "untouchability" crept in and certain groups among the Sikhs were treated as depressed classes and were known as *marhi* Sikhs, etc.

Some Arya Samajists brought a number of Sikhs to Lahore and "purified" them in front of the sacrificial fire. Choudhri Ram Bhai Dutt\* delivered a highly emotional speech that ended on the note: "now the tonsure ceremony begins."

Immediately the *marhi* Sikhs took off their turbans and were shorn by barbers of their long hair and beards.

No love had been lost between the Sikhs and the Arya Samajists even before this incident took place. The tonsure ceremony added to the bitterness of feeling. It was taken by the Sikhs as an affront deliberately offered to them. It helped them however to see that between the theory and practice of

\* Better known as Ram Bhuj Dutt Choudhri. He altered his name about the time he married Sarala Devi Ghosal, a niece of the Poet Tagore, as Dutt, though in the Panjab a Brahman caste, was not regarded as such in Bengal. I met him shortly afterwards and our friendship lasted until death claimed him. He told me in 1910, when I reminded him of this episode, that the "tonsure business" was a great mistake.

Sikhism there was a wide gulf; and led to a crusade against "untouchability."

I did not take the trouble to find out whether Lala Lajpat Rai had anything to do with this "affront" or not. Even had I been assured that he had not, it would have mattered little. I was soured against the whole tribe. The aversion I felt was not for a particular person or group of persons, but was of a generic character.

How foolish the attitude I then assumed was appears to me nearly thirty-five years later! But warm, red blood coursed through my veins when I was an under-graduate at the Lahore Government College and blinded me to the realities of life.

#### IV

It was easy enough for me to turn my back upon the opportunity to make Lalaji's acquaintance, but I could not become oblivious of his activities. They obtruded themselves upon my attention at every turn, through conversation, newspaper reports and (soon afterwards) leaflets and books.

Polemics seemed to be the very breath of his nostrils in those days. He appeared to be ever on the look-out for contention and if he discovered none did not hesitate to create one. As I told him years later, he reminded me of the Irishman who, happened to see two men going at each other with their fists, inquired eagerly: "Is this a private fight, or can any one join in it?"

No young man can remain indifferent, for any length of time, to a challenging personality like Lalaji's. I at least did not.

One of the earliest controversies in which he engaged interested me greatly, as soon as one of his admirers told me about it. The attitude of a section of our Muslim countrymen towards the Indian National Congress enraged Lalaji, who, almost from the very beginning, had been attracted by that movement.

He felt that they were doing a great disservice to their own co-religionists as well as to their fellow-nationals professing other creeds.

Instead of laying the blame upon the shoulders of the officials, he attacked the leader of this section of Muslims—Mr. (afterwards Sir) Syed Ahmed Khan. In hot haste

he indited a pamphlet in Urdu in which he joined issue with the instigator of the separationist move, as he called it. The fire he put into the language he employed set youthful hearts aflame.

A copy of the pamphlet did not fall into my hands. I therefore set down here only what I remember of it as it was related to me at the time.

I distinctly recollect that it must have made as many enemies for him as friends—perhaps more enemies than friends. The Muslim separationists, whose number unfortunately grew rapidly, never forgave him for his attack upon their adored leader. They certainly never forgot it. Again and again in later life this matter bobbed up in the Indian Muslim mind and even many followers of the Prophet professedly nationalists in outlook and aspiration did not believe that Lajpat Rai could rise superior to credal and caste consciousness.

#### V

Had he not been so completely identified with the Arya Samaj—or rather with one section of it, as I shall presently mention—I have little doubt that his burning patriotism would have branded itself upon the minds of his—and my—generation. But for that fact we should have realized that he was much more than a staunch and active member of a protestant Hindu sect—a man who thought in terms of the people in general and of the country as a whole and not merely of the province upon whose strong breast he had been nurtured. His Arya Samaj work overshadowed everything else in his life in those days. Such indeed is the impression that I have carried all these years.

Before he had shifted his legal practice to Lahore he had fallen in love with the doctrines preached by the Maharishi Dayanand Sarasvati. The pristine purity of the Vedic times that that great teacher wished to revive appealed to his heart; nothing else had done.

Belief is no dead letter to him. It was an impelling force. It made him an enthusiast in the propagandist cause. He joined issue with Hindus of the old type who believed that caste was born with a man and died with him. True to the teachings of the Maharishi, he



held that caste was not in reality regulated by birth but by a person's *guna*, *karma* and *swabhava*. He also believed that image worship represented a decadent phase of Hindu thought. He inveighed against it in terms that lacerated the feelings of the Sanatanists.

His mind was not however of a negative kind. Destruction, as such, did not appeal to him. He demolished what he considered to be a mean building so that he might raise a magnificent structure in place of it.

## VI

The work of rebuilding the nation, he then thought (as I afterwards heard from his own lips) could best be done through education. His concept of education was however materially different from that entertained by many of his contemporaries. He believed in a type of education that would free the mind from servility of every description, including subjection to Europe, which then held the Panjabi—indeed the Indian—mind in subjection.

He therefore gave all the time and energy he could spare from his professional work to the promotion of education—especially higher education—through private effort untrammelled, as far as possible, by official control. He went about the Panjab and the neighbouring provinces raising funds for the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College that had been started not long before he came to Lahore.

Lalaji possessed a constitution of iron. It was nothing for him to visit four or five towns during the week-end and address one or more meetings at each place. He devoted the long vacations during which the Chief Court was closed to propaganda work in behalf of the "D. A. V." College, going from station to station, delivering addresses and collecting donations.

He possessed a silver tongue. More often than not he spoke, in those days, in Urdu, over which he had gained a mastery that surprised even his worst Muslim critics. His highly emotional oratory loosened tongues. His words were potent because he put them to practice in his own life. At an age when most men waste their substance upon the pleasures of

the flesh, he adopted a simple way of living so that he could save money to be applied to meeting the expenses of the "D. A. V." College. All his savings, at this period, were handed over to the managing committee of that institution. The example of self-sacrifice set by him, Lala Hans Raj and a few other Arya Samajists had, I remember, a most powerful influence upon young men like myself who were their juniors only by a few years.

## VII

Had he not neglected his professional work in favour of his public activities he undoubtedly could have risen to dizzy legal heights than he did. He had a natural aptitude for law. His retentive memory enabled him to remember even obscure provisions in the legal code and to recall, without effort, judgments handed down by the Chief Court (it had not then been raised to the status of a High Court) and the Privy Council, which would be useful to his clients. Words came to him without fumbling for them, whether he was pleading in Urdu or in English, which he studied with great assiduity. His charm of manner and magnetic personality drew hearts to him. These assets enabled him to acquire a reputation at the bar that brought many clients to him.

Less able lawyers than he rose to the Chief (now High) Court Bench at Lahore. Lajpat Rai however never hankered for that or any other job. Quite the reverse. By cultivating interests that were unpopular with the officials, and by pursuing a manly, independent course, he gave umbrage to the very persons who had high office in their gift.

Many litigants insisted upon engaging him even though they knew that the law was only a matter of bread and butter with him, in preference to obtaining the services of legal practitioners who placed private gain above public good. Nor were they wrong in making that choice. Lajpat Rai possessed honesty of purpose that made him do his utmost for any client whose case he accepted. With his power of concentration he could master a brief in a remarkably short time, quickly seize upon his adversary's weak points and adopt a line of argument that usually enabled him to win the suit.

The law therefore yielded him a rich harvest, at least judged by the standards of those times. I remember him telling me years later that shortly after joining the bar he had saved enough money to buy a house for his mother. A little later he was able to make it possible for his father (Lala Radha Krishan)—a schoolmaster—to retire and devote himself to the study of religions and ethical literature, which had fascinated him ever since his boyhood days, when he had sat at the feet of a Muslim teacher.

The work of studying briefs and pleading before the Courts held no interest for Lalaji except as a means of livelihood. He, in time, grew to hate the profession. On more than one occasion he spoke of it as "crooked." He declared: "It not only makes men dishonest, but also turns them into cowards." I reminded him that lawyers had played a great part in every movement for freedom.

"Lawyers are too calculating," he replied, "to risk their necks for freedom. They are the greatest cowards on the face of the earth."

### VIII

In view of the hatred he had for his profession, he would have done far better had he taken to banking rather than to law. He had inherited a remarkable financial genius from countless generations of forbears. He was an Agarwal *bania* by caste. Many of his near relatives were traders and money-lenders, as his and their ancestors had been. His grandfather had been a village accountant who knew no characters other than the *Mahajani* ones, yet whose book-keeping was invariably correct.

As if his professional and public work were not heavy enough for him, he seized the opportunity that the Panjab presented during the first decade of the present century for organizing banking and insurance and was singularly successful in the enterprises he launched. I had it from his own lips that personal gain did not constitute the sole or even the main motive in his starting the Panjab National Bank and the Bharat Insurance Company. He felt that improvements in the material conditions of our people could be hastened by the organization of banking and insurance.

Not until financial institutions in which

the people could place reliance had been created could they be expected to bring their treasure out from the holes where they had secreted it. Nor would it be possible, until such confidence had been inspired, for joint stock concerns to take root in the Panjab soil.

Lalaji realized that the methods of banking in vogue at the time, especially in his part of India, were antiquated in the extreme. Unless they were modernized, it was useless to expect that India would ever be able to compete successfully with Britain or any other country in any walk of life. He wished above all other things for our people to be financially independent. He knew that every other kind of independence was, in the last analysis, dependent upon economic independence.

He looked upon sound banking, moreover, as the hand-maiden of modern industrial progress. His reading—remarkably wide for an Indian in those days who had never left his native shores—had amply satisfied him in that respect.

Motivated by these diverse objects, he gave a great deal of time and energy to organizing the money-power of Panjabis. In this respect, as in many other ways, he was far ahead of his time. Conservative persons looked askance at his projects. They feared that it would be risky for them to invest their money in a joint liability company. They not only personally refused to embark upon such an enterprise, but used their influence to dissuade as many other persons as they could to refrain from doing so.

These were not the only difficulties that Lajpat Rai had to encounter at this juncture. He came into conflict with another Panjab who, unlike him, had been educated at a British University and who had abandoned a professorial career to engage in banking in the province of his birth. Rivalry between the two inevitably resulted in friction and involved much waste of time and energy. I still remember the zest with which I used to await the publication of the leaflets that both parties issued frequently while the fight between them was proceeding in the early years of this century.

### IX

About this time a terrible catastrophe occurred in the Panjab. An earthquake

wrought great havoc, particularly in the Kangra Valley. Thousands of houses were destroyed. Many villages were wiped out of existence.

The men, women and children left without shelter or means of subsistence were, if anything, worse off than their relatives and friends who had perished. Private agencies that could rush to their relief did not then exist, as they do now.

The agonized cries of these hill-folk were borne on the wings of the breeze to Lajpat Rai's ears. He arranged with friendly lawyers to look after his urgent cases and, accompanied by a party of young men who, at his command, would face any ordeal, proceeded to the distressful valley to render such succour as he could.

Men who saw him at work—some of them by no means enamoured of his Arya Samajist activities—never tired of praising the devotion with which he served these sufferers. Foreigners who had talked of Indians lacking both the instinct of humanity and the capacity for organization, were forced to revise their opinion after seeing his accomplishment in that connection.

## X

The time was coming when politics would crowd professional and social activities out of his life. The work done by Mazzini (pronounced as if written "Matzini") for unifying Italy and freeing it from the Austrian grip had caught his fancy early in life. He had published a biography of that hero in Urdu that, to my knowledge, passed from hand to hand among young men of my generation. He did not however feel within him the call to devote his energies to promoting nationalism in India until after the close of the Russo-Japanese war, which I have reason to believe galvanized him.

Were Britain served in India at the time by an agent who possessed the gifts of imagination and tact, the victories scored by Asiatics over Europeans on the Manchurian battlefields and the Tsushima Straits might not have had the repercussion on Indian minds that they actually had. Lacking the ability to see beneath the surface, the Earl (afterwards the Marquis) Curzon chose the moment when a

thrill of pride was running through every Asian breast, for forcing his will upon the Bengalis—then in the vanguard of Indian political progress. Instead of meekly submitting to the *fait accompli* as he no doubt thought they would do, they organized a movement that ultimately succeeded in upsetting the partition.

No one outside Bengal was more powerfully influenced by this Curzonian blunder than Lajpat Rai who had come to hate the policy of the officialization of the Universities that the Viceroy had inaugurated. That policy threatened the work to which the Panjab patriot had given the best that was in him almost ever since he came of age.

The spirit of independence that had actuated Lajpat Rai to promote higher education untrammelled, as far as possible, by official interference and to engage in campaigns to file social fetters, led him inevitably towards the left wing of the Indian National Congress. He threw his influence into the movement for the boycott of British goods that had originated in Bengal.

There would have undoubtedly been a split in the Indian National Congress but for the skill shown by Gopal Krishna Gokhale in presiding over the session of that organization held in Benares in December, 1905. Lajpat Rai had raised the temperature in the Congress *pandal* by joining forces with Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal.

The details of the proceedings of that memorable assemblage reached me in China, where I was then engaged in journalism. It was apparent to me that Lajpat Rai was swayed by nationalism of an aggressive type. It was patent that he had no patience with the political sycophants who looked upon petitions and prayers as the keys that would unlock the door and set our country free.

## XI

I was living in Chicago—the chief city, but not the capital, of Illinois, one of the mid-western States of the American Union,—when the news was published that Lala Lajpat Rai had been suspected of complicity in an agrarian trouble in the Panjab colonies and, with Ajit Singh (of whom I then heard for the first time) had been arrested. The telegram

reproduced in the American newspapers with which I was connected at the time was laconic. I knew that intelligence sent out from India could not always be taken at its face value and therefore eagerly awaited the papers from Home that would contain the full report of the affair.

When I finally had the opportunity of reading these accounts however I found them hardly more satisfactory than the reports in the American papers had been. That was not the fault of the reporters and editors of the Indian publications. They could only print such information as they could get hold of. In this case no details were forthcoming. There was only the bald fact of Lalaji's arrest and deportation. Everything else was conjecture.

After racking my brains in the effort to solve the conundrum I formed the view that Lala Lajpat Rai had been arrested under an ordinance of which I had never heard and without being so much as charged, much less tried, had been locked up in Mandalay, because the officials must have regarded him as dangerous. From my student days I had known that he was not in their good books. He was not one of those Indians who took off their shoes before entering their offices—who fawned upon them—remained standing while they were seated—retreated from their presence backwards like crabs, bending half-double with salaams. He cringed before no one, however mighty.

He never minced his words. Nor did he have any patience with the slogan: "Half an inch, half an inch, half an inch onward." He was for forcing the pace of progress at a rate that, I can easily realize, must have appeared "catastrophic" to the officials who had no use for him, and even less for the Arya Samaj, with which he had been so prominently identified since his early manhood.

• My faith in Mr. John (later the Viscount) Morley, who, after the victory of the Liberal Party in England, had been appointed Secretary of State for India, had already been shaken. In Canada and the United States I

had come across men who had closely followed his career when he was Secretary for Ireland and they assured me that he, as an official, was quite different from the Morley who prattled pretty platitudes about Liberalism from the private benches of Parliament or enlarged upon them in essays.

During my Indian tour in 1910-11 I expected to meet Lajpat Rai who had some time earlier been restored to freedom. To my great disappointment I found that he was away from Lahore on the only occasion when I could visit that city.

I did not have to wait for long. Shortly after I had taken up residence in Britain I received an invitation to attend a dinner that was being given in celebration of our "feast of lights," at which Lalaji was asked to preside. As we arrived at the hall in which the function was to be held a man of medium height, bold features and a sallow complexion shook us warmly by the hand and expressed his great pleasure at meeting us. He had a typical Panjabi face—pleasant to look at but conveying a suggestion of strength. His eyes were large and luminous. They showed mirth as well as flashing fire. The nose was prominent. The mouth was well-shaped. The lips were firmly set. Infectious laughter could ripple through them as I found almost immediately afterwards. Words could pour out of them that could lift men from their feet or (what is probably more difficult) could make them dip their hands into their pockets and bring forth money to finance a deserving cause.

It was hardly necessary for me to be that I was meeting Lala Lajpat Rai—meeting him for the first time. No introduction was necessary. We felt as if we had known each other for years. I had devoured everything emanating from his pen that came my way and he lost no time in telling me that he had been reading my articles and books almost from the time they began to appear.\*

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## ANGLO-JAPANESE RIVALRY IN COTTON INDUSTRY AND INDIA

By TARAKNATH DAS, PH. D.

**G**REAT Britain's national wealth and power is largely due to her national industry and export trade ; and her cotton industry has contributed considerably to augment British national prosperity. This national prosperity is seriously threatened by Japan which has successfully ousted Lancashire cotton goods from the markets of the world. The Japanese are determined to maintain their newly acquired markets by every possible means ; because Japan's loss of markets for the export of textile goods would mean economic chaos leading to bankruptcy and revolution. This aspect of commercial rivalry between Japan and Britain may produce serious international political repercussions.

From recent debates in the British Parliament, one can realize that there is virtually an economic war going on between Japan and Great Britain. In one of these debates Mr. Runciman, representing the National Government of Great Britain, assured the Parliament that the Anglo-Japanese commercial difficulty will be solved through negotiations. But it was quite apparent that many British statesmen did not share this optimistic view of the complicated situation. It is well known that in some quarters in Britain there is open talk about the necessity of retaliatory measures against Japan, if necessary by making a common cause with those nations in Europe and other parts of the world which are feeling the pressure of Japanese competition. More sober, yet definitely anti-Japanese policies were advocated by Hon. Mr. Bailey, a Conservative member of the British Parliament, representing Manchester, during his speech in the House of Commons on the 23rd of November 1933. Mr. Bailey has been reported to have said

"Today Japan was selling more all over the world than ourselves, and the reason was that twenty years ago Lancashire was blind

to the danger. You could not prevent the Japanese competition by merely putting on a tariff. The fundamental difficulty was not our home market, but our oversea markets, where tariff could not be imposed by this country. *The Government should take steps to abrogate the most-favoured-nation clause with Japan as regards our colonies, and endeavour to induce the latter to accord to our textiles a preference, while as regards foreign countries we should bargain for purchases equivalent to our exports. The sale of second-hand machinery to Japan should be prevented, and apprentices should not be allowed into our engineering shops to take away our skill.*"—*The Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 24, 1933.

It is generally asserted that the Japanese success in textile industry and capturing the world markets is due to lower wages of Japanese workers, so-called dumping method or unfair competition, depreciation of Japanese currency. Some even naively charge the Japanese of selling below the cost of production. Lord Snowden, whose patriotism as a British statesman cannot be questioned, has expressed his views on the subject in the following manner :

"We are hearing complaints that Japan is driving us out of the Asiatic market. It is not long hours and low wages which are the reasons for this. There is nothing to be feared permanently from the competition of low wages and long hours. Japan's commercial success is due to her adaptability to the needs of the markets. For the countries with low purchasing power she produces an attractive cheap article of such a low quality that the British manufacturer says he would be ashamed to make it. If the British trader wants to capture these markets, he must stop blushing and face facts."

What are the real facts in respect to Japanese-Lancashire competition in textiles ? I, for various reasons, wish to answer this question, by quoting some interesting passages from an exceedingly well-informed article on "Japan's Way and Lancashire" published in

the editorial page of the *Times* (London) of November 23, 1933 :

"The greatest direct menace to Lancashire is the meteoric increase of Japan's competition in our former markets. Ten years ago this competition was insignificant; five years ago it became acute in a few markets; today no market exists, to which Japan has access, where she does not undersell all comers by impossible margin. *With fewer than 9,000,000 spindles Japan has a larger export trade than Lancashire with 50,000,000; in five years she may eliminate us. To assess the true value of her striking force we must disregard tales of Government subsidization, selling under cost, and sweated-labour. The prosperity of Japan's export trade is due to her efficiency and organization of industry combined with certain adventitious benefits and natural advantages not possessed by Lancashire.*"

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"Largely owing to its modernity and an almost fanatical belief in scrapping the obsolete, the Japanese industry is equipped with the most up-to-date plant in the world. *There is not a single mill and scarcely a weaving-shed in Lancashire today which could produce economically (as measured from the mechanical standpoint) any of the mass-produced cloths which forms the backbone of the Japanese industry, no matter how elastic and accommodating trade-union regulations might be.*"

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"The all-powerful influence in Japanese progress is the immense driving power of its organization and direction. This embraces complete knowledge of every requirement of the productive side of the industry, combined with instant contact with demand in all parts of the world, relating the one to the other in the manner best suited to Japan. Absolute control is in the hands of the Japan Cotton Spinner's Association, which governs the industry's entire spindleage and 60 per cent of its export looms, and by dominating the entire yarn output, has a scarcely less effective control of the independent looms. The pattern on which this marvel of industrial enterprise is built is not a chance product, but a carefully planned edifice of unshakable strength in which the builders have utilized complete knowledge of what is aimed at with every process through which the raw material passes. Such comprehensive knowledge in those controlling the industry is the key of Japanese supremacy. It implies an economy of production beyond the power of an industry in which ignorance of the next of final purpose is intentionally preserved by those in charge of each section. Until this medieval obstruction between each

horizontal layer of our industry is removed Lancashire can never hope to challenge the single-minded effort of Japan. The horizontal structure of the Lancashire industry is largely responsible for its decadence; it maintains a perpetual clash of interests between one section and another; it excludes the master-hand and the master-mind..."

The sum and substance of the above arguments regarding Japanese ascendancy is that Japanese national efficiency in the whole field of textile industry—production as well as distribution of the product in world markets—is far superior to that of Great Britain. Japan is beating Britain at her own game. Japan is demonstrating that "Anglo-Saxon superiority" and the so called "Asiatic inferiority" is a myth. In the past western admirers of Japan often classed her as an excellent imitator without any originality and ability to assimilate. This has also been completely disproven.

The Anglo-Japanese struggle for world markets are fought in many lands; but India is a very important battle-ground. In India Britain has the initial advantage over Japan, because of Imperial Preference and discriminatory legislations against Japan. Under the present circumstances Indian cotton mill-owners have no chance to compete with Japan even in India, although they have easy access to raw materials, home markets and the cheapest labour. This is due to the fact that Indian national efficiency in textile industry is far inferior to that of Japan. This inferiority is not due to any innate inferiority of the Indian people. There was a time when Indian textiles had ascendancy all over the world. It is due to the selfish policy of Indian capitalists—textile mill-owners who are most concerned with their profit and not anxious to spend any substantial part of their profit for raising the efficiency of workers and bettering their plants. To make this point concrete I wish to emphasize that Indian mill-owners during the last twenty-five years have made profits of several millions of pounds sterling; and if they were anxious to raise Indian national efficiency in the field of cotton industry, they might have spent one per cent of their profit for providing facilities for the study of textile engineering in India! Alas there is not one institution in India where the

technique of the textile industry is adequately taught. What have the Indian mill-owners done to raise the standard of efficiency of Indian workers? Indian mill-owners like many other Indians wish to get something for nothing. They even now are not concerned with the question of raising Indian national efficiency but howling against the supposed "Japanese dumping" and siding with Lancashire cotton magnates against Japan; because Indian mill-owners think that by taking such a stand they may secure such favourable legislation—high tariff—as will help them to make easy profit. Lest I may be misunderstood, I wish to say that for the purpose of protecting an infant industry tariff may be justified; but by mere imposition of tariff and without systematic efforts for increasing national efficiency no nation can build up an industry nor maintain it. The question that comes before me is this: Are the Indian politicians and industrialists as well

as educators doing their best to raise India's national efficiency?

Anglo-Japanese rivalry in world commerce is bound to be more acute than it is today; and it may lead to a serious international consequence, because every economic conflict, unless peaceably solved, is bound to lead to a political conflict. One of the underlying causes of the Anglo-German conflict was Anglo-German commercial rivalry; and Anglo-Japanese commercial rivalry is no less acute today than was the Anglo-German commercial rivalry in 1910. Here lies the real seriousness of the situation. Unless the Indian people—especially Indian industrialists, capitalists and political leaders—show evidence of practical and genuine patriotism, then the present day Anglo-Japanese economic rivalry, instead of becoming an indirect impetus to India's economic and commercial regeneration, may become a source of terrible misery and degradation.

## THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE IN MEXICO

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M. A., D. Litt. (LONDON)

SOME time ago I read in the *Literary Digest* an item of news about Mexico which both surprised and pleased me. I felt surprised—at seeing the impossible happen, at seeing the coming back to life of what we all knew to be dead; and I was pleased to see that a people which had built one of the great original cultures of the world and which had lost its very soul and was being crushed out of existence through centuries of extraneous tyranny and pressure was at last recovering something of its consciousness and was trying to get back something of its spiritual and cultural life. I am a man of the present age, and I am a Hindu; and for both these reasons, the necessity of each kind of culture, of each type of religious experience and faith continuing its own existence (in so far as it is in harmony with the rights of others) and maintaining its honoured place in the comity of cultures and creeds strikes me as something axiomatic. Unity in the midst of variety, and variety in spite of a fundamental unity—this is what appears to be most desirable in life: in fact, life is nothing but that; consequently I would consider it a sin if an attempt is made to destroy a particular localized expression of a common and universal human culture and human mentality. It would thus be only natural for me and for others who believe in the fundamental unity and the inevitability and justification of

the civilizations and in all kinds of human endeavour that manifested themselves in different lands at different periods, to feel glad when some unique type of culture and mentality seems once more to be on the eve of a new existence, for the enrichment of the spiritual and mental experience of the whole of mankind.

To cut short this preambulatory digression—the item of news regarding Mexico was simply this; that the Mexican Minister for Education had circularized to all the schools in the land to the effect that school children were to be told that it was *Quetzalcoatl*, the benign deity of the ancient Mexicans, who gave children presents on Christmas Eve: the name of *Quetzalcoatl* was to be substituted for that of Saint Nicholas, the familiar *Santa Claus* of English children. In the Christian lands of Europe little children are taught that Saint Nicholas or Santa Claus comes down from heaven on Christmas Eve with a bag full of toys for them, and children keep their stockings near their beds for Santa Claus to fill them with his gifts, and when they are asleep, parents act on behalf of the Saint, filling their socks with things that would please them when they wake up the next morning. This is a pretty domestic custom which adds greatly to the joy of the children. The story of Santa Claus seems to have originated in the cold lands of Northern Europe where it is all snow and ice at

Christmas time. Santa Claus largely embodies in himself some of the old Teutonic and Slav conceptions of godhead—at least in his appearance and his habits. He is a jolly old man with a red nose and a snow-white beard, dressed in a fur-lined coat and cap of red collar, with top-boots, and he comes riding along the snow on a sledge. He is a veritable god of Christmas cheer, kind and jovial, the beloved Father Christmas of children. Saint Nicolaus came down to the warmer lands of Southern Europe, and did not lose a bit of his popularity. With the other gods and godlings of the Roman Catholic pantheon this presiding deity of Christmas time lost no time in coming to Mexico after the conquest of that country by Hernando Cortés and his Spaniards in 1521. Mexico as a civilized country possessed its own religion and other institutions. But after the fall of the Aztec empire, the national life was crushed entirely. The old religion was taboo, and a *regime* of the worst type of religious persecution and suppression was inaugurated which went hand in hand with wholesale forcible conversion. The old gods of Mexico had to yield to the new ones of Christianity, but the olds are very hard to kill—their attributes and functions and their functions lingered on, and were foisted on the foreign gods—called Saints and Angels—imported from Europe. Saint Nicolaus also came, although his costume and his sledge would be totally out of place in a land like Mexico, and there are hundreds of thousands of sandal-wearing Mexican children who never saw snow or a sledge and who never wore socks in their life which they could hang on by their beds for Santa Claus's toys. The circular of the Education Minister of Mexico was just to save the Mexican children from this silly and ridiculous imposition. Quetzalcoatl was the ancient Aztec deity of all the gentler virtues—kindness and civility, and arts of peace. He was the only Aztec god to whom human sacrifices were not offered. The Aztec and Maya-speaking Mexicans have not wholly forgotten him, although they have been Christians (even if only in name) for the last four hundred years. It would only be natural for a Mexican child of American Indian origin to think of Quetzalcoatl or some other god, at the time of festivity, more than to think of a fur-clad Santa Claus, and when they would think of Quetzalcoatl, they would unconsciously feel a sort of national pride in their past, of which Quetzalcoatl is but a symbol. All these evidently were in the mind of the Mexican Minister for Education when he sought to graft the name of a Mexican deity upon the greatest of Christian festivals,—when he attempted to bring about a remarkable type of synthesis in which the thought and imagination of ancient Mexico was combined with Christian and European institutions.

A similar synthesis has been effected by

Indian Muslims also. The cult of Allah and His *Rasul*, and the idealism of Iranian Sufidom, have not been able to eradicate from the deepest consciousness of the Indian Muhammadan the world of ideas of his Hindu forbears. And in many a sphere a compromise has been effected; and in spite of the sporadic attempts of Muhammadan orthodoxy which pins its faith on the Koran and on the Traditions, this compromise forms the actual or living faith of the larger portion of Indian Muslims. This kind of compromise is the rule in Indian Muslim art of all kinds—architecture and painting, music, and literature. As a typical example, mention may be made of that oldest and most important Urdu drama—the *Indar Sabha*. It is a musical ballet with a very slender plot, with the thinnest of love stories with a happy ending in the background, but it is a curious mixture of Hindu ideas and those of extra-Indian Islam. The work was composed in 1853 by Amanat, the Muhammadan court poet of the last independent Muhammadan ruler of Oudh, Wazid Ali Shah. In this work, in the court of Raja Indar Indra, the King of the Gods, that is—*Paris* (from the Paristan of Persia) sing and dance in place of the *Apsaras* of Hindu mythology, there are no Hindu *devas*—gods—in Indar's heaven,—only two *Devs* or Demons from Persian mythology figure. *Lal Dev* and *Kalu Dev*, the Red Demon and the Black Demon, who obey the behests of Indar. The *Paris* are named *Pokhras Pari*, *Nilam Pari*, *Sab Pari*: they make their obeisance to Allah, and sing in Indar's court. The King of the Gods has been transformed into a sort of inferior angel, and the sanctity of the Muhammadan *Bibisht* or Heaven has been kept intact by having Indar's *Sabha* or assembly in a separate and far away locality. No one objected to a compromise like the above,—neither the Muslim King, nor his courtiers, nor the three generations and more of Indian Muslim audiences who have been applauding the play in the theatre, and recently in the talkie.

To come back to Mexico. We may ask ourselves—what is behind this circularization by the Mexican Minister for Education? What does this gesture symptomize? On the face of it it appears so puzzling, that in Christian and a Hispanized country there should be official propaganda for the suppressed culture of the Aztecs and other "Indians." Who are the people of Mexico—what are they really? How do they live, and feel, and what do they think? How is it possible for the cult of Quetzalcoatl to be revived—even in this decorative form—at this late hour? In asking ourselves these questions, if we take stock of the actualities all over the world, one noteworthy thing at once presents itself before us; and it is this: that this desire to build up once again the broken link with the age-old spiritual and national culture in Mexico is no isolated thing; it is a product of the Time-spirit,



which has manifested itself not only in Mexico but in all lands with a history and a past, where the surging waves of national renaissance is breaking the immediate past, and under the impact of this incoming tide the edifice of a superimposed Christian and Islamic mentality is being battered and broken in many a land.

The original inhabitants of America are believed to have come over from Asia through Siberia and Alaska crossing the Behring Strait at some prehistoric epoch: in fact the Red man of America is distinctly a modification of the Yellow man of Asia. Once in America, they rapidly spread all over North and South America and under altered climatic and other conditions they slightly differentiated in the different tracts. In some parts of the present United States the Red man developed fairly advanced types of culture, but the highest achievement in civilization of the American Indian took place in Mexico and Yucatan, and second to that in Peru and Bolivia. Various American tribes in Mexico and Yucatan built up a city culture of a very high type which included architecture and sculpture, painting, and other arts and crafts, and astronomy among the sciences and the beginnings of this culture go back to centuries long before the Christian era. The cultured groups of Mexico fall into a number of related tribes, like the Nahuatl, the Tarascan, the Otomi, the Totonac, the Mixtec, the Zapotec and the Maya-Quiche, which spoke different languages but were nevertheless of the same race and possessed virtually the same culture. Of these tribes, the Maya-Quiche were by far the oldest and cleverest nation of ancient Mexico, whose art and whose huge temples in South-eastern Mexico and Yucatan still excite our wonder, and whose astronomical studies have been described as the foremost intellectual achievement of ex-Columbian America. To explain the situation in the Mexican world in terms of that of the Mediterranean world of antiquity, the Maya have been compared to the Greeks, and the Aztecs (the most prominent of the Nahuatl tribes to the Roman, while the other tribes are like the lesser nationalities of ancient Italy.

The Zapotec ruins at Mitla as much as the Maya temples at Chichen-Itza and elsewhere and some of the Aztec edifices are as noble as the architectural achievements of any people on earth. It will not be quite *a propos* to give a sketch of Mexican culture and to appraise the nature and value of Mexican civilization: for that purpose there is a modest but exceedingly well-written literature in English. The greatest blot on Mexican culture was human sacrifice on a terribly large scale as a most important rite of their religion. These human sacrifices were as frequent as they were cruel, and Mexican international or inter-tribal politics was largely based on this practice of making war to have captives for the sacrificial altar. The Aztecs were particularly guilty in this respect. But in this

matter we have the voice and evidence of the Spanish Christian priests only. Apologists finding the *raison-d'être* for this barbaric rite have not been wanting among recent historians and students of Mexican culture and antiquity; and while condemning this aspect of old Mexican religion and culture, we need not shut our eyes to the nobler aspects of Mexican religion where we can join hands with the Aztec priests, forgetting for the time being the blood that is on them from the hearts torn out of the palpitating breasts of human victims sacrificed by the dozen and the score. Leaving aside the tribes like the Mayas, the Zapotecs and others, we can take Aztec religion as typical of the rest of Mexico at the time of the conquest. The Aztec pantheon consisted of a large number of gods and goddesses, and in its richness and variety this pantheon can bear comparison with those of India, Greece, Babylon and Egypt. But three deities were outstanding figures in the Aztec Olympus—namely, Huitzilopochtli, the terrible God of War, the particular tribal god of the Aztecs; Tezcatlipoca, the God of Storms, of Life as well as Death; and Quetzalcoatl. Tezcatlipoca reminds us of our Siva in both his terrible and benign aspects—he was a Cosmic force, embracing life as a whole, he is cruel and death-bringing, and at the same time he is a god of truth and wisdom and a god of mercy. Quetzalcoatl by contrast may be compared to our Vishnu. These Gods were worshipped by most other tribes: among the Maya-Quiche, Tezcatlipoca (particularly in his aspect as a Storm-God) was known as Hurakan, the source of the English word *hurricane*; and Quetzalcoatl was known as Kukulcan, or Gucumatz. There is plenty of evidence to show that the Mexicans—at least the Aztecs—were developing the idea of monotheism through the figure of Tezcatlipoca. Some of the old Aztec prayers to this deity are as fine things as any in the way of prayer and praise, and reveal to us the height of nobility and the depth of sincerity and faith which the man-sacrificing Mexicans were capable of. To give one such prayer to Tezcatlipoca:

O mighty Lord, under whose wings we seek protection, defence and shelter! Thou art invisible, impalpable, as the air and as the night. I come in humility and in littleness, daring to appear before thy Majesty. I come uttering my words like one choking and stammering; my speech is wandering, like as the way of one who strayeth from the path and stumbleth. I am possessed of the fear of exciting Thy wrath against me rather than the hope of meriting Thy grace. But, Lord, do with my body as it pleaseth Thee, for Thou hast indeed abandoned us according to Thy counsels taken in heaven and in hell. Oh, sorrow! Thine anger and Thine indignation are descended upon us in all our days...

O Lord, very kindly! Thou knowest that

we mortals are like unto children which, when punished, weep and sigh, repenting their faults. It is thus that these men, ruined by Thy chastisements, reproach themselves grievously. They confess in Thy presence; they atone for their evil deeds, imposing penance upon themselves. Lord, very good, very compassionate, very noble, very precious! let the chastisement which Thou hast inflicted suffice, and let the ills which Thou hast sent in castigation find their end!

The name Tezcatlipoca signifies "Smoking or Fiery Mirror." (*Dhumnradarsa*, or *Jvalan-mukura*, to translate the name into Sanskrit) a round mirror of obsidian stone with fire or smoke issuing from it, signifying his power of seeing everything as in a mirror and his control over everything as of the wind over smoke, forms his symbol. Quetzalcoatl or Kukulkan means "feathered serpent" (which may be rendered into Sanskrit as *Patri-sarpa* or *Patri-naga*), a name and a figure of mystic significance, probably hinting at the god's control over the elements, like a bird on the wing and a snake under the ground. Quetzalcoatl is a civilizing deity, he is also a hero-king, and it is he, as his rites were never stained with human blood in Aztecland, who has now been set up as a fitting symbol of a revived interest in and an intensifying appreciation (we cannot as yet call it a passionate love) of the old culture of Mexico.

Ancient Mexico was thus a land of flourishing culture and was already on the way to unification as a great nation or confederation under the warlike and powerful Aztecs. The human sacrifice which was a blot on their culture would have died out gradually, as it has done in other parts of the world: it was a rite favoured particularly by the Aztecs, but other forces were already working against it. If Mexico could work out her destiny unimpeded by the disastrous foreign assault under the Spaniards, we might have seen the spectacle of a new type of culture independent of that of the old world come to full perfection. But Fate has relegated it to the lumber room of the might-have-been, and has deprived humanity of the richness and the novelty of a fresh cultural and spiritual experience. Nevertheless, the ancient culture of Mexico holds an honoured place among the results of corporate human endeavour and takes its stand worthily beside the ancient cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, Japan and China, Greece and India, and of medieval Europe as a great expression of creative energy.

The Spanish conquest came over Mexico as a scourge from God and the peoples of Mexico had to leave their task unfinished,—their destiny remained unfulfilled. To all cultured men this will be regarded as a loss to the world. Mexico fell, and seemed to fall for ever. Her ancient peoples have not wholly died out—

the Aztecs, the Otomis, the Tarascans, the Zapotecs, the Mixtecs, the Mayas and the rest are still there in their hundreds of thousands, but they have been brought low; they are completely shorn of their past glory through the last four centuries of contact with Spanish rule, which was so long based on a complete denial of their past and its achievements. All life has been crushed out of the Indians of Mexico through Spanish economic exploitation and religious intolerance and persecution. The history of Mexico for the last four hundred years, from the conquest in 1521, is a history of the gradual decay of the mental and spiritual culture of the native peoples, over and above their economic enslavement. The Aztecs and the other Mexican tribes fought the Spaniards with a superb heroism, but they could not resist the better armed and better armoured cavaliers of Spain: The Mexicans did not know the use of iron—it is surprising how they could raise such huge stone structures and could execute such detailed sculpture work without iron tools. The Spaniards continued the deliberate and systematic destruction of the native culture which had begun with the conquest, with the idea that they were doing a thing pleasing to their God. A most ruthless programme sought during the whole of the 16th century and later to do away with all the vestiges of the old religion and culture. Perhaps nowhere else in the world has the work of destruction been carried on on such a large scale. Wherever the arm of Spain extended in Mexico (as in other parts of America, people were forcibly made to acknowledge themselves as Christians, and their old temples, images, art and literature (the Mexicans had different systems of picture writing, and had a large literature with MS. books, a few of which have somehow escaped destruction and are now being published and studied by scholars) were destroyed. After which the masses were made for all practical purposes the slaves of the conquerors.

But although they were suppressed in this way the people of Mexico did not die. Outwardly forced to accept the Spanish yoke, in both economic and cultural life, the enduring vitality of this ancient and civilized race gave a subtle resistance from within. By a sort of apparent placidity which was nothing but a non-violent opposition offered by a whole people—although unconsciously—the ferocity of the spirit of the Conquistadores and their Padres has been very much whittled down. The conquerors are finding themselves conquered by the environment: they are becoming slowly and inevitably merged among the Indian people. In 1805, the different elements in the population of Mexico were as follows:

Spanish (more or less pure)	1·1 millions, 18 p.c. of the total population
Mestizo (mixed Spanish & Indian)	over 2 millions 38 p.c. " "
Pure Indian	2½ millions. 44 p.c. " "

According to the estimates for 1910, the percentage indicated below would show how the Spanish element is being absorbed :

Spanish	1.1½ millions, 7.5 p.c.
Mestizo	8 millions, 53 p.c.
Indian	6 millions, 39 p.c.

The second class—Mestizos—are mainly Indian in blood, and in their outward appearance, way of life and their temperament they approximate to the Indian rather than the Spaniard.

The history of Mexico from 1531 to 1917 meant, both to the Mexicans and to the people outside, the doings of the foreign or settled Spanish people in the country. Nobody cared whether the Indian masses existed in the land at all. They were simply native *peons*, simply Indians who were to be suffered to exist as they supplied the labour, which alone made the country go on. Their old faith and ritual was destroyed, or very nearly destroyed—they followed a curious amalgam of Spanish catholicism and their own ideas and institutions. They had their own languages, Aztec and Maya and the rest, which at one time were vehicles of the finest literature the people of the New World produced but there was no study of it, and Spanish was forced on them. There was no unity, and no aspiration for unity; the memory of their ancient feuds dating back to the pre-Spanish period still lingered in their minds. There were no leaders, as the aristocratic and thoughtful classes had all made the supreme sacrifice during the conquest. It was not possible for the Mexican masses—stunned and made dumb by the calamity of the conquest and the subsequent ruthless exploitation—to be articulate, and to seek an expression of themselves through a cultural life or rebirth.

During these four centuries, again, through the dominant influence of the culture of Spain and Europe, the Mexicans themselves altered a great deal, both in their outer economic life and in their spirit. But the impositions from the outside were slowly engrafted, and have been properly assimilated: otherwise the Indian population would not have lived on and increased. The Spanish contact has been responsible for the introduction of many of the amenities of European life among the Mexicans. The Spanish language, when all is said against Spanish occupation, has proved to be a blessing even when we regret that the development of Aztec and Maya speeches as great modern languages of America could not take place. A perfect Babel prevailed, and does prevail among the different Mexican tribes. There are according to one competent authority, 192 American Indian languages and dialects current in Mexico, to which we might add another 62 which have now become extinct; another view brings down the number to 59, distributed among 20 different families. About half Mexico is still purely Indian in language; the other half has been Hispanified. Of the major Indian languages, Nahuatl or Aztec is spoken by about a quarter

of Indian-speaking Mexicans, namely, by some 650,000 people; then comes Maya, 400,000; Zapotecan, 350,000; Otomian, 350,000; Totonacan, 75,000, and Tarascan, 40,000. The Hispanification of Indian Mexico in language is proceeding rapidly, much as a philologist would regret the ultimate loss of those interesting and historical forms of speech, the unification of the Mexicans by a great Indo-European language like Spanish will not be an unmixed evil: on the contrary it will be a blessing in disguise. The Mexicans cannot deny the last four hundred years of their national existence, and Spanish has been the predominant tone, at least outwardly of their modern life and culture. The Christianity of Mexico has on its popular side preserved a great many things connected with the old religion, among which the most noteworthy are the old dances in feathered costumes reminiscent of the pre-conquest period. The Mexicans have nationalized the Virgin Mary into a great Mother goddess who has a special pity for the Indian masses and at the shrine of Guadalupe near Mexico city the image of the Virgin is fast becoming a sort of palladium for native Mexico to which the pent up faith of the suppressed millions is aspiring. The ancient habits of life are still going strong: the old Aztec and other types of houses still persist, with a great deal of the old type of furniture; the people have as their staple food maize *tortillas*, or *chapatis* as we would call them in India, made of maize dough mashed over a stone slab by a stone pestle (in the style we pound and pulp our spices into paste for curries), which they eat with local peas and vegetables and meat highly seasoned with chilis.

The frame-work of economic and social life has on the whole persisted and it only requires freedom of movement, a little economical amelioration and education for the masses of Mexico to grow once more into a great nation, worthy descendants of the ancient Aztecs and Mayas.

The Spanish connexion with a viceroy periodically appointed by the king of Spain, was a great economic strain on Mexico, the land with its agricultural and mineral resources being ruthlessly exploited for the benefit of the Spanish royalty and its satellites. The Spaniards who had made Mexico their home felt the pinch more than anybody and with the Mestizos and their Indian tenants they rebelled against Spanish authority. Armed resistance began in 1808, and in 1820 Mexico, with her destinies in the hands of the Spanish upper class, became virtually free. Mexico was rid of a perpetual stream of needy, fortune-hunters in quest of offices and emoluments and privileges from Spain. This stream was closed after the independence, and the native people both Mestizo and Indian, freed from this perpetual drag on their progress, came to the forefront. But nobody looked at the situation from the point of view of the

submerged Indian masses who were practically slaves bound to the soil. For them the "independence" of their country did not mean much change. In 1877 Porfirio Diaz became the President of Mexico, and from 1881 to 1911, he was continually President and uncrowned autocrat of Mexico. Diaz gained considerable popularity abroad by giving foreign commercial people and exploiters of Mexican resources, considerable privileges at the expense of the Indian masses. A superficial prosperity marked by an increased volume of commerce and building of roads and railways characterized the period of his domination, but the Indians were slowly being driven to desperation by certain old privileges and rights such as the communal ownership of the land being taken away from them. In the meanwhile a sort of pride in the past of Mexico and a changed attitude towards the achievement of her ancient peoples was making themselves manifest among the ever-decreasing Spanish elite of Mexico and the ever-increasing group of Mestizos. The solid block of the Indian masses for the first time began to be given recognition, and cultured Mexicans of Spanish origin realized the great qualities of the people which still retained an ingrained sense of art and civilization even in the days of their fall and full decadence and sought to make amends for the injustice of the centuries done to them. The Mexican *Intelligentia* turned to the people for inspiration in their life and work. Artists studied their own people with a sympathetic eye and scientists began to advise a more rational attitude towards Indian life and mentality than that preached by the Roman Catholic Church. An anthropologist like Manuel Gamio showed the proper way of guiding the Mexican masses, simple and yet inheritors of a great culture. Of the artists Diego Rivera's is the greatest name, and Rivera is acknowledged to be one of the greatest artists of the world today, a man of international fame. He turned to the Mexican people, and his sympathetic rendering of the life of the masses of Mexico is one of the great things given to the world by art and by Mexico.

In the field of politics and economics and legislation, the influence of this altered attitude began to make itself felt. After a number of revolutions, the famous land law of Mexico was passed in 1917, which has rehabilitated the Mexican peasant and has enabled him to make a fresh start in life to work out his destiny. With the attendant economic freedom, they are now in a position to improve their lot along lines most suitable to their environment and history. With the sort of education inaugurated for them by Gamio and Atl and other leaders of Mexican thought, they are being brought to a position when they can find themselves—understand the value of their past culture and give once again their best to the world.

All this movement—economic and cultural—has been called the Indian renaissance in Mexico. (It was through Columbus's mistake that he discovered India when he reached America that the original people of America got the name which properly belongs to us—an original "native" in Spanish America is an *Indio* just as his brother in Anglo-Saxon America is an *Indian* or a *Red Indian*.) One remarkable thing in this Indian renaissance of Mexico is that the descendants of the Conquistadors, among whom the bluest blood of Spain is well represented, have joined wholeheartedly in this "native revival" and naturally enough, it is their superior intelligence and power of organization which has inaugurated the movement and is helping it on. Dr Atl, one of the Spanish leaders of this movement, is typical of these highly cultured men. His original name was Gerardo Murillo, but he has taken an Aztec name (*Atl* means 'water' in Aztec) in order to show his whole-hearted interest in this Mexican renaissance. Another artist, a lady named Carmen Mondragon, has assumed the Indian name of *Nahui Olin* ("the Four Movements of the Sun").

The Indian masses of Mexico never lost their innate courtesy and their sense of beauty. Their folk art is one of the most exquisite things in the world. The woollen *Sarapes* of Mexico or small blankets with a slit in the middle (the garment which is called the *poncho* in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia) which forms the characteristic coat of the Mexican peasantry, are woven by hand-loom in most marvellous designs and colour-schemes, and modern decorative art is learning something from these *sarape* designs. Decorated pottery is another old Mexican art which received a fresh impetus from the Spaniards, who taught the Indians a good many things from the coloured pottery art of Europe. The Indian sense of design and colour is wonderful. The leaders of the Indian renaissance have given a great impetus to Mexican folk art, and by holding exhibitions and festivals they are reviving the interest of the people in their national art, their old dances and civic ceremonies, and their regional costumes. The people of Mexico are quite content to follow the lead of the Education Department in this matter.

The power and prestige of the Roman Catholic priesthood began to wane as a result of this national and cultural revival. Education began to undermine the influence of the priests. Unfortunately for the Roman Church, its hand on the economic life was a heavy one, and the morals and piety of most of the priests were deplorable. The Roman Catholic Church owned a great deal of the land, and when the agrarian law of 1917 was promulgated, the Church joined hands with the big *hacendados*—*xamindars* as we would call them in Bengal—and with spiritual

influence persuaded certain sections among the illiterate Indian masses to rebel against the law. The result was that counter-revolutions and small religious wars started and the Roman Catholic Church tried all its weapons of excommunication and cursing delinquents to eternal damnation, besides inciting its supporters to armed revolt. But the mass of Mexican peasantry remained sound and rallied round the regime which gave them land and liberty. The Mexican Republic finally in disgust and as a necessary self-protective measure banished all Roman Catholic priests who would not register themselves with the Government. After the long period of four hundred years, Mexico at least became free from the Roman Catholic imposition. This has been a great help to the Indian Renaissance.

It would of course be a great exaggeration to suggest that the worship of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, of Tlaloc and Xilonen could be revived once again, or that the better and bright side of Christianity would ever cease to influence the Mexican masses. The old traditions are gone: although here and there some fragments of it are peeping behind Roman Catholic ritual—there are always these heathen idols behind Christian altars—it would be too much to expect a wholesale revival. But the Mexicans will not regard, as they have always been taught to do so by the Christian *Padres*, that when their ancestors loved and worshipped was merely they did so at the instigation of Satan. It can be hoped that they will feel a proper glow of pride in the achievements of their ancestors, and they will accept thankfully from their national life and culture and from the religious heritage from their ancestors those elements which are noblest and which are most enduring and can help to build up a noble and beautiful character, and will consciously harmonize it with the moral training and discipline of Christianity. They will be able to beautify their lives much more with the aesthetic sense of old Mexico. And they will be established once again in self-respect and self-confidence through this revived self-knowledge.

After four long centuries, Mexico is becoming alive once more to her ancient natural culture. A similar thing has manifested itself among the Turks, and from time to time we get glimpses how it is reacting upon the Moslem side of the Turkish character: the Turk now wants to be great as a *Turk*, and he does not want to suppress the *Turk* by the Mussalman: the faith born in the desert of Arabia has not been congenial to the man from the steppes of Central Asia nurtured in the atmosphere of Byzantine Greece—that is the opinion of many a Turkish intellectual and thought-leader. The highly-cultured Aryan Persian was conquered by the Semitic Arab in the 7th century, and had to adopt the latter's creed. Persia has never been able to forget the sorrow and the

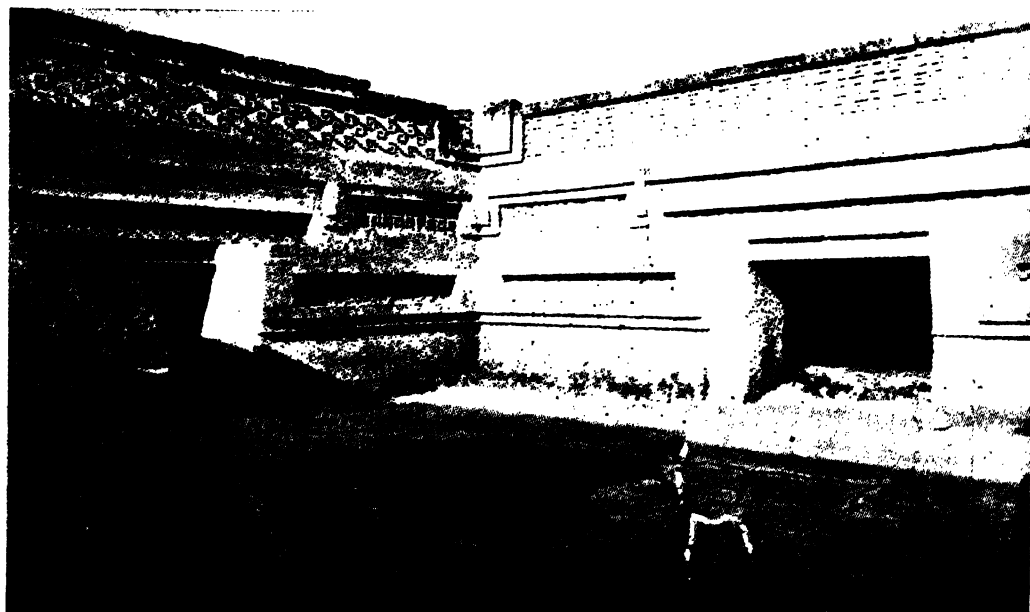
shame of this foreign conquest, physical and cultural: and because deep down in the Persian mind there was this sense of resentment that Persia could express her most profound self in her Sufi poetry and philosophy, which, although opposed to the spirit of the Koran, is one of the greatest things in Islamic culture. Persia could not forget her glorious past even when under the tutelage of Islam; that is why she feels exalted at the mention of her pre-Islamic heroes, Rüstam and Darab, Ardeshir Babagan and Shahpuhr, and Nushirvan. At the touch of the magic wand of European culture and European training, the sleeping consciousness of Persia is awake once more, and she is feeling a sort of repugnance for the Arab's language and mentality, and even for the religion that came to her from Arabia. This is clear on all sides. The movement to purify the Persian language by removing its Arabic element (which would appear to be an impossible task now), to substitute the Roman script, or even the Avestan, for the Arabic in which Persian began to be written from after the Arab conquest, the welcome accorded to the Parsis, banished Zoroastrians from Persia, and an increased interest in Zoroastrianism and in ancient Persian history—these are outward symptoms of an inward change. What all this will result in we can only wait and see.

Thus in most lands which have been under the shadow of an alien culture we see a movement for a revived nationalism. The people of Egypt have become Arabized in language and religion, but they are the true descendants of the pyramid builders of ancient Egypt. They have now grown self-conscious once more, as the sons of this oldest people, and are once more studying the history and literature, religion and art of their ancestors: and a modern school of painting and sculpture in Egypt is even seeking inspiration from the deathless creations in art which emanated from ancient Egypt and which form such a valuable heritage of man for his aesthetic, even spiritual exaltation.

The Indian Mussalman similarly is bound to look back sooner or later with pride and affection upon the achievements of his ancient Indian ancestors, upon the heritage which he will learn sooner or later to regard as the fountain-head of the highest mental and spiritual culture, however much he might direct his attention to other lands now: his creed will continue to take a deeper and deeper colouring imaginable from his environment and from his fundamental race-consciousness. The mind of the cultured Indian Mussalman is slowly becoming responsive to all this: the call of Mother India will have its appeal to her Mussalman son, as much as the call of Quetzalcoatl is being listened to by the present-day Christian Mexican. On that auspicious day when the Indian Mussalman will whole-heartedly respond to this call all the miseries of India will end.



Zapotec Palace at Mitla



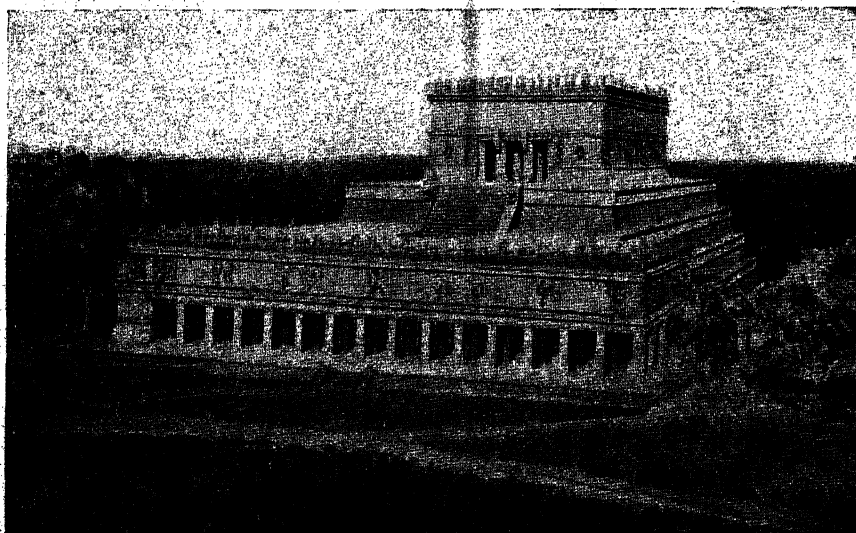
Interior of court of Zapotec Palace—Mitla



A part of the Aztec Temple of Quetzalcoatl



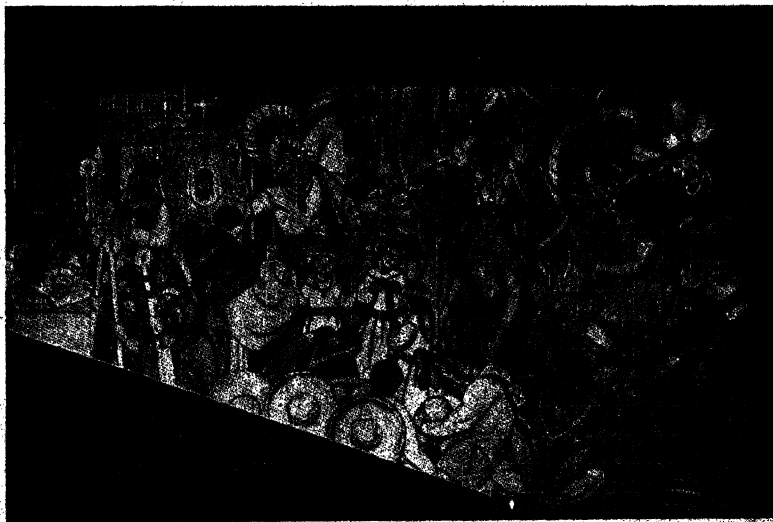
Design on a Maya vase



Restoration of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itza



A Mexican market (Zapotecs at Tehuantepec)



The Feast of Chalma (Painting by Fernando Leal)





Dr. Atl



Drawing of man in ceremonial  
costume from a Maya  
bas-relief



Diego Rivera



Stone Figure of  
Quetzalcoatl



Stone Figure of Xochipilli, the Aztec  
God of Flowers, Song, Dance  
and Games

## NEED OUR SCHOOLS CONTINUE GODLESS

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M. A., PH. D.

**P**ARADOXICAL though it may seem, religion has been and is as much a divisive force as it is a binding factor in the evolution of society. In the name of religion man serves man and in the name of religion man persecutes man; in the name of religion man loves man, and in the name of religion man hates man. And whenever religious differences happen to coincide, however slightly, with lines of political or racial cleavage, the opposition developed becomes hopelessly implacable and horribly destructive. Hence to avoid religious wars and inhuman persecutions, religion has been made the concern of the individual rather than that of the State. Political evolution therefore has tended naturally towards progressive separation of Church and State. Because of such divorce, the State, which once was supposed to depend on the Church as means of fullest service and control, and which, consequently, fostered religious education in a variety of ways, has gradually eschewed it from the curriculum of public schools in the interest of religious neutrality, and made it over to the tender mercies of religious organizations themselves.

In India also the plea of non-interference in matters of religion has been remarkably successful. In the interest of this principle of neutrality, our Government has so secularized the educational system as to exclude moral instruction completely from public schools. And unfortunately these godless schools have also served as models for numerous founders of private schools. Strange as it may appear, even Christian Mission institutions, which used to give compulsory religious instruction, have sold their religion for 'thirty pieces of silver,' and have accepted for the sake of Government's financial support a purely secular curriculum. Since man is 'incurably religious' in India at least, and since the goal of the entire educative process is moral, it is hard to understand how we have been so far satisfied

to receive a purely secular education. Our leaders seem to have been unconscious of the fact that at each step in the elimination of religious instruction from public schools, our society was assuming increased risks, since an education which is not religious is unsafe both for the individual and for the State. The business of education, it is maintained, is to develop the physique, train the mind and cultivate the soul. While our institutions have been trying to function, however imperfectly, in the first two directions, they have sadly, but deliberately, been neglecting the cultivation of the pupils' spiritual resources. And the result is that we find modern India in the grip of a frightful inertia, caused partly by political subjection and partly by the domination of irreligion. Our ideals have sunk low; our character has become weak and our will feeble.

However, we must be thankful for the new national awakening which has made us conscious of our moral deterioration, and of the shortcomings of our present system of education. "The schools, it is felt, (and the criticism is extended to the colleges), fail" says the Calcutta University Commission's Report, "in the formation of character. Put more explicitly this criticism charges the schools with failure to convey to a boy's mind a clear apprehension of an ideal of duty. Pressed further home, the charge amounts to more even than this: it implies that the schools have no spiritual life which touches a boy's inner nature, no corporate unity which appeals to and can sustain his affectionate loyalty, no moral or intellectual flame which may kindle his emotions." Hence "it must be acknowledged," concludes the Report, "the work of the schools as a whole is bleak and barren." In view of this deplorable condition, our educational experts and political leaders now feel that something must be done to save our people from a moral collapse, but they fight shy of making religious instruction a part of the public school

curriculum. They declare, and that not without reason, that our educational institutions should be kept free from sectarian dissension, difference and conflict. But then some solution must be found, and ways and means must be devised, for the building up of character in the future citizens of India.

There is a widespread recognition not only in India but in all progressive countries of the world, that an education which does not rest on a religious foundation is worse than ignorance. History shows that nations have made their education a means for the attainment of the things they value most. As power, learning, piety, skill, wealth and the like, became in turn the object of desire, so the means of securing them became the object of study. Athens, valuing beauty, symmetry and harmony, both physical and intellectual, sought through her great teachers to cultivate a love of the true, the beautiful and the good. Rome, exalting law, authority and conquest, instructed her youth in oratory and military tactics. So also if we really desire sterling character, it must be made an educational objective, and all our schools must be compelled to give moral training to their pupils. England requires moral instruction in her national and church schools on the plea that it is necessary to "maintain her commercial supremacy;" Germany wants it "for the sake of industrial efficiency." And we want it in order to provide our youth with the necessary moral stamina to bear the burdens and responsibilities of a free India.

We must not become discouraged because of the difficulties we are likely to encounter in enforcing religious instruction in public schools. Such difficulties, we must bear in mind, are not peculiar to ourselves. The recent conflict between the Pope and the Premier in Italy was at bottom a question of religious education of the young. Somewhat similar to our own situation is that which obtains in the United States of America. In India we have the Hindu, Muslim, Parsee and Christian communities; besides these, there are ever so many smaller groups. Is it possible to satisfy the demands of so many communities? This problem is not dissimilar to that of America where one finds the Jewish, Catholic, Protestant and Mormon communities.

Outside of these major communities, there are other sects and sub-sects. How is religious instruction to be given to the representatives of these diverse groups? This is, indeed, a very vexing problem,—a problem which the nation has been facing since its very birth. Nevertheless, some experiments are now being tried in the different parts of the United States. Believing that the morals of a community depend upon its religion, the Interfaith Committees and also other leaders of the different religious groups are making a united effort to surmount the difficulties and devise a satisfactory plan for religious education of the youth of the nation. Since any success attained in this direction cannot but be of value to others in the same position, it may not be out of place to see how America is meeting the situation.

In the United States all the early educational institutions were founded with a distinctly religious bias. This is true not only of such institutions as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Brown and Rutgers but also of most of the private colleges organized later. Many of them serve as organs of particular sects or denominations, and are, therefore, not only authorized but expected to teach the religious doctrine of their founders. They may be likened to our Hindu and Muslim universities in a general way. But when the Federal Government was organized nothing was said about religion in the Constitution itself, but the first amendment made the following provision: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Similar provisions are found in all the State Constitutions, and most of them prohibit sectarian teaching and influences. In six of the Constitutions the term "religion or religions" is used in addition to the prohibition of sectarianism. "No atheistic, infidel, sectarian, religious or denominational doctrine" reads the statute of the Mormon State of Utah, "shall be taught in any of the district schools of the State." In most cases laws are enacted to cover points not touched by the Constitutions themselves. These laws, like the Constitutions, usually prohibit sectarian influence and propaganda rather than the teaching of religion as such.

## NEED OUR SCHOOLS CONTINUE GODLESS ?

Not being satisfied with the situation in public schools, religious America has been trying earnestly for the past few years to find a satisfactory solution to this problem. As a result of the agitation carried on by religious leaders, the Court of Appeal of the State of New York, rendered a decision in May, 1927, to the effect that for an hour a week children may be lawfully permitted, upon the request of their parents, to attend religious instruction in such centres outside of school as parents shall designate. Similarly some of the other States are trying to solve the problem of religious education by special provision. In Minneapolis, for instance, an experiment was started about eight years ago; and this experiment, by keeping the traditional separation of the State and the Church complete and intact, has succeeded in avoiding the bitter controversies that usually arise when efforts are made to introduce religious instruction in public schools. According to the Minneapolis scheme, the classes of religious education for all Protestant denominations,—which are not a few,—are organized under the auspices of the Minneapolis Church Federation, a group combining most of the Protestant Churches of the city. In addition to this, the Catholics and the Christian Scientists have established their own classes, each being entirely separate from the Federation. So also the Jews conduct their classes independently of the Federation.

This scheme makes it quite evident that the real responsibility of religious education is borne by religious organizations, not by public schools. What then, one may ask, is the part of the public school in this plan of religious education? Its part is only to release its pupils at the appointed time from other work so as to enable them to attend their classes of religious instruction. To this end the State law had to be amended, vesting such powers on the head master or the principal. Since the new law requires that the classes of religious education be maintained in some place outside the public school building, these classes are held in the church nearest to the school, and never more than two furlongs distant. Thus the children to whom religious instruction is imparted are at that time entirely outside the public school

premises. And these special classes for moral training have come to be designated as the school of religious education. Further, the law requires the child's parent or guardian to send in an application requesting that the child be allowed to undergo religious training. Though the number of hours for which the child could be excused for such instruction is three a week, yet only one hour is being utilized at present.

In this experiment one finds four fundamental principles in operation. The first one is that classes in religious instruction should be held outside the public school building. No member of the school staff is allowed to have any connection whatever with it. The second principle is that the attendance of pupils should be optional and subject to the parents' approval. Incidentally it may be mentioned that there is also a rule that unless 50 per cent of the Protestant children in the district desire the school of religious education, it should not be established. The third principle, and an important one, is that such a school should be staffed with teachers highly qualified in religious education. From the beginning the advocates of schools for religious education realized that to make such schools effective, they must be supplied with teaching of a quality at least as high as that in public schools. A teacher, for instance, in the Minneapolis school of religious education is required to have, besides the normal school training, a minimum of three years' experience in public school teaching and a minimum of two years' Church school or Sunday school teaching. Moreover, he or she must also meet the scholastic requirements of having specialized in religious education, mental hygiene and supervision of education. Above all these, the teacher is required to pass stringent tests of character and personality, the latter including a knowledge of child nature, tact in handling children, appearance, health and so forth. The last principle is that the teaching content should be non-sectarian, but based on general spiritual needs.

The main aim of the school of religious education is to give religion its legitimate place in the life of the child, and to aid in developing in the pupil high ideals of character and citizenship. Classroom work consists in

The salutation of the flag, (the love of the country is not overlooked while teaching the love of God), memorizing select passages from the Bible, discussions on the problems of morality, methods of worship and the development of personal habits. A large amount of the material for instruction is drawn from the Bible, while the life of Christ is made the supreme example in the adventure of living a full life. The Minneapolis experiment is considered a great success, and after eight years' trial, it has now become an established institution in the life of the community. The enrolment of pupils in this school of religious education has increased to such an extent that new plans are now under way for its extension. During this short period of its existence, the school has succeeded in a remarkable way not only in raising the moral tone of the districts but in promoting a feeling of co-operation and goodwill among the different communities. Would it not be possible for our political leaders and educational experts to work out a similar scheme for the religious education of our boys and girls? The children of today make the State of tomorrow. In view of all the changes that are taking place now in our political and social life, I believe this aspect of the education of Indian youth ought not to be neglected.

Some maintain that religious training is not the concern of the school. This, they say, is the business of the home. There is, of course, no question about the value of home training, provided the home is an ideal one and the parents are not only alive to their obligation to give such training but are capable of discharging such duties. Unfortunately, owing to a century or more of social, economic and cultural changes, there has come a moral deterioration in the home also, so much so, that parents themselves are now in need of such instruction. How then can we shift the entire responsibility of character training to the home? Further, it must be noted that there is a strong tendency on the part of our people to separate religion and morality. To many religion seems to mean only ritual; whereas in the point of view maintained in this article, religion and morality are inseparably connected. The function of the school of religious education then must be not to

train the pupils in rituals and dogmas but to build character. It must seek not merely to supply the intellect with moral standards and ideals, but to train the will to choose aright. The education of the will is the supreme aim of moral instruction, and this type of training certainly cannot be undertaken by the average parent of today.

Unfortunately, even our present school life, as the child finds it, is too forced and artificial. It is not real and the child knows it. The material with which the school deals is far remote from the child's natural interests. He fails to see its connection with the hard facts of everyday living. Naturally therefore he does not take his school life as seriously as he does his life outside the school. To make matters worse, even the point of contact between teacher and pupil is intellectual and academic rather than personal and inspirational. Not only the environment of the school but even the content of his studies and the moral standards of the school appear to him as merely academic. This rather negative condition of our school life can be overcome; we need only to enrich the curriculum and vitalize the activities of the school by an infusion of the warm currents of the child's every-day interests and experiences outside the school. Unless we are able to do this, we must content ourselves with merely skimming the ground of moral training in the education of our youth.

Religious education is always a means not only of furthering each type of faith but even more of making its social application effective. Social stability, altruistic service and moral temperance must begin with the character training of children. It is true that the religious demands even now do give room to controversy, persecution and proselytization. But because of that, shall we ignore the most important phase of a child's education? What we must rather do is to break away from the obstructing traditions and try, as Prof. John Dewey says, to reach "that type of religion which will be the fine flower of the modern spirit's achievement. Perhaps a fully developed but non-sectarian programme of social education in our public schools may succeed in promoting widespread respect in youth for the social values of all religions.

## PSYCHOLOGY OF FEMININENESS

Perhaps the gradual acceptance of certain basic principles of social evolution will help our people to understand that the religious life,—beliefs, rituals, institutions and the like,—must perpetually change as knowledge expands and men's group relationship widens. The social education process of public schools need not necessarily include religious teaching, much less religious propaganda. They may well include an objective and dispassionate study of the social values of all religions, and the promotion and respect for all as among the achievements of human effort.

The problem of moral training is primarily a phase of the larger problem of social education. Apart from participation in social life, the principles and precepts of ethics have no significance. Formal instruction in morals is good, so far as it goes, but unfortunately it does not go far enough. Formal instruction often gives the pupil only an intellectual recognition of the principles of conduct, and that is why mere knowledge of what is right does not make a person do the right. Such education, therefore, must be supplemented by opportuni-

ties for practice. Hence social life or school must be natural and as nearly as possible a reproduction of the healthiest social life of the community. The present artificiality of the school atmosphere is an outcome of the tendency of the school, as an institution, to develop a life of its own which becomes more or less independent of the society it serves. This tendency of the school to become artificial and isolated from the life of the people must be checked. A more widespread conception of the school as a social institution, a medium of social conservation and regeneration, must displace the all too common and narrow idea of its function as that of merely imparting a little formal knowledge. To provide adequate and definite instruction in right living; to provide inspiration and the necessary stimulus to choose the right, and to perfect the will by giving opportunities for the execution of right desires: these are pre-eminently the functions of the school. To neglect the instruction and training of the child in right living is to deprive him of his best and highest birth-right.

## PSYCHOLOGY OF FEMININENESS IN RELATION TO THE GANDHI MOVEMENT

By SURENDRANATH BOSE.

### INTRODUCTION

**W**AR, on the whole, is the destruction of the weaker by the stronger. Its abolition can be achieved by the exertions of an opposite power whose function is to protect the weaker against the stronger. There is such a power in Nature: it resides in the heart of woman. The woman secretes milk in her breast to save the more feeble than herself from death; this is a natural feminine function which points to the fact that she enshrines also a feeling in her breast which will save "man's feeble race" from the horrors of war if she could mother the race.

The present essay aims to suggest a method by which feminine power may develop into a Matriarchy which will ultimately lead to the abolition of war.

### FEMININENESS

Feminineness does not mean the same thing as effeminacy. Effeminacy means the desire to be protected and supported by others. Such a state of mind may come to persons of both sexes, though, it has become normal to women on account of circumstances imposed upon them by men. Among the lower animals, there is no effeminacy, but there is feminineness.

Feminineness belongs to the female only. It is in the womb of the female that the child is conceived and lives for a period of several months, and it is on her milk that it feeds and grows. In the matter of reproducing a new life clothed with her own flesh and blood and nourished with her own milk, the female acquires experiences and feelings of which her male companion can know nothing. This province of

mentality which is unknown to the male. It is the feminineness of the female, and the psychic forces of inestimable value to the race.

### FEMININENESS AND WAR

*Feminineness contains an element of psychic force which can abolish war.*

War is the destruction of the weaker by the stronger. Its abolition can be effected only by a power which is of an opposite nature, that is, by a power whose function is the protection of the weaker against the stronger. Such a power exists in the feminineness of the woman.

Woman secretes milk in her breast to preserve the life of the weaker than herself. This is a natural biological function in her. A natural function is, in all cases, accompanied by an instinctive genius which is appropriate to that function. Woman's natural function, just spoken of, shows that she possesses a genius which knows how to protect the weaker against the stronger.

The protection of the weaker against the stronger is called humanity. It is opposed to brutality, which is the instinct of the stronger to prey upon the weaker. It is humanity which has evolved the human society with its various civilizations and laws, which all aim at the protection of weakness against harm.

Civilization owes its origin to the humanity of the woman. The rise of civilization began in those days of the primitive times when women disengaged themselves from destructive kinds of work, such as hunting, fighting and plundering, and, leaving these to the men, settled down to the invention and performance of constructive kinds of work,—which were suggested to them by their humane feelings for the offspring,—such as spinning, weaving, basketry, pottery, cookery, midwifery, herbal-doctoring, dairy-keeping, child-nursing and the like. (Briffault: *The Mothers*).

War is an evolution of brutality and a reversion to barbarism. A few months of war may undo all that has been gained by centuries of humanism and civilization.

A certain amount of cruelty,—a capacity for resisting and killing an attacker,—must be natural to woman; for she has to save her offspring from enemies who surround it. The occasional cruelty of woman is not warlike; it is a protest against the warlike spirit. Wars and fights of woman mostly arise from motives of protecting the weaker or the peace-loving against the stronger or the warlike, as shown in the legends of mythology. Although she is naturally so weak and timid, yet to protect the weaker creature, woman can openly attack enemies a hundred times stronger than herself. In the majority of cases, women have participated in war, and shown heroism, to alleviate the sufferings of its victims. The unselfish character of woman's humanity is shown by the fact that a mother

rebukes her own child when she finds it molesting some weaker creature, as for example, the young of a bird's nest. "Woman does not feel gratified for the honour done to her son for killing some other woman's babies." (Bernard Shaw: *The Intelligent Woman's Guide*).

While feminineness is characterized by cruelty to the attacker, the martial spirit is characterized by cruelty to the defender. In fact, the fury of an attack in warfare is proportioned to the obstinacy of the defence. It is the same thing as the ferocity of the beasts of prey, which is incensed tenfold at the victim's attempt to escape.

Feminineness, being opposed to war in so many respects, must have a power which can contribute to the abolition of war from human society.

### FEMININENESS AND PEACE

*Feminineness contains an element of psychic force which can organize peace.*

To attain peace an economical organization of society is necessary, such as will make provision for the unprovided. Men go to enlist as soldiers because they cannot find provision for themselves in the economical organization of society.

The secretion of milk in woman is, as has been said before, a natural biological function in her. This enables her to make provision for the unprovided. Corresponding to this functional activity there exists in woman a genius for economy. It is a fact that the administration of most of the family income has belonged to the occupation of wife and mother, who has shown in it better economic capacity than men. The maternal instincts which created the Motherhood formed by the mother and her offspring, are the original forces which gave rise to the home and domestic economy, and thence organized the state with its political economy. (Cf. Bernard Shaw: *The Intelligent Woman's Guide*; Briffault: *The Mothers*).

The indifference of women to the problems of social economy is due partly to the present system of education which denies them all knowledge of economics but chiefly to the existing organization of the State, which does not make provisions for their children, so that every mother has to provide for her own child against the State. Yet it is a significant fact that women are more inclined to share their provisions among themselves than to snatch provisions from one another.

Social economy aims at the fitting of as many as possible to survive. War upsets the social economy and substitutes for it the opposite condition of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest.

Feminineness being thus the originator of the peaceful condition of the home, must have a power which can contribute to the organization of peace in human society.\*

## PSYCHOLOGY OF FEMININENESS



Children snatched from their mothers' breasts and dashed to death by invading soldiers

### FEMININENESS AND UNITY

*Feminineness contains an element of  
psychic force which can establish unity*

Speaking generally, differences among men arise from their want of mutual understanding, while their unity arises from mutual understanding. Thus greater unity is possible among men who speak or understand the same language than among those whose speeches are unintelligible to one another. But apart from spoken language there is an unspoken language by which mutual understanding is possible even among peoples of outlandish tongues, namely, sympathy, the language of the heart.

Sympathy is innate in the female mind; it is the feeling of the mother. Miss Florence Nightingale and her army have shown that even childless womanhood is clothed with all the sympathetic feelings of the mother. The existence of the same feelings in a baby girl is betrayed by her affection for her doll. Woman is a born mother.

Made by Nature to bear a stranger within her, woman is naturally more sympathetic to a stranger, and understands the needs of a stranger

better, than man. The history of primitive societies shows that "it is the woman who faces the stranger"; that even where the status of women is one of subjection, "it is nevertheless the woman who naturally takes the lead in negotiations with strangers." In modern society, the General Federation of Women's Clubs includes among its aims and objects "a better understanding of international relations." (Briffault: *The Mothers*; Encyclopaedia Britannica: *Art., Woman*.)

International unity will come from women of the future society. Feminineness is the guardian of that wisdom which prevents fights among children and maintains unity among them. It will be the guardian of that wisdom which will prevent wars among nations and maintain unity among them when it will be in a position to mother the race in addition to mothering babies. Obviously, the capability of maintaining unity among children argues the possession of a faculty for maintaining unity among nations.

Feminineness, being thus gifted with sympathy for strangers, must have a power which can contribute to the establishment of unity among the nations of mankind, which are still strangers to one another.



**THE FEMINE DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE  
RISE OF MATRIARCHY AS THE POWER  
ANTAGONISTIC TO WAR**

The mere fact that feminineness is opposed to war cannot abolish war. Feminineness exists among the beasts also. With a view to abolishing war, it is necessary to educate and employ the feminine genius in such a way that it may not only create a peace propaganda which may be more powerful than the military propaganda but also give the challenge to war. There must be a system of training the women for this great task.

Further, when women have been given the proper education and employment, they must be given also the proper opportunity to create international institutions by which the feeble and abortive efforts of individual mothers will be consolidated or replaced by powerful and co-ordinated social activities on the part of the community at large. Without such co-operating organizations, even the noblest efforts of the most devoted mother could not save her child from the ever-threatening storms of war.

The institution of co-operating international organizations of women will evolve Matriarchy or a body-politic of mothers, which will become an integral part of the state government. But this requires that women should first be made economically independent of men.

Hitherto women, being systematically kept under subjection to men, could not presume to think of their economic independence. The emancipation of women has now thrown open the paths of independence to their vision. It has created a sex rivalry in which women are competing with men in all the spheres of activity. In this way women might enter into military affairs and discover ways to bring all wars of bloodshed to an end. But it is to be feared that, apart from the as yet undecided question of impairment of women's feminineness by their doing of masculine kinds of work, women will hardly be able to maintain their economic independence of men by sheer competition with them; for women suffer from natural impediments which will give the advantage to men. Hence a method must be devised by which women will get adequate opportunities to become economically independent of men without competing with them. It has already been found that the state can make it practicable for women to work without prohibiting or preventing maternity. (Havelock Ellis: *The Family*).

If legislation may take account of women's physical make-up and secure the social interest in a healthy womanhood by imposing, as it does, restrictions affecting industrial employment which apply to women only, then it may equally take account of women's psychological make-up and secure the wider interest in a powerful motherhood by making a division of labour for women with respect to certain spheres of activity provided with restrictions which apply to men only.

The possession by women of a special feminine province of mind unknowable to men has enabled them in the past to dissociate their activities from those of men and lay the foundation of peace in the home; the same qualification entitles them now to specialize in certain spheres of activity with a view to laying the foundation of peace in the world.

Without doubt, since men and women are different, there will be certain kinds of work for which men and women will respectively be better or less well-adapted. Division of labour is, in fact, of sexual origin; it originated in the family with the specialization of duties between man and woman. Undoubtedly, division of labour between the two natural divisions of mankind, namely, the two sexes, is more reasonable than the existing division of labour among several fictitious divisions of mankind such as the castes or orders of society. At all events, it is unfair to allot all remunerative labour to one sex and make the other sex dependent on the former's earnings. Civilization without a feminine division of labour is an organized insult to womankind. (Royden: *Women and the Sovereign State*; Dow: *Society and its Problems*; Samson: *The New Humanism*).

Division of labour does not much exist among the lower animals, and, without it, man also would have remained at the merely animal level. It was division of labour which made the barbarians civilized. The progress of culture is everywhere marked by growing refinements in division of labour. An improvement in division of labour, founded on biological facts of sex, will facilitate the attainment of a higher state of civilization and culture. (Cf. Adam Smith: *The Wealth of Nations*; Walker: *Political Economy*; Marshall: *Economics of Industry*; Ogburn: *The Social Sciences*; Mackenzie: *Introduction to Social Philosophy*; Samson: *The New Humanism*).

As to what are the feminine occupations which should be reserved for women, this is a question of detail; what is important is the principle. There are great statesmen and expert administrators, with strong common sense and deep insight into the feelings of others, to whom the work of determining the feminine division of labour might be safely entrusted. It may be remarked in this connection that although, in these modern times, spinsters cannot be expected to replace the spinning machines nor daughters to go back to their dairies, yet the value of old traditions in effecting a reformation peacefully should not be under-estimated. The International Matriarchy Act may be best begun by restoring to women the industries of which they were the originators. This may be the beginning of a League of Mothers to enforce peace among the nations.

Sex-Division of work and wages will bring to

## PSYCHOLOGY OF FEMININENESS

women their real economic independence of men. Out of the economic independence of women will arise those co-operating international organizations which will evolve Matriarchy, as said above. A fully developed, genuine Matriarchy, which is quite different from mere Matrilinealism or Gynaeocracy or Queendom, has not yet been established on earth. (*Cf. Dow: Society and its Problems; Lowie: Primitive Society.*) Once it has been established in these modern days, its progress will not take a long time to bring it into collision with Militarism and the propaganda of war.

Whether women's war against militarism will be one of bloodshed or not, is a question which remains unanswered. The Aryans propagated a symbol of worship in which Ten Hands from among the mothers are incorporated into a Matriarchal body called Durga or the inviolable) which has engaged the State-lion (that is, the Patriarchal Power) to assist in the bloody war of destroying the Devil of militarism and initiating a new era of peace in which Angels visit the earth.

### MATRIARCHY AND THE FUTURE OF SOCIETY

It is evident that Matriarchy will seek to remove all causes of crimes and wars.

Crimes and wars can be abolished, but not the spirit which prompts men to them,—the daring and enterprising spirit. Peace is only a transformation of that spirit from the destructive to the constructive form.

While physical daring has been required in the exploits of war, moral courage will be required in the achievements of peace. The work of peace will be an unending increase of progressive reformation and culture. By reformation is meant the conquest of Nature by man; while culture means the acquisition of newer and newer mental powers which can more and more understand the laws and conquer the forces of Nature. The aid of Matriarchy will be particularly valuable in the work of peace. For women will strike out according to their natural peace-loving inclinations and,—with the practical sense, attention to minute and precision of work characteristic of the sex,—cultivate fields that men would never have cultivated. "They will thus add to the world's progress." (*Cf. Ward: Applied Sociology*). Hitherto, all attempts at reformation and culture have been systematically arrested by the opposition of the masses of uneducated, ignorant and superstitious women; Matriarchy will lift them from the quagmire of superstition, and then they will learn to pay more attention to the heaven and hell of this world than to those of the other world.

The individual has known peace and security in the lap of the mother; the race will find peace and security in the lap of Matriarchy.

### REFORMATION

Without an efficient Matriarchy the reformation of woman has meant the offering of her as sexual prey to males and of her as financial prey to females. It is a material necessity that in order to make men her prey without herself becoming their sexual prey woman will be scheming and practising in deceit upon men. No question of female frailty or deceitfulness arises in connection with females who are economically independent of males, as among the primitive folks and animals.

Matriarchy will mean the suppression and reformation of those among men and women who would choose to be dissipators or tempters. *It will mean the removal of all real or supposed objections to the emancipation of women.* The criminal reformation of the future proceed on a psychopathological basis.

Crimes and wars are due to the interaction of two things, namely, weakness and brutality. With the progress of Matriarchal legislation, weakness will be armed with strength while brutality will be suppressed; for humaneness or the protection of the weak against the strong is the natural disposition and guiding principle of the motherkind, as has been said above. The crafts which profit by war and therefore promote the causes of war will lose their jobs and become extinct.

The expansive force of overpopulation carried with it a state of war. The regulation of population will be possible only through the co-operation of Matriarchy with the State. Restriction of increase of population is not a greater evil than the massacre of a surplus population. (*Bernard Shaw: Woman's Guide*).

But the chief thing which furnishes cause of crimes and wars is property. The State, as present, plays the game of throwing money before its subjects and making them fight or scramble among themselves for their portions as best they could. To this scramble for money is due the rise and growth of private property and consequently, of crimes and wars. Generally speaking, crime of this character is a transfer of property from individual to individual, while war is a transfer of property from nation to nation.

It would not be unreasonable to expect Matriarchy, with its motherly principles of protection of the unprotected, provision for the unprovided, and unity among the un-united, to check all harmful systems which promote competition, exploitation and rivalry, and direct attention to utilize each and all of the members of society for the benefit of the whole organization, and eventually make State-provisions the place of private property, thus making peoples co-operate with the State for the peace of society. It is possible to do this even now without retaining the monarchies and republics, improving the machineries and factories

A. R. Wallace: *Studies*; Marvin: *Science and Civilization*; Bertrand Russell: *Social Reconstruction*.)

To abolish war internationalism is necessary. So long as nations remain strangers to one another, they will be enemies and wars will continue on account of their mutual distrust and fears. A great longing for a secure condition of international life based upon reciprocity is filling the world which is today seeking for an organizer. "There can be no question that men and women would prefer at present to get mates away from home, even if there were no traditional prejudice against the marriage of near kin." (Rousseau: *Perpetual Peace*; Ludwig: *War and Peace*; Fried: *German Emperor and the Peace of the World*; Thomas: *Sex and Society*).

It is evident that communities among which a perpetual marriage contract is established will tend to become one people and dwell together. The future progress of man may depend on the establishment of a type out of the fusion of existing types. "The source of every civilization has lain in race-mixture." Youthful nations are those which owe their origin to the intermixture of several old and effete nations. "Inter-marriage produces a marked effect in the richness of brain power," if biological laws are properly attended to. On the other hand, unmixed, aboriginal nations tend to remain in a state of arrested development. It is a fact that cross-breeding between different species gives bad results but between varieties of the same species gives good results. (Briffault: *The Mothers*; Petrie: *The Revolutions of Civilization*; Galton: *Essays in Eugenics*; Lewman: *Evolution, Genetics and Eugenics*; Muller: *Sexual Biology*).

Women are eminently fitted for the work of establishing international reciprocity and unity, since their sense of economy and their sympathy for strangers are greater than man's, as has been said above. The evolution of a higher race from the amalgamation of nations will be accomplished when Matriarchy has been established and not before.

In the cult of Matriarchy there is a bond of unity between nations which are professedly opposed to each other. While the Moslem says, "Heaven lies beneath the feet of the mother," a Hindu responds, "The mother is higher than heaven."

With the progress of Matriarchy and humane civilization, science will be rescued from its barbaric misuses and will be "used to increase the sum of human happiness." A new moral order will arise which will stabilize "a marriage contract of far greater stringency than that recognized today." It was primitive Matriarchy which, even in its undeveloped state, evolved monogamy and "developed into the highest standards of marriage." (H. G. Wells: *Socialism and the Family*; Count Keyserling: *The Book of Marriage*).

Religion will derive a new source of inspiration from Matriarchy; for a subtle relation exists between the two. Devotees of religion show a tendency to hide themselves in small rooms or caves; some even assume the postures of the embryonic child. Psycho-analytically, this is a return to the security of the mother's womb in quest of peace. (Cf. Stoddart: *Mind and its Disorders*). And mothers are more inclined than fathers to support their religiously minded children.

The human endeavour to come in contact with the eternal world might achieve some practical results under the auspices of Matriarchy, which will be the glorious future of humanity. Asceticism and Astrology will be purified of their superstitious taints and placed on reformed and well-founded bases.

#### CULTURE

The underlying principle of all reforms is culture. By culture is meant the creation of a new mind by social operations.

It has been said of culturists that "they invent a social order without respect to the human heart, and then they invent a human heart to suit their social order." (Towler and Ray: *Socialism*). But it is the creation of a new mind to which the forces of biological evolution are always addressing themselves. Civilization, in some of its phases, is nothing but a continuous process of renovating the mind of man.

The modern social mind is a creation of Militarism. So long as it lasts the love of peace will be considered to be a sign of inferiority. Militarism will sink into odium when the arising of a new mind will take place which will regard the ideal of peace not only as higher than the ideal of war but as the proper object of man's desire. So long as the warlike mind does not give place to the peace-loving mind, mere disarmament of nations cannot abolish war; for men can fight with their fists and teeth.

This new mind will be a creation of Matriarchy;—it is contingent upon the education of the race at the hands of the cultured and independent mothers of the future. Only the dignified mothers of the future will be able to impart to their sons a burning hatred of the degradation of the soul which is forced upon mankind by war,—war with its horrible passion for violence and destruction, "with its devastated fields and ruined cities, with its millions of dead and more millions of maimed and wounded, its broken-hearted and defiled women and its starved children bereft of their natural protection, its hate and atmosphere of lies and intrigue, its outrage on all that is human, its mowed-down masses of men, including the aged and the infirm, women and children;—and to make their girls understand that they are the natural guardians of life and hearth, that they may arise and extinguish a fever-fit of humanity

before it bursts into war, that "theirs are those weaponless hands which, since primeval times, have been superior to hands bearing arms". (Cf. Kidd : *The Science of Power* ; Ellen Key : *The Younger Generation* ; Ludwig : *War and Peace* ; Harrison : *Natural and Social Problems* ; Sir S. Radhakrishnan : *Kolli, or the Future of Civilization*).

When peace will become the ideal of men, women will be given the palm of superiority to men. In fact, woman represents a superior type of mind—which the civilized man is only slowly approaching. The great uplifters of mankind possessed not only feminine type of mind but also feminine type of the countenance. Religion inculcates feminine virtues as higher than masculine ones. The militarist unconsciously admits the same fact in his conception of Angels as superior to Devils. (Cf. Bogardus : *Introduction to Social Sciences*).

Upon women falls the task not only of throwing off their own subjection, but of rescuing from the like thralldom the deepest realities of their feminineness upon which society was originally founded by them. To beat down Satan under foot and make the earth habitable for the saints is a work which God has reserved for Matriarchy and not for Militarism. "The beautiful legend will yet come true; Ormuzd will vanquish Ahriman; Satan will be overcome; Virtue will descend from heaven surrounded by her Angels and reign over the hearts of men. Women will become the companions of men, and the tutors of their children. Immortality will be invented." Men will conquer Time and Space; and they will migrate to the stars and inhabit them. (Winwood Reade : *The Martyrdom of Man*).

It is evident that when women will become educated and wealthy, they will turn their attention to the promotion of culture; and then will Learning be rescued from the curse of indigence which has so long attached to it. It has been truly said that "Matriarchy evolves the creative genius of man." (Count Keyserling : *The Book of Marriage*).

### CONCLUSION

Matriarchy seems to be imminent. A sex-war is manifesting its approach in the way that women are leaving housework to take up public services, and ceasing to care whether they lose man's respect or not. "Round the woman question in its largest sense one of the next great fights will centre." (Havelock Ellis : *Women and Socialism*).

The great sex-war of the future will be a contest between humanity and brutality as to

which is the more powerful force of nature and which is to have the mastery of the world. The criterion of power is the ability to compel others against their will. Woman exercises compulsion not by violent physical force but by non-violent psychological influences. In the fight of the sexes the total abolition of war would, of course, be the ideal, and weapons will be of little use. Women will carry their day by strikes, disobedience and martyrdoms invented by themselves while Matriarchal unions have been formed by the Mothers will not talk piously but will go "to the whole hog against war;" they will refuse to bear sacrificial offsprings to the State. (Agn Dollan; Bernard Shaw). Society being threatened with extinction, the State will be compelled to come to terms with the mother and break with the past; the triumph of Matriarchy will then be an accomplished fact.

The triumph of women over men will be the triumph of humanity over brutality, of the force of mind over the forces of matter. It will form a new chapter in the history of animism, magnetism, a chapter which was scarcely thought of before, namely, the conquest of Militarism by Feminineness. Upon that vast inquiry concerning the influence of mind over matter an inquiry which the embodied mind of man will never be able to fathom completely it will shed a new light. It will afford an additional proof of the strength of the unconquerable mind and the weakness of matter as compared with it; another illustration of the words of the inspired Psalmist that we are "fearfully and wonderfully" made.

The power of feminineness is closely allied to the original Energy which has evolved the universe out of the womb of chaos and wove it into an orderly system;—the Shakti of ancient Aryan philosophy and religion.

The overcoming of brutal forces by psychological influences is the spirit of the recent Gandhian Movement in India. The feminine spirit of the movement is apparent in its advocacy of peaceful culture and feminine kinds of work, its success in bringing women to the front, its espousal of the cause of the weak and depressed classes, society, its endeavours to overcome the war violence by non-violent measures, its preference of martyrdom to persecution, and its inclination to international federation and peace.

To those who have gone through the preceding pages it will be apparent that the present movement in India is founded on principles which are likely to prevail in the near future. Matriarchy although it may not be without its evil, is the true line of future advance and is destined to come with the progress of social evolution.

BUDDHA GAYA

# A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

**T**HAT is true of this world also and it is undoubtedly a good sign. It is not possible for all men to renounce the world. Such a call comes to only a few of us and has to be obeyed, but for the great majority the ways of the world must be sufficient and they cannot turn away from it. But if men live better lives and pursue higher ideals than they did in former times it is a great gain. The ultimate goal, however, must always remain the same, and that is the emancipation of the spirit from the thrall of life and death. To compass this consummation no help can come from outside. It is by dint of our own individual efforts that we can win to final release when all our trammels are broken and we attain eternal peace. There is always the haunting sense that we are at one with the Infinite; this explains why we feel that we are really immortal, in spite of our all too mortal abode of flesh. There is neither heaven nor hell nor any law of reward or punishment. But we are born again and again and our happiness or our suffering is in our own hands. Maruchi said, 'The belief in heaven and hell is very ancient and almost all the ancient sacred books speak of them. But it is now generally understood that heaven and hell are creations of human imagination.'

There can be no question about it. First, there is the firm belief that death does not mean the end of the soul which is imperishable. This is quite true. And then arises the confusion about the life hereafter. Our present life is supposed to be based upon a system of rewards and punishments and this theory is carried to the life beyond this life. The conception of heaven and hell is manifestly wrong because it is based upon the senses. Paradise is either a place of a continuous round of pleasures without surfeit or of enjoyment of some other kind. When a dear one dies the survivors say that they hope to meet him or her in heaven. The ties of relationship or love are carried to the next life. Heaven is thus nothing more than another world, much better than this life, where we are all happy and free from the little worries of this life. Hell, on the other hand, is the place where sinners and the wicked are sent and they are tortured and punished far more frightfully than in the land of the living. The foundations in both instances are the same. They are pleasure and punishment based upon the senses. These are physical gains and both pleasure and pain have to be shed. At death the body which possesses the

senses, quickened by the vitality within, perishes. Who then enjoys the pleasures of heaven or suffers the horrors of hell? Either the disembodied spirit or the spirit in another garb of flesh. The latter theory is not seriously maintained in any religion and it was never believed that men and women again became creatures of flesh and blood when they went to heaven or hell. As regards the soul, or the immortal part of man, it can know neither pain nor pleasure since it is no part of the physical organism of man. The conception of heaven and hell is based upon the idea that man retains his physical nature even after death and this is obviously wrong. Further, the notion of reward or punishment in an existence after death can be neither an encouragement nor a deterrent in this life. We may, therefore, dismiss the myth about a heaven and a hell as unreal and imagined from a fixed idea that our senses are part of our immortal self and our susceptibility to pain and pleasure pursues us even after the dissolution of our bodies. There are no angels to welcome us in heaven, nor any fiends to torture us in hell. What we do carry with us is the weight of our own actions, and the burden grows heavier or lighter in each successive life according as we add to it or shed it.

'The belief in heaven and hell is a very old one, though it is now generally understood that there is no reality behind it. When people speak of God they point upward and imagine that He dwells in a kingdom of His own somewhere high up in the heavens just as we live on the earth and you on Heperon. Hell they locate downwards, either in the womb of the earth, or some other region still further below. But in reality there are no such directions as up or down, and these merely indicate the relative positions of our heads and feet. We came up from the Earth and down on this planet without any change in the direction of our movement.'

'Perfectly true, my children. And now the words of parting have to be spoken. We are so constituted that it must ever be a meeting and a parting. It is strange beyond words that we, the beings of two worlds, should meet, but it is not strange that we have to part, for the parting must come either in life or in death. Who can tell whether we shall meet in another life and whether the memory of this life will abide with us? You will return to your own land in perfect safety and you will be as gods among your own people. Besides, the memory of what you have seen you will carry with you a

ing evidence of your visit. I wish it were otherwise, but events will take their own course and no one has either the right or the power to interfere.'

These mysterious words made us look at one another in astonishment. What did the Master mean? What could be a living evidence of our visit? We had not thought of taking a bird or animal with us, being very uncertain whether it could live during the long voyage, and we certainly had no idea of asking any human being to accompany us since it meant exile for life.

Maruchi ventured to ask, 'What are we to understand my Master, by a living evidence?'

The Master looked very grave, 'My son, you will understand when the time comes. At present I can say no more.'

We wondered. I looked at the Master and I looked at Orlon and I again wondered.

The next morning we bade farewell to Ashan and his disciples. The Master gave us his blessing and we fell at his feet before parting. I can remember him now, a great and imposing figure, calm-eyed and tranquil of countenance, holding up his right hand in a final benediction as we left the ground and sailed out of sight.

### XXXIX

#### THE RETURN

For some time we spoke of Ashan the Master, his wisdom and the wonders we had seen. He had denied the possession of miraculous powers, but by what other name could we designate what we had witnessed with our own eyes and what we had felt ourselves when under the influence of his power? What we had seen him doing was accomplished without the slightest effort and we were convinced that he had no intention of impressing or bewildering us. He had given an explanation of the powers he possessed, but we could not understand it because we knew nothing of the subtler and deeper potentialities of the spiritual part of man. The miracles recorded in ancient times and attributed to great teachers and prophets were looked upon as inexplicable or evidence of human credulity. What we had seen was certainly beyond our understanding, but there was no question of an easy belief. We were under no delusion, nor did we suspect for a moment that any attempt had been made to impose upon our belief. A suggestion of this kind would have been an insult to our intelligence and a much deeper affront to a man the like of whom we had never seen and might never again meet. There was such distinction in his bearing, so clear was the stamp of truth on his face, so holy was his life that no one could look upon him without a feeling of profound reverence. Had we ever heard another man speak as he did? He was

engaged on a quest that appears meaningless to most men, but we had ourselves felt how great and how noble the quest was.

That parting observation of the Master was still puzzling us. Maruchi knitted his eye-brows and put us the question, 'What did the Master mean by a living evidence of our visit? It can scarcely be a wild creature or a domesticated animal, and there is no likelihood of an inhabitant of Mars accompanying us to the planet whence we come.'

Ganimet scratched his head and remarked, 'It may be a Pompo or some one from the City of the Kings.'

Maruchi shook his head. 'That's absurd. We shall see nothing more of the City of the Kings nor are we likely to meet another Pompo. Nevertheless, I feel that what the Master has foreseen is certain to happen. If it is to be a man why did the Master not tell us who it would be?'

'It may be some one we have never met,' I suggested.

'That also is out of the question. Why should any one who has never met us accompany us on a voyage from which it is almost certain that he will never return?'

'What strikes me,' I said, 'is that the Master has given us part of some information, but has withheld part of it. It almost seems as if his object was to mystify us. But he is incapable of it. I have no doubt that he had in mind some one we know, but he did not mention any name because he thought we might be greatly shocked and astonished. At the same time, he wanted us to be prepared for the surprise in store for us.'

'It must be as you say,' remarked Maruchi, 'but what perplexes me is that we have no intention of visiting any place except Opi, and that is merely in fulfilment of a promise to bid good-bye to the monks who were so kind to us. Surely, we do not expect that any one from Opi will be our fellow-traveller to earth. Neither this world nor our own has any attraction for the holy men at Opi.'

Orlon had been listening to us in silence. His face was thoughtful but at times a sudden light came into his eyes and again passed like a flash of distant lightning on the horizon. He now joined the conversation, speaking in a slow, meditative voice, 'It may be that some one will volunteer to go with us, some one who may or may not be known to us.'

'But who can it be?'

'If we knew that all speculation would be at an end.'

The conversation then flagged and we watched the flight of our airship. Before leaving Ashan's hermitage we had consulted the maps in our possession. These did not indicate the site of the hermitage, but Raba was clearly shown and we had made a mark locating the cave retreat of the Master. As we did not intend to visit any

other place on the way back it was not necessary to follow the circuitous passage round the various places we had seen on our way to Raba. We were now flying in a straight line towards Opi and much of the country over which we were passing was new to us and we noted numerous towns and large villages in the course of our swift flight. At certain places the country was mountainous and there were large regions of forest. We passed over beautiful lakes with their placid waters mirroring the trees and the hills surrounding them. There were landscapes of pastoral beauty which we passed much too quickly to be able to admire them fully. Moreover, our thoughts were occupied more with the future than with the present. Now that we had decided to bring our visit to Mars to an end we were thinking of the long voyage through space that lay before us and what awaited us at the other end. Would the return passage be safely accomplished? We had the assurance of Ashan that we would return to our own planet in safety, and we had a firm intuition that his prediction would come true. His knowledge whether of the past or of the future was absolutely right. We thought of the welcome that awaited us when we would be back among our own people. We recalled with a thrill of pleasure the old familiar faces that would gaze at us with an expression of unbounded admiration. There was a mist before our eyes and a quickening of the heart as thoughts of this nature came crowding into the mind.

The voice of Maruchi broke upon our day-dreams. 'Perhaps we are all thinking of the time when we shall once more be back among our own people and all that we have seen here will be a mere memory. This is quite natural and as the day comes nearer when we shall make our final salutation to this land of our dreams, our impatience will also grow everyday. But we are carrying back with us more than a memory. It has been our high privilege to meet one who is greater than any man we have known and whom we left only a few hours ago. It will be our misfortune if he were to become only a memory and not a guide and a permanent influence in our lives. It will profit us even now to recall his discourses and observations. So long as we were with him he never assumed the role of a teacher, and we do not know how his disciples are taught. But he never speaks except to teach for all his thoughts convey instruction. He lives and thinks on a plane altogether beyond our reach, but he speaks with great simplicity, though with great eloquence and a rare strength of conviction. Sahir, you have thought deeper than any of us and the Master's discourses must have appealed to you strongly. Can you recall some of his sayings?'

'Who can forget them?' I asked in reply. 'Since listening to him every one of us has become more thoughtful and life a more serious

thing. A butterfly is by no means an uncommon sight and a naturalist will discourse learnedly about its life-history when he sees one, but the Master spoke about it from a very different point of view. What he said was to us of the nature of a revelation. But the most far-reaching doctrine that he enunciated was about previous and after births.'

'That is not a new theory and some of our ancient teachers and philosophers had a firm belief in it. The notable feature about what the Master said was his vivid realization and the cogency of his reasoning. Apart altogether from the probabilities of it this doctrine of reincarnation is most satisfying. If this life has no past and no future everything connected with life would be transient and fleeting. And yet there can be no question that man is capable of things which are immortal. As the Master pointed out how can anything that is made be greater than the maker or endure longer? We have books and teachings that seem to be everlasting. These are the expressions of the immortal part of man. It is this part of him that is born again and again, and the highest aim is to escape this ceaseless rotation of birth and death.'

'Does it not coincide with the doctrine of the Buddha?'

'Yes,' said Maruchi, 'he also believed in the memory of previous births—a belief that he shared with others of his race. You know there is a word in the Sanskrit language referring to this particular phase of memory. What do you think would happen if such a memory were to become the common possession of humanity?'

'A most interesting question,' I said, 'it would lead to unbelievable complications and possibly to a complete deadlock. People would live not in the present but in the past. They would hardly take any interest in the affairs of this life. The human race would become a race of reminiscents. Even in this life there is a marked tendency to harp on the past as we grow old. Old men and women recall the memory of their younger days with pleasure and are usually dissatisfied with the present, mainly because they linger superfluous on the stage of life. There is a period of anecdotalage that precedes senile decay and dotage. If we had been contemporaries of Alexander or Caesar and were born again at present with a clear remembrance of those times do you think we would take the faintest interest in the happenings of these degenerate times as we would designate them? We would wax as eloquent as Demosthenes or Cicero, and denounce the present effeminate generation in burning philippics. The past has always an irresistible fascination. If we remembered our past lives we would never be happy unless we met those we used to know in our previous incarnations. Our sole endeavour would be to roll back the tide of time. The march of events would

come to a permanent halt. We would want the old occurrences to happen again and again. Our short memories are a safe-guard against such a disaster. Remember that the ultimate release from the treadmill of life and death is an individual problem and each one of us has to work out his own salvation. The human race does not move *en masse* even in the minor affairs of this life.'

'That is so. Then there is also the strange contradiction in our nature, the easy credulity in many matters and the confirmed scepticism in others. We easily accept many things on trust and refuse others even on good evidence.'

Orlon was rather preoccupied, but he had been listening to our conversation with attention. He now joined in it. 'What is called fatalism, or predestination, is an outcome of this belief in previous births. You may remember that in former times certain peoples, specially in Asia, believed that everything was pre-ordained and the book of fate was written on every man's forehead. The reason why such a belief was condemned was that it deprived man of the power of initiative and took away the driving force of stimulus from human effort. When a man failed in any enterprise, or any evil befell him he merely struck his forehead, which was in effect a confession of helpless impotence, and his spirit bowed to what he looked upon as the inevitable. But the doctrine of *karma*, for that is what the Master so elaborately expounded to us and what has been at the back of our own minds, is the very reverse of fatalism. More than any other theory it leaves man the maker and master of his own destiny. We are wayfarers threading our way through many countries, which are so many lives, and our going is good or we loiter as we will. We are tradesmen equipped with capital and we squander it or prosper according to our own capacity.'

'Ah, Orlon,' remarked Maruchi, with a bright smile, 'if your silences are golden your speech is like a shower of jewels.'

'Have it your own way, you flatterer. You see how a large section of the human race put a wrong interpretation upon a simple but far-reaching doctrine. There is, however, a subtle distinction between the two phases of this doctrine. This was clearly indicated by the Master more than once, but the people who accepted fatalism as their creed could not make this distinction. The pivot of the whole doctrine is the law of cause and effect. No one can question or deny the existence of this law. The only difference has been in understanding its applicability. The fatalist believes that he is at the terminal end of the chain that runs from cause to effect. All that is happening, all that will happen is the effect of past causes. He leaves out of consideration the other fact that the process of causation does not cease any more than the happening of the effect. Life is partly what we made it in

the past and partly what we make it in our present incarnation. You must have noted the reluctance of the Master to speak of the future in so far as it referred to an individual. He had in his mind the unpreventable effect from a cause that had already happened. He knows perfectly well what or who will be the living evidence of our visit to this planet; he prepared us for what will happen but he would not perturb us by disclosing the identity of our fellow-voyager. This particular incident need not be discussed further, but what we have to bear in mind is that the doctrine taught by the Master is nothing like fatalism.'

'That is perfectly clear,' I said; 'in fatalism there is no place for self-determination; one merely waits with folded hands for the pre-ordained inevitable. The Master, on the contrary, holds that the entire responsibility is our own. We cannot of course avoid or escape the effect, but the cause is in our own hands. The harvest that we reap is of our own sowing. Instead of being passive instruments in the hands of destiny we are the architects of our own future, and we make it or mar it according to our own inclination and our own efforts.'

Maruchi said, 'We are all agreed as to the tenets of the Master's doctrine and we also know that it has been taught and accepted by a very large section of our fellow human beings on earth. But I wonder whether there is any explanation within our understanding of the miraculous powers possessed by the Master. He himself has given a very lucid explanation, but is it comprehensible to our intelligence? You, Sahir, chaffed me about what you called my hunger for miracles, though I am sure all of you were as keen as myself. Well, that hunger has been satisfied, but what is the explanation?'

I said, 'We had it from the Master himself and how can we improve upon it? Men who have said that miracles do not happen, or have ridiculed them as the credulous belief of an ignorant superstition were themselves ignorant. Our minds move in certain well-marked circles and beyond these they cannot go. But as the circles widen our comprehension grows. The progress is step by step, and it is within our knowledge that what was impossible or miraculous in the past is easily accomplished in the present. There is only one fact which seems remarkable and that is that miracles were known when most of the inventions of science were unknown. The two are on two different planes and the searchings of the spirit began much earlier than the inventions of science. This was due to the preparation in previous incarnations. When we go back to the world people will say we have performed a marvellous feat but does it not seem quite insignificant compared to what we have seen the Master doing? You, Maruchi, and I have actually felt his power over our minds. How can we explain that power when the region of



the spirit is an unknown country to us? Consider the progress of the human race. It is far more advanced than in ancient times, but have we produced another Buddha or Christ? These Masters did not possess the scientific knowledge that we have acquired in recent times, but their wisdom and their powers have never been equalled after them. How can we explain the greatness of these teachers except on the theory that they had concentrated all their powers in past incarnations on the advancement of the spiritual faculty? The possessions of the world and the cultivation of the intellect had no attraction for them. It cannot be doubted for a moment that they had intellectual gifts of a very high order, but these were subservient to the spirit which dominated all other faculties. The wonders of science are as nothing compared to the wonders of the spirit. We have sought to develop the forces that exist outside of ourselves; these Masters have cultivated powers innate in their own selves. To ignorant people the triumphs of science are like miracles; to us the things that we have seen done by Ashan are miracles, because they baffle us and we do not know how to account for them.

The conversation then took a more practical turn. We spoke about Opi and the monks, but not much about Narga. Our intention was to make a very brief stay at Opi and to start on the homeward voyage as early as possible. Before leaving Ashan's hermitage Nabor had told us that he would overhaul the machine thoroughly before we commenced the long passage back to our own planet. This might take a week and we proposed leaving Opi as soon as Nabor finished his work.

The distance between Raba and Opi as the crow flies is not very great and we remembered that we had seen the vapour column of Raba the morning we landed at Opi. Swiftly and silently we flew towards our destination over new lands and new scenes, rugged hilly tracts alternating with pastoral landscapes. There were many townships and large and small villages but we did not pass over large cities. The soil in many parts of Mars must be very fertile for there were signs of a luxurious vegetation wherever we had gone and the rainfall appeared to be well distributed. The greenery was most grateful and restful to the eye, while the display of colour in woodlands in which flowers abounded was dazzling. Mars is undoubtedly the botanist's paradise. There were very few flowers which had no scent, and very often the aroma was as exquisite as it was varied. Nature had dowered the red planet with a prodigal hand.

It was an hour before sunset that we reached Opi. Nabor circled over the monastery twice and played a lively tune upon his instrument to give intimation of our arrival. We landed in front of the building we had formerly used as a hangar for our machine.

## XI.

Nabor's musical call had the desired effect. As we alighted on the ground we saw Karos and several other monks hurrying towards us. They greeted us with great warmth and informed us that our old rooms were ready for our use and they were very pleased to see us again. As we moved towards the building I noticed that Orlon's eyes were eagerly looking in the direction. I knew that he was looking for Narga who of course could not come out like the monks to meet us outside the monastery. Such eagerness on her part would have compromised her dignity in the eyes of the monks. Still as we approached the building, Karos and the others keeping up an animated conversation with Maruchi, I had a glimpse of the flutter of a white hand for a moment and knew it was Narga's welcome to Orlon.

When we entered the passage that led to the various wings of the star-shaped building we saw Narga standing in the doorway of one of the rooms. It was impossible to look at the vision of beauty without a thrill. She stood radiant in the dazzling splendour of her beauty, her face aglow with pleasure and her eyes shining with a suspicion of moisture in them. She was the same and yet not the same. There was a new grace in the curves of her peerless form, there was a new languor in her limbs, a new timidity in her mien.

There was a hunger in her eyes that I had not seen before, and a slight heaving of the bosom. Probably Maruchi and the others noticed no change, and my eyes might have been somewhat influenced by my imagination. Narga's eyes met ours in smiling welcome, and they rested on Orlon's for the shadow of an instant longer, but they passed on to Nabor and Ganimet. Then the endearing music of her voice was in our ears.

'Welcome, my friends from a world which to our eyes is only a luminary in the heavens, thrice welcome! You have seen all that you wanted to see of this world of ours, and I thank Raba that he has had you in his safe keeping.'

We bowed to her with profound respect and Maruchi thanked her on our behalf. 'Lady,' said he, 'nothing can exceed the graciousness of your welcome. We are here, not only in fulfilment of our promise, but because we have been eagerly looking forward to this day, to the honour of standing once more in your presence and the pleasure of meeting our friends here before our final departure from your wonderful world.'

Narga frowned archly in mock displeasure. 'What talk is this of departure at the moment of arrival? Nay, nay, it is not good to speak of parting at the instant of meeting. We shall hold you prisoners at our sovereign pleasure. We shall hold you to ransom which shall be the treasure of your wisdom, and you will not win your liberty until your coffers are empty. How say you, my good Karos?'

'Well and wisely spoken, my lady, you have spoken our thought in language which we could never find.'

Maruchi bowed low again. 'We are overwhelmed by the exceeding great measure of your kindness and we yield ourselves ready prisoners to your sovereign will and we place our liberty and our lives unreservedly in your fair and all-conquering hands.'

And in the quick humour of the moment Maruchi stepped forward and knelt before the Lady Narga, and lifting her beautiful hands saluted it lightly with his lips, and then rose and stood back with his head bowed.

No knight of the ancient days of chivalry could have done what Maruchi did with a more courtly grace or with greater propriety. He saluted Narga as one bends before a great queen. We were not only amazed but felt dubious about the effect on Karos and the other monks. Would they approve of the high priestess being treated as a great court lady? I looked at Karos and saw at once that he had fixed his eyes upon Maruchi in a puzzled stare. He was not thinking of the knightliness of the homage, but the immunity of Maruchi from the consequences of his rashness in touching Narga. Was not she like a live electric wire, whose touch would have knocked down, if not killed, a man? And here was Maruchi perfectly unconcerned as if he had touched a mere woman.

Narga's eyes were beaming with pleasure and a bewitching roguery. 'Sir Knight', she said, 'I thank you for your knightly courtesy and your chivalrous surrender. Rest you now with your brother knights and give us an early opportunity of listening to your adventures and knightly deeds, and tell us of the damsels in distress whom you rescued?'

Narga inclined her head and passed inside the room, closing the door behind her.

In our own rooms Karos asked Maruchi excitedly, 'Did you feel nothing when you touched Narga?'

'No. Why should I?'

'Because she is much more magnetic than we are and no man may touch her with safety to himself.'

'Well, I did, and you saw that nothing happened.'

'Strange!' said Karos, and then he and his companions withdrew and we were left to ourselves.

'Maruchi,' I said, 'I am sure in a former incarnation you must have been of the knights of King Arthur's Round Table.'

'Sir Lancelot?' suggested Orlon, with sly malice. He was scarcely pleased that such honour should have befallen any man other than himself, for in his heart he knew that he was the chosen Knight of Narga.

'Not so,' I answered, 'that would be a calumny. Maruchi must have been Sir Galahad himself.'

'I am glad,' said Maruchi, 'that I rendered her the homage due to a princess for though royalty has ceased to be the individual right of a man or woman to be royal will always remain. The mistake that they made in the old times was in thinking that there was heredity in royalty. Kingliness or queenliness is a personal distinction. Have you anywhere seen a more royal personage than Asham, or a more queenly figure than Narga, and the one is a hermit and the other is a nun?'

'True,' murmured Orlon. 'You are right as usual, Maruchi.'

We had no thought of spending the afternoon and evening in our rooms. We had a wash, put on the robes that Karos had given us and strolled out in the open. Nabor and Ganinet were already at work on the machine which they had taken inside the improvised hangar. Although we did not openly speak about it all of us were more or less impatient to start on the homeward voyage, and the pilot and his mechanic knew that we would be ready as soon as they were ready.

On descending from the airship I had noticed a new face among the monks who welcomed us. We had not seen him during our first stay at Opi and he did not seem to belong to the order of monks. I did not take particular notice of him but as the three of us, Maruchi, Orlon and myself, came out, we saw this man loitering in front of the monastery evidently with the intention of accosting us. This might have been due to a perfectly natural curiosity, for the manner of our coming as well as the fact that we were visitors from another world were bound to make any one curious. But somehow I had taken an immediate dislike to the man. He was a sleek, undersized individual with shifty, ferrety eyes that never looked one squarely in the eyes. He cringed as he saluted us and his smirk was in keeping with his attitude.

'You seem to be a newcomer here, my friend,' I began without ceremony.

'Yes, master. I am a traveller like yourselves and the reverend fathers here have been very good to me.'

'Do you intend joining the order of the monks?'

'I am not worthy. I am only a poor sinner whose feet have fortunately strayed to this place.' He piously turned up his eyes as he said this.

Maruchi and Orlon had been also looking at the man and they must have taken his measure correctly. 'What's your name, friend?' asked Maruchi suddenly.

'Jemel,' said the man.

'And what is your occupation?'

'I do odd jobs when I get them, but I have some means of my own and as my wants are few, I get along without much difficulty.'

'You are a lucky man. And your thoughts have now turned to religion?'

'You may say so, but I am of no consequence.'

The humility of the man did not impress us at all.

As we walked towards the building where the machine was kept Karos and some others joined us and the man Jomel followed close at our heels. We found Nabor and Ganimet working inside the machine. They were carefully examining the machinery. As the light was partially failing they had turned on the electric lights and were going over every part of the machine.

'Well?' asked Maruchi, looking at Nabor, 'what is your report?'

'Everything is right, Sir, but we shall clean the whole machine thoroughly and perhaps substitute a few new parts. On the return flight we shall not be able to halt anywhere for repairs.'

'No,' said Maruchi with a broad smile, 'unless you look out for a half-way house in the moon.'

As Maruchi and Nabor were speaking in our own language no one else could understand a word of what was being said, but Jomel was looking at the machine very curiously, and while Maruchi was talking to Karos about Sipri the other man asked me slyly, 'How would you return to your world if anything went wrong with your machine?'

I was somewhat startled and looked keenly at this man of evil thoughts. Then I said grimly, 'We take good care that nothing should happen to our machine. You may just as well know that if any one else were to lay his hands upon the machine it would mean death to him.'

The man smiled slyly and actually winked at me. 'You are surely pulling my legs,' he said. 'Come and touch the machine,' I invited him.

He made a deprecatory gesture. 'I have no thought of touching your machine.'

It was nearly dark now. Maruchi and Karos were engaged in an animated conversation to which the other monks were listening intently. Orlon was standing silently apart and had moved to one side of the machine from which he could not be seen. Then he quietly slipped out of the building. I had all along fully expected him to do so.

A few moments passed and then Jomel made a movement to pass out of the building. I laid a detaining hand upon his shoulder, and as he tried to wriggle out of my hold I tightened my grasp and fairly laughed silently in his face. 'Whither away in such a hurry, my friend?'

Jomel scowled. 'I want to go out for a breath of air. I find it rather close here.'

I linked my arm into his. 'You are perfectly right, I feel suffocated. Where shall we go?'

I rather led or dragged him to the open entrance. The man was almost speechless with vexation but my attitude and my gestures were so friendly that he could not utter a word of remonstrance or protest, though he understood

all the time that I had no mind to let him pass out of my sight. The shades of evening were closing in and, as I had fully expected, Orlon was nowhere to be seen. Jomel glanced this way and that and then said, 'Your friend who went out a little while ago seems to have disappeared.'

'As he is not likely to be lost you need not have any anxiety on his account.'

'You are pleased to be merry. I was wondering where he could have gone all by himself.'

'It would be better for you to cease to wonder. Curiosity is not always a healthy habit. My friend's temper is not of the best and I would not answer for the consequences if he found out you were following him or dogging his steps.'

Jomel tried a little bluff. 'I can go where I like. I take orders from no one.'

'Softly, my friend. You are quite free to go where you like, but you must restrain your curiosity a little and must not play the spy.'

Jomel muttered something and turned back into the building. Nothing loath, I retraced my steps with him.

A little later, all of us came out and we saw Orlon sauntering towards us, his head held high and his eyes shining. I knew he had been to the trysting place and had met Narga. To him I spoke no word as Jomel was watching him from the corner of his eyes, but I drew Nabor aside and whispered to him, 'I think it will be safer if you and Ganimet sleep in the machine. I don't like the looks of this new man here. He is very curious about the machine and wants to spy on every one of us. He may tamper with the machine in ignorance or out of sheer wickedness.'

Nabor expressed his willingness to sleep in the machine.

'And you might turn on the current on the wires outside the machine.'

'We surely will. We shall take no chances.'

Immediately after dinner Nabor and Ganimet went away to pass the night in the machine. I had given a hint to Maruchi that it would be safer if they remained in charge of the airship at night and he approved of my suggestion. We had three rooms and I took Orlon into my own room and asked him, lowering my voice, what he thought of the man Jomel, who had been assigned a room beyond our own.

'He is a snake in the grass,' was Orlon's prompt reply.

'This evening when you went out of the building where the machine is kept he tried to follow you, evidently with the object of spying on your movements.'

Orlon became very pale. 'My God!' he exclaimed, 'did he actually follow me?'

'No, I did not permit him to do so, but another time he may elude my vigilance and may follow you without my knowledge.'

Orlon looked at me in silence and then asked, 'Sahir, you know something?'

(To be continued.)

## ELEVEN YEARS OF FASCISM

*A Study*

By P. N. ROY

**T**ODAY, the 28th of October, 1933, Fascist Italy celebrates the eleventh year of its existence.

The wonderfully blue Italian sky has today a sombre and a rather solemn look on account of the grayish clouds that are moving about in a leisurely fashion, and underneath it are flying the flags of the country--national flags of green, white and red and black Party-flags with the symbol of the *fascio* in the middle, producing a contrast of colour with the sky overhead.

At the foot of the huge white monument bedecked with gold here and there, the national monument erected to symbolize the independence of Italy and the completion of its unity, in the large Piazza Venezia and in the streets that lead into it, have gathered people in their thousands--men, women, boys and girls--to celebrate the solemn occasion, the national festival of the march on Rome.

Above all this crowd three aeroplanes are moving about in the form of a triangle producing a noise that is the music of the occasion.

All have come today to join the solemn but joyous celebration, to reiterate their faith in the Duce and the new government. In the days of its birth many did not recognize the potentiality of the new force and predicted its death within a week. Weeks have passed, months have passed, years have passed and with the passing of every week, month and year the new force has moved forward with redoubled strength to inspire hope and confidence in its adherents and to urge them to further activity.

What is the magic that has performed all this change in Italy? What is the thing that the crowd of today has come to pay its homage to? What is the secret that has kept this government and the party, about which pessimistic opinions were held by many, in power? Is it merely coercion, is it merely

the weeding of the country of all undesirable elements so that peace and party-interests may reign supreme, and keeping an efficient system of espionage so that every revolutionary effort might be immediately throttled to death? Or is there something in this party, this government,--some paternal love, some fraternal kindness which the mass-mind instinctively and quickly perceives, that attracts the nation to its support? These are the thoughts that passed through my mind as I stood alone in the crowd watching the celebration.

Apart from the fact that there are no things in the world which might not be criticized in certain aspects, it must be admitted without reserve that the Fascist government has been a great success in Italy, a success which she has not known for many many centuries. And this success has not been the result of effective propaganda as is presumed by many. Effective propaganda may succeed for a moment but it can never add stamina to a man or to a party or to a government unless the stamina for growth is there. One cannot hoodwink the world for long with propaganda, because sooner or later the acts of a man as also those of a government are brought to light and the world sits in judgment upon it.

But to return to our question. What is the significance of today's celebration? Eleven years ago a group of men, destined to change the history of their country, made a march on Rome and took charge of the government. It was an epoch-making incident in the history of the country in so far as it meant the fall of a government and the advent of another, but it was something more, it was the fall of a mentality. Who marched on Rome and who abdicated the government? To Rome marched back the Romans and out of it went away the pseudo-Romans. When every year, at this date, the Italians gather to celebrate the occasion, they gather to hail the

returned Romans, the returning spirit of Rome.

Let me be more explicit. The rise of Fascism is considered by many to be due to the particular historical circumstances of the country after the post-war period. In so far as the events of the world carry an element of fatality with them, it is quite true that Fascism could evolve itself only on the then politico-economic conditions of Italy. But the explanation does not explain everything. It does not explain those spiritual elements of Fascism which today we find throwing into the background the merely political and economic way of government. It does not explain how out of the baptismal bath of the war Italy, of all the countries, came out first to start a new career in the world. I consider Fascism to be a non-rational movement. However much the theorists of Fascism might speak and write about the "classe dirigente" and the Fascist aristocracy, to me Fascism seems to be the expression of the mass-mind of Italy, that mass-mind whose movements are always non-rational and which is the best custodian of the spiritual treasures of a nation's civilization. It is not for nothing that Mussolini, who by birth belongs to the humbler folk, sits at the head of the government. It is the non-rational mass-mind that, already stirred before but violently shaken by the shock of the war, took a fateful direction and Mussolini is the expression of that activity of the mass-mind. The particular politico-economic conditions were only contrivances of the destiny of the nation to help this re-flowering of the people. My explanation may seem to be mystical, but where personalities are concerned, where the question involved is that of unexpected and sometimes inexplicable aspects which an historical incident assumes, one cannot avoid being mystical. And in fact, is there not, notwithstanding all our rational explanation, a mystery shrouding the entire evolution of human history?

If we want to understand Fascism, we must go to the deepest depth of the science of sociology, we must dare to penetrate into race-metaphysics. Unless we do so, we cannot understand many of the acts of Mussolini, because Fascism—rather Italian Fascism, because the term is being adopted by other

countries as well to express similar movements—is the expression of a national temper, of a special national outlook on life, an outlook that is determined by the entire tradition of the country. If it were a merely economico-political doctrine, it would have attained its goal and finished its mission by giving to the world its corporative system and the labour-charter. When it began its career, the economic question was the most pressing one, and its solution was the first vital necessity and so its attention was at first absorbed by it. And even today when it has to show before the world its record of achievement, it points to this because this is the thing that has the most universal appeal on account of its practical utility for all people that are suffering from the canker of modern economic evils. But it covers within its activity more subtle things, I should say also more important, inasmuch as the characteristic politico-economic structure of Fascism will succeed and endure to the extent it succeeds to give those subtler things a more concrete and durable shape.

These subtle things consist in moulding, slowly but surely, the character, rather re-awakening the slumbering qualities of the race—the qualities of the mighty Romans as tempered by the Catholic Church. I say the Catholic Church not as a rigid institution as we find it today. The original Catholic Church was the product of the union of Asiatic mysticism with the Roman instinct for universality and organization. This new catholicism, born out of this Asiatic and Roman union, flourished long in the original Catholic Church and kept it plastic but in course of time, with the development of formulas and dogmas, the Church lost the plastic character, but not the people in whom the new element continued to thrive. Hence it is that side by side with that strong admiration for the Roman qualities that build up social solidarity and conduces to a practical evaluation of life, we find in Fascism a strong fascination for that mellow idealism of which this Catholicism is the exponent and champion. Italian Fascism has this double characteristic of being intensely practical and at the same time intensely idealistic. In this it is a characteristic expression of the Italian mass-mind whose practicality is modified by its

idealism and whose idealism is modified by its practical sense. We may look for political motives behind the Lateran treaty—but this is so far as the Pope as the head of a religious State is concerned. But what about the teaching of religion in the schools, what about the impetus that Fascism gives to the revival of many popular religious festivals, what about the constant reference which Fascism makes to the fundamental moral law of the world in its career of intense activity? What about the claim that is made of St. Francis of Assisi as the most Fascist of all saints? All these do not emanate at least directly, from political motives. On the contrary, in the heart of Fascism there is a mystic throb that is in excellent rhythm with its many political throbbings and the idealistic side of Fascism is the external manifestation of that throb.

I have said that Fascism is an expression of the Italian mass-mind. To understand this let us analyse the character of the Italian people, particularly of the Italian peasant-folk. I think that the Italian peasant-folk preserves as yet the traditions of the Italian pre-Renaissance era. The mentality and outlook of the Italian peasant makes him a different man from his brother, say in Germany or England. The effects of the modern civilization have touched the fringe of his life so far as the fundamental social institutions and human relations are concerned. That economic view of life which is now so blatantly prominent in the entire western world and even among the higher classes in Italy, has not that maddening fascination for him. Withal he understands very well the necessity of economic solidarity in life. This attitude makes him labour hard in order to render the economic position of his family sound, but does not induce him to sell anything but the surplus of his production in order only to buy the other necessities of life. The family instinct is strong in him and induces him to take his midday meal at home surrounded by his wife and children, as also the meal at night. The proprietary instinct is also strong in him. He has to a large extent the spirit of obedience in him so long as no encroachment is made upon the sacred domain of his private life. He still maintains human relationship with his neighbours and the master. He has reverence for

his Church and it is a very common sight in Italy to find peasant women kneeling down in the churches and with tears in their eyes making silent prayers to God. He celebrates religious festivals with the same sincerity as the Indian peasant does and names his children according to the names of different saints. But at the same time he is a tolerant man, preserving the Roman tradition of universality. It is difficult to detect any colour or race-prejudice in him. When he marries he prefers to go to the church rather than get into the bond according to the civil laws. And when he looks round him at the monumental structures in ruins, of which his country is full, he has a dim vision of the distant past of his country and an uneasy feeling in his mind.

At the same time this people is to a certain extent conscious of the part it has played in history. It is conscious of the power it enjoyed during the republican days of Roman history. It is conscious of the part it played in the development of the communes and the entire idealism of the Renaissance period. The great thing in history is when history is made by the stirring of the soul of the entire people, when the process of historical evolution takes its birth in the inner workings of the mass-mind. This has been the case in India where the entire civilization of Brahmanical tradition has been so often modified and re-made by influences coming from the popular classes. This has also happened in Italy where the real history does not belong to the kings and the emperors, but to the people.

With this flickering sense of its historical position in the past, this people had an awkward feeling of its present position in the world. Italy was so long walking along a by-path of modern civilization; because modern civilization is made of those very elements which Italy lacks physically and mentally. Physically, modern civilization is the product of coal and iron, the two things to the possession of which Italy can lay no claim and so with every scientific discovery that tended to industrial development and the production of wealth, she fell more and more into the background. The modern mentality is based on this industrial development and the

production of wealth—a mentality whose chief concern is material comforts and individual aggrandizement. This is in discord with the formation of the Italian mind. In the Italian mind there is a strong combination of material and spiritual inclinations. The whole expression of the Italian mind in art, poetry and philosophy is a testimony to the incapability of the Italian mind to adopt an entirely materialistic outlook on life. In the Italian mind matter must be spiritualized and the spirit must be made sensuous. In the Italian mind the two things may be seen to balance each other. As Major Barnes in his book on Fascism says: "It constitutes a good example of the kind of mentality and of the kind of approach to the problems of life issuing from it. The view of life is eminently synthetic, arising from the habit of thinking intuitively."

With these physical and mental conditions Italy could not keep pace with the progress of modern civilization and she felt her situation more bitterly on account of the attitude towards her of the other progressive nations who considered her to be an exhausted nation incapable of making any new effort. The bitterness was further increased by the mentality of the upper classes of her society who were very much under the influence of the *oltre-alpe* (trans-Alpine) political and social thought.

The first expression of this awkward feeling in the mass-mind of Italy is to be found in the idealistic-religious aspect of the Risorgimento as developed by Mazzini and Gioberti. These two great thinkers perceived intuitively that if the Italian people were to rise again and play a new rôle in the world in competition with the other nations, they must develop along the line of their history, which line was in its turn traced by the moral outlook of the race. So these two writers emphasized the awakening of the moral qualities of the race and the development and preservation of those institutions in which those moral qualities were embodied. They recognized that for Italy the great problem was not merely liberty, but liberty with authority, and if this liberty with authority was to be obtained, the idea of liberty must be taken beyond the plane of politics and based upon the moral experience

of the race, which experience revealed itself through the Church for Manzoni, through the State for Gioberti and through the conception of universalism for Mazzini. When liberty is thus based on the accumulated moral experience of the race, the individual loses that supremacy which he enjoys under the Jacobean conception of liberty and his rights are balanced by corresponding duties. So for these thinkers the conception of *diritti e doveri* (rights and duties), the element of religiousness in their outlook on life, the vision of the State as an ethical substance whose business is not merely to govern in a negative manner but to promote culture, morality and civilization in a positive way.

This is an attitude that is against the entire trend of the so-called modern civilization. This attitude has derived immense nutrition from the above-mentioned feeling of the Italian mass-mind, because Italy has been made to feel that if she is to regain her former position in the hierarchy of nations, she can do so by creating a new ideal of life out of the elements of the character of her people and by imposing that ideal upon the world. She must go out into the world with the message that modern civilization has revealed its merits and demerits; the standard of value must now be changed and the civilization recast.

## II

We are now in a position to understand how Fascism is a movement of the mass-mind of Italy, how its advent to power means not only the change of government but also the fall of a mentality. The neo-Europeans of Italy, who grew in number and were very influential and controlled the helm of affairs in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and continued to control it till the end of the war, maintained an attitude that was thoroughly trans-Alpine. Their ideals were the ideals of 1789 and their consequent developments. In the field of thought they exalted and looked up for inspiration to the masters of positivism and materialism. In the field of politics they tried to experiment with the democratic-liberal form of government, believing in the fundamental rights of men. In the field of economics they tried to import the ideas of Marxian socialism and organize labour into trade unions and

syndicates. It is unnecessary to go into the details of the chaos in Italian political life that existed during the entire period of the control of affairs by these neo-Europeans. Suffice it to say that as a result of their creating a State that was an instrument for personal egoism of individuals, the country headed towards a process of dissolution and anarchy, and the forces of the State were reduced to the minimum of strength.

Fascism is a reaction against this neo-European mentality and a vigorous reassertion of the spirit of the Italian people. So its chief significance is not so much political as moral, and that it is a movement of the people is evident from its determination to give prominence to the moral qualities of the Italian mass and to pursue a programme of reconstruction based on the characteristic qualities of the mind and character of the race. We have seen the moral qualities of the Italian people. Fascism enlogizes these and sets before it a definite standard of character, based on these qualities. Its very success and rapid growth indicates that it is a thing of the soil. Fascism intends to make the traditions and mentality of the Italian mass the basis of its programme for spiritual renovation of the country, because that is not only the line of least resistance but also the one that would give the best results. The corporative organization of society comes from its Roman sense of social solidarity; the preservation of individual initiative and private ownership in the field of production comes from its proprietary instinct; the rejection of material outlook on life by Fascism comes from the peculiar formation of the Italian mind; Fascism's reverence for the institution of family comes from its deep family instinct; and the programme of ruralization is adopted not only because the greater part of the Italian mass is agricultural but also because it is favourable to the development and preservation of the anti-materialistic qualities of the race.

We see how closely the two expressions of the Italian mass-mind, the Risorgimento of Manzoni, Mazzini and Gioberti and the Fascism of Mussolini, resemble in their general features, in their conception of liberty and duty, in their exaltation of the idea of Romanity

or rather Italianity in their idealistic and religious approach to life, in their conception of the ordering of society under an ethical State, in their recognition of the necessity of establishing a moral standard of value. Fascism has returned to the spirit of the Risorgimento, or rather the spirit of the Risorgimento, which suffered a set-back from the acute political and economic problems of the country and the other handicaps from which a newly-born nation suffers and was overpowered by the fascinating ideologies of the nineteenth century, has reappeared in the garb of Fascism after the war had reduced to ashes the debris of these ideologies.

Fascism is thus a new *weltanschauung*, rather an old *weltanschauung* in a new form. It appeared first as a political and economic doctrine because it was primarily a reaction against modern civilization which is political and economic. But the quintessence of Fascism consists in a moral vision of life, in the perception of a moral law operating in the heart of the world and in tuning the rhythm of individual as well as social activity to the operation of this moral law. Hence in Fascism it is not the majority that counts but the minority that feels within it the operation of this moral law. This minority, when acting in accordance with this moral law, cannot but act in a manner that will lead to general welfare. It is in this sense and in this sense alone, that there is justification for "Fascist Aristocracy" in the art of government, which is not an aristocracy of birth or money but of moral perception. The glory of the Fascist State also consists in this that it centralizes and regulates the entire moral activity of the race. It is a State that is not a legal contract, it is not an artificial creation of the individual, but a natural and organic exigence, immanent in the spirit of the individual himself and a postulate to his morality. This is what is meant by the ethical State and explains the dictum of Mussolini: "Everything within the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State."

Fascism being essentially a moral vision of life, the chief task for Fascism is the education of the race and the proper formation of the character thereof. It may be said that if Fascism is a movement of the mass-mind, the



character already exists. Yes, but it exists in an amorphous state. It is necessary to bring this character into relief by giving it a greater coherence and exhibiting all its brightness after removing the dirty crusts of four centuries of decadence. So if anybody asks me what are the most important institutions of Fascism, I shall not name its political or economic institutions, but those that are connected with the proper training of the race.

The first of these in importance is certainly the educational organization of Fascism. And this is recognized by Mussolini when he says that "the most fascist of all reforms is the reform of education." The aim of this educational reform is to produce that balanced life which Fascism considers as its ideal. Man is made up of the mind, the body and the spirit. Modern education is too intellectual, too much a matter of specialization, with the result that it leads to a one-sided development of human character. The aim of Fascism is to unify and integrate the different sides of human nature so that the character formed under education may have a harmony, which harmony in individual life will ultimately lead to the promotion of social harmony and the harmony of the activity of the State. The body must have its proper care and growth, just as the mind and the spirit. The mind should not grow at the expense of the body and the spirit and the spirit cannot be kept starved to feed the body and the mind. A sort of musical harmony between them must exist. So Fascism promotes sport and includes in its educational programme religion and the aesthetic subjects. And if this new educational reform is to produce its desired effect, the greatest care should be taken in the education that is imparted in the elementary and primary schools, because the nation lives in children. So the greatest reform has been made in the school-curriculum. The imparting of education in the schools has been brought directly under the control of the State. The State prepares the syllabus and text-books are written according to that syllabus. The examination is also controlled by the State. There is one prescribed book containing the entire course in religion, grammar, literature, arithmetic, history, geography, general culture, principal

physical phenomena in relation to human life, calligraphy and drawing. The reform was at first promoted by Gentile and it was supplemented by the Royal Decree of November 5, 1930, which fixed the programme of examination in every subject. Before me now lies such a book written according to the syllabus fixed by the State. As I go through it I perceive how the whole thing has been designed not only to give an essential all-round knowledge to the pupil but also to develop the mental and moral qualities according to the Fascist ideal. The historical portion contains sketches of the men who have made the history of the country and nourishes the nationalistic spirit. The cultural portion gives an idea of the arts, professions and trades, of the family, the communes, the State and the regime and lays down the principal rights and duties of the citizen. It is significant that the duties are placed first and the rights after them. The chief duties of the citizen are : (1) obedience, (2) lending military service, (3) payment of taxes. The chief rights are : (1) equality of all citizens in the eye of law, (2) the right of ownership, (3) personal liberty, (4) liberty of thought and of the press and of forming associations so long as it does not involve the safety of the State and the tranquillity of the citizens, (5) the right to vote. Physical education begins with simple drill in the elementary schools and ends with the training imparted by the Academy for Physical Education. There is also compulsory military training for eighteen months for all adults. The impetus given by Fascism to physical education is evident in the many championships established by the State and the Communes all over Italy.

Next to the educational organization come the Balilla, Avanguardisti and Giovani Fascisti (young fascists) organizations. It is through these organizations that Fascism is injecting its spirit into the race. The most important ideas of Fascism are the ancient Roman discipline and hierarchy. These two ideals are being realized through these organizations. There are three age divisions according to the three different organizations. The Balilla organization is for boys from 8 to 14 years of age, the Avanguardisti from 14 to 18, the Giovani Fascisti from 18 to 21, after which age

the members become full-fledged fascists. The name Balilla has a history behind it. On the 6th of December, 1746, a heavy artillery waggon, which the Austrians were dragging along the streets of the city of Genoa, got stuck into the ground rendered soft by the rain. The officer who commanded the company ordered the Italian passers-by to help the soldiers to disengage the waggon, and seeing that the passers-by did not seem to hear him, he caught hold of some and whipped them, trying by this method to make them obey his orders. At this act, a boy of eleven, named Gian Battista Perasso, nicknamed Balilla, picked up a big piece of stone and hurled it at the officer who, struck violently on the forehead, fell to the ground. After this, in a few minutes, all the people came down to the street and there was a regular organized revolt and the Austrians were driven out of Genoa.

Side by side with these organizations, there is another organization known as "Fasci all'Estero," which carries the spirit of Italianity and the ideal of Fascism to those who have been forced to leave the motherland and live under foreign skies. These organizations are the supreme examples of how Fascism is rearing up the new Italian race. This summer I had the privilege of seeing the members of these youth organizations assembled in Rome in two camps and from the talk that I had with many of them, I could feel how the entire nation was slowly but surely regaining its lost self through these young flowers of the race. There were about sixty thousand of them come from all parts of Italy and from over 120 foreign towns and countries. For two months they lived in camps like soldiers under the strict discipline of the camp life, with the routine of the daily life fixed beforehand and rigorously followed. Little boys and inexperienced youngsters how cheerfully they submitted themselves to this discipline, far away from their parents and affectionate relations! The camps, the uniforms, the expenses of travel and the daily expenses of each and every boy were supplied by the State. A huge expenditure it might be said, but it is the most judicious investment that the State is making because the hope of Italy, the triumph of Italianity lies in them; because it

is on this new generation trained under the Fascist method that the continuation of the political and economic institutions of Fascism depends. The happiest sign in the movement is that it is supported by the people. Most of the members of the organizations come from the labouring classes. In my talks with them I found how the fire of patriotism was burning in the souls of these young creatures and how keenly they appreciated the many good things that the Fascist regime has been doing for the people. One boy told me: "Formerly in Italy everybody considered himself important and nobody wanted to follow. The misery of Italy was due to that. Now the things are changed. Now we follow Mussolini because Mussolini is always right."

The feeling that Mussolini is always right is very common among the popular classes. This is the greatest source of strength for Fascism. This source has been tapped not by coercion but by winning the sympathy of the people through many good deeds. It is wrong to consider Fascism as a capitalistic regime. In the beginning it had the sympathy of the capitalists. But it was a temporary phase of Fascism determined by the circumstances of the country. The capitalistic sympathy was utilized by Fascism in order to strengthen itself to fight against the Bolshevist forces that ruled Italian life at the time. But it did not mean any domination of Fascism by Capitalism. Fascism was anti-Bolshevist but it was not anti-Labour. In fact, the capitalistic influence lasted so long as Fascism remained a party movement, but as soon as it came to power and identified itself with the State and the nation, it got rid of the capitalistic influence by its own inner revolutionary force and took up the positive side of the socialistic programme. The socialists by emphasizing their negative programme of ruining capitalism by means of strikes and anti-Statal activities, paralysed industry and weakened the State, but they themselves had not the courage to take the entire responsibility of the State and industry on them. This disappointed a large part of the urban as well as rural proletariat of Italy and with the growing strength of Fascism many of the proletarian organizations in the country and the town came over to

the side of Fascism. And Fascism has ever since been acting as a guardian angel of the Italian proletariat. If the conditions of any classes have been ameliorated under the Fascist regime, it is that of the popular classes. The Fascist government cares for them with paternal love. Conditions of labour have been remarkably improved and so also the housing conditions. The regime has built many quarters where the poor may have accommodation at a cheap rate. Lands have been reclaimed and colonies built for the popular classes. The celebrated Littoria is a colony built by the regime where quarters have been constructed for nearly fifty thousand families with all modern comforts. Of late another colony has been established at Sabaudia. What is admirable in Fascism is the frankness and honesty of intentions with which it approaches the people. There is a ring of sincerity in its appeal to the people which the masses immediately appreciate. There is one particular institution through which the regime is winning the affection of the people. It is the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (After-Work Labour Association). This institution whose branches are spread over the whole of Italy inasmuch as every trade union has a *dopolavoro* organization, looks after the development of the physical, intellectual and moral capacity of the people. It has established physical culture institutes, clubs, libraries for the working people. And during my brief stay in Italy, I have noticed how this institute provides for other amenities of life for the people. In the cinema, in the theatre, in every other kind of amusements there is a special *dopolavoro* ticket for the people. There are special trains at a nominal price for tickets to enable the popular classes to make holiday trips. Another concession which has a permanent character, is the reduction of railway fares amounting to 80 % for newly-married couples. The joys of art, music, sport, and travel are thus brought to the doors of the people by the State.

Another institute which cares for the race and is at the same time an instrument for winning the sympathy of the people, is the *Opera Nazionale per la Protezione ed Assistenza della Maternità ed Infanzia* (Maternity and Infant Welfare Society). I visited one

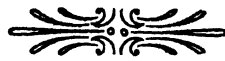
such institute and saw parturient mothers lying in bed and newly-born babies left in care of the State while the mothers were away for the day's work. This particular institute has arrangements for three kinds of work :—(i) to assist in parturition, (ii) to care for babies who are deserted by their parents, (iii) to look after babies and children whose mothers are away for day's work. The mothers of these babies and children leave them in care of the institute in the morning and take them back in the evening when the day's work is done. In another part of this institute I came across a most remarkable thing. In this part the rooms were occupied by adults and children of both the sexes. When I entered there, the children were running about and making a noise. Some of the adults were chattering, increasing the noise that the children were making. Others were sitting silent. All of them were ill-clad and had the shadow of misfortune on their faces. I asked the director who they were and why they were here. The director told me that they were all families that could not pay their rent and were ejected by their landlords. Poor creatures! They were given shelter there by the State against the inclemence of fortune and provided with food. There is a constant influx of such families. They stay here for ten, fifteen or twenty days till a means of sustenance and housing accommodation is found for them. Here is a fact that speaks for itself.

I have mentioned only a few of the activities of Fascism. It is not possible to mention all the constructive and reconstructive activities of the regime within the brief space of an article. It may also appear that I have minimized the political and economic activities of Fascism. But the signal results achieved by Fascism in these two fields are well known. Fascism has established a sort of friendship between the political and economic activities of the State—a result which has not been achieved by any other nation and the lack of which is the cause of many maladjustments in life that we find today. During the eleven years of its existence it has placed Italy in a sound economic position. In these days of crisis the lira has maintained its sound position. While in other and richer countries it has

been found necessary to abandon the gold standard, Italy has steadily declined to do so. This is because Italy has resolutely opposed loans to foreign countries and the scarcity of Italian money outside Italy safeguards it against foreign speculation. Italian exportation also shows a tendency to increase in these days of crisis and the gold-reserve of the Bank of Italy follows an ascending curve. During these eleven years Fascism has improved all the public services and has undertaken and completed public works and works of land reclamation on a vast scale, thus diminishing the number of the unemployed. The report published recently by the English Ministry of Commerce on the economic situation of Italy says in its conclusion that the general tendency of the country is towards optimism, that the courage and firmness which Italy is showing in developing a new form of economico-social national life is admirable, that the results obtained up till now and the ideals aimed at by this great experiment deserve the greatest attention on the part of the rest of the world.

I shall conclude this article by answering one question. What has been the effect of eleven years of Fascism upon the spirit of the race? In my book on Mussolini I wrote that it was as yet early for Fascism to produce any moulding effect upon the mentality of the race. But now a generation seems to have arisen with a distinct Fascist mould of the mind. Eleven years of ceaseless effort which Fascism has made to train the race has not gone in vain. Before me lies the special number of a journal, the *Saggiatore*, in which sixty young Italian writers have expressed their views about modern civilization. Remarkable is the similarity of their tone, which reveals a vigorous breaking away from the old mentality. All these young intellectuals are imbued with the Fascist spirit of idealistic

realism. If I may so express it, with that mystic, intuitive conception of life of which I have spoken before. It is significant how these young writers consider reality. Reality for them is the obstacle for transforming the spirit into something better. Reality thus loses its charm in itself and gains its value only in relation to the spirit. The conception of life thus becomes dynamic and transcendental. The ideology of man the economic being, which is the fundamental conception of Capitalism and Bolshevism, is thrown overboard and in its place is installed the ideology of the integral man—man the political being, the economic being, the religious being; the saint, the warrior. This was emphasized by Mussolini in his latest and famous discourse on corporations and the new mentality is the expression of this integral man. Here lies the essential difference between Bolshevism and Fascism. Fascism can fearlessly go all the length with Bolshevism in its economic programme if that is necessary, but in one case the fundamental conception or mentality is the continuation of the liberal theory; in the other the conception is accepted and surpassed. The rise of Fascist mentality and its projection into the world therefore means the downfall of the capitalistic and socialistic mentality. In this mentality of the young Italian intellectuals return the activism of the Roman Italy, the mysticism of the mediaeval Italy, and the political and speculative philosophy of modern Italy as developed by Vico, Cuoco, Gioberti, Mazzini, Spaventa and others. The synthetic expression of this mentality is to be found in the character and personality of Mussolini and drawing inspiration from his example this great, intelligent and laborious people, through its new generations, is moving towards a complete realization of a new and better order of things and towards creating a new national patrimony of inestimable value.



# WANTED—AN INDEPENDENT INDIAN CURRENCY

By GILBERT SLATER

**T**WO great boons, a sound currency and liberation from external debt, are now possible for India if public opinion is alert, and the Government is wise. To establish the former is easy, if the attempt is made on right lines, and when that is done, a great step towards the latter end will have also been made.

But it must first be understood what constitutes a sound and honest currency. Just as a sound and honest measure of length, or of volume, or of mass must be one that does not vary from day to day, or from year to year, so an honest standard of value must be one that varies as little as possible from time to time, since to eliminate variations completely is not at present possible. The essential function of money is to be a standard of value. Rupees, dollars, francs, or pounds sterling, which jump up and down in purchasing power, so that the real value of a given sum borrowed may be doubled or halved between the time of borrowing and the time of repayment, are not sound and honest money.

There was a time when gold, and currencies based on gold, worked not very well, but also not very badly. The first decade of the present century was such a period. But that condition passed away for good with the outbreak of the Great War; and now the first essential for the solution of the currency problem for India is to recognize that a currency based on gold cannot be a sound currency, as it is already recognized outside India. Since the closing of the mints to the free coining of silver, Indian currency has been like a sick man suffering from some mysterious disease, round whose bed physicians from abroad have been gathered to consult and prescribe, and have damaged their own reputations in the process. Each Royal Commission and Select Committee has been unfortunate in finding its diagnosis contradicted by the event, and the wisest actions of the Government in relation to currency have been those taken in opposition to their advice.

But the last, Hilton-Young Commission, has been the most unfortunate of all.

This is not to say, however, that India should go back to the silver standard, and re-open the mints to the free coinage of silver. Silver, indeed, would probably be a better basis than gold, but it would not be a good one, and India can do better.

The reformed Indian currency should be, *in form*, what it is at present. It consists now of silver rupees and of Government notes cashable in silver rupees—it should continue in the same form. It is a managed currency now, it should still be a managed currency. But the management should be altered radically.

At present Indian currency is managed by the Secretary of State for India in London, under advice which echoes the opinion of the financiers of the City of London, who are more concerned with the interests of India's London creditors than with those of India, and most of all with the smooth operation of their own money lending and money trading business. In so far as the Secretary of State proceeds on any definite principle, it is that of linking the rupee to the pound sterling. What are pounds sterling? Merely slips of paper with green and blue patterns printed on them, and the words "Bank of England Promise to pay the Bearer on Demand the sum of One Pound"—i.e., to give him back the same slip of paper, or another like it, if he presents it at the Bank's counter. Subject to some measure of Treasury control, Mr. Montagu Norman and his subordinates can decrease or multiply the numbers of those "pounds" in circulation, increase or decrease their purchasing power, and consequently, that of the rupee.

It is not surprising, therefore, that India should be thoroughly discontented with the present system, and this discontent is the reason, I presume, why so much approval has been given to the proposal that Indian currency should be controlled by a Reserve Bank. But this would be jumping out of the

frying pan into the fire. The theory that national currencies should not be controlled by the nations, or by any persons responsible to them, but by irresponsible Directors of privately owned banks, operated for private profit, is an invention of the bankers themselves, which since the war they have foisted upon ignorant politicians; and their success in so doing has been one of the chief factors in bringing about the present disastrous state of the world. The ancient principle that the monarch should be responsible for the currency is the true one. Applied to India at the present time, it means that the management of the currency should be vested in public servants, acting under general instructions issued, after careful enquiry and full debate, by the Indian Legislature. The chief aims of the management should be—

(i) to increase the volume of currency in circulation sufficiently to neutralize the recent slump in prices, and to bring back the price level to that of the most prosperous of recent years.

(ii) Subsequently, from time to time to increase further the quantity of money in circulation in proportion to the increase of population and productive power.

(iii) To watch movements of prices, with a view to keeping as uniform as possible the average rupee prices of commodities dealt with in India, whether imported, exported, or produced and consumed within the country.

The true function of the Indian Reserve Bank, when established, will be to control neither currency nor credit, but to be the Bankers' Bank, and to co-ordinate credit, assisting all the existing and future banks to do their business of financing Indian trade and production with greater security, efficiency and economy. It should also act with the Currency Department of the Government in giving Indian currency the elasticity required to meet the variation of seasonal demand for ready money which takes place every year.

The direct benefit of the establishment of a sound and independent currency system on the above lines, by giving encouragement and greater security to all producers, is obvious. But the indirect benefits are also great.

Firstly, as stated above, it would assist greatly in freeing India from external debt,

and giving her financial independence. Since the War, international debts have increased to such an extent as to become for some nations an intolerable burden, which they have endeavoured to shake off by pleading for cancellation, by moratoria, by disguised bankruptcy, by making token payments, and even by downright repudiation. It is more and more recognized that they are injurious to creditor as well as to debtor countries, and nobody has urged this with greater force than His Majesty's Government in its notes to America. I am not advocating the application of such drastic measures to the Indian public debt.

It is urged that part of India's sterling debt represents charges unjustly laid on Indian tax-payers for purposes in which India was not concerned. I am not competent to discuss how far that is true. But it will not be denied that a great part, perhaps the much greater part, represents loans prudently and economically raised in order to provide railways and irrigation works and other public assets, and that these assets remain and are worth more to India than the money spent on them. Such debt should be regarded as a debt of honour, as well as a legal debt. But it should not be allowed to continue indefinitely, but be repaid as quickly as possible.

As soon as India determines on having a sound currency, and abandons the idea of basing her currency on gold, the gold accumulated in order to put the rupee on a gold basis becomes available for more profitable use. It amounts, we are told, to over sixty million sovereigns; which at current prices would fetch over £90,000,000. This sum could and should be used to pay off sterling debt, and with able management could probably be made also to reduce the interest payable on the remainder of that debt.

This, however, is only the beginning. Though many individual Indians have wisely used the opportunity of the enhanced price of gold to sell what they had, no doubt there yet remain even larger amounts still in Indian possession. To continue to hold is a dangerous speculation. The craze for acquiring gold to bury it in underground vaults, where it is only an expense and a nuisance, and to hoard it in other ways, still persists in Europe and

America, but the folly of that procedure may be realized at any moment, and when these hoards are disgorged, gold will slump. Many Indians who have gold to sell will probably wish to sell while the present fancy prices last. The Indian Government should help them, by buying at the highest price which will permit it to resell in the world market without loss; issuing rupee loans, if necessary to cover the cost, and using the sterling realized to pay off more sterling debt. In that way a part of the external debt—how much cannot be estimated—would be converted into internal debt, and the interest accruing would pass into Indian instead of foreign pockets.

Again, in order to bring up the supply of money to the amount Indian trade and industry needs for smooth working, an enlarged issue of rupees is needed, which must not only be printed, and covered to the extent necessary with silver, but must also be put into circulation. It is agreed among economists that the best way of increasing the stock of money in active circulation is to spend it on creating new public assets. India is in great need of such beneficial and profitable expenditure. In view of the development of new means of locomotion, caution should be exercised in the further extension of railways, but there is still scope in that direction.

Then, beside irrigation, there is need for much capital expenditure on supply and distribution of electrical power, in improvement of roads and bridges, schools and hospitals, and many other requisites for a higher standard of life. The currency reform here advocated would enable these things to be obtained as *debt free* assets. Further, the progress in this direction would be continuous. Every expansion of currency required in order to make the volume of money increase *pari passu* with the volume of production would provide a further increase in public assets.

Every decrease in Indian external debt, and every increase in India's debt free assets, would facilitate further reductions of Indian liabilities, and free India more and more from any need to court speculative money-lenders in foreign countries. This means a higher status among the nations, and greater independence.

Lastly, in all this India would be giving a lead to the rest of the world, and helping to establish the admitted desideratum, a sound world currency. The West is trying or talking about attaining this by the mistaken policy of linking one unsound currency to another; and it is already clear that all such efforts and talk are futile. But let each nation set to work to establish its own currency on a sound basis, and the question of international exchanges will solve itself.

## DAVID HARE AS A PROMOTER OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

By JOGESHI C. BAGAL

**T**HE life and works of David Hare form an important chapter in the history of education in India. In a previous article in this *Review* (January, 1933), I attempted a resumé of Hare's contributions to the cause of English education in India in the early nineteenth century. His endeavours at the education of the masses also deserve elaborate notice. David Hare\* started schools

in Calcutta and maintained them mostly from his own purse. His connection with the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society dated from their very inception

in general that he has this day retired from Business; and requests they will accept his most sincere thanks for the very liberal support with which they have favoured him for the last eighteen years.

He also takes this opportunity of respectfully and earnestly soliciting a continuance of their Patronage to his Successor, Mr. Gray; who came from England on purpose, and has been his Assistant for five years; which has afforded D. H. such a knowledge of his character and abilities, that he feels the greatest confidence in recommending him on their notice.  
*January 1, 1820.*

\* David Hare came to India as a watch-maker. He left this business for good in 1820 as the following extract from *The Government Gazette* (Supplement) of January 6, 1820 will show:

DAVID HARE

Watch Maker,

Begs to inform his friends and the public

in 1817 and 1818 respectively. He became secretary of the Calcutta School Society in 1823 and served it for more than a decade. The following extracts from contemporary newspapers will throw light on his educational activities.

A statue of Sir Edward Hyde East, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, was erected by his Indian admirers in 1830. Sir Edward was described on the pedestal of the statue as the originator of the Hindu College, the first of its kind in India to impart education in European science and literature. This led to a controversy in the Press. It was contended by many that David Hare, and not Sir Edward Hyde East, was the real originator\* of the college. *The India Gazette*, a prominent bi-weekly of the time, took exception to the words inscribed on the statue of Sir Edward and wrote :

(*The India Gazette*, June 14, 1830)

A statue, by Chantry, of Sir Edward Hyde East, is about to be placed in some part of the Court House, the sanction of the judges having been previously obtained. We are informed, that the inscription on the pedestal records the original establishment of the Hindoo College, as the work of Hyde East. Now, without questioning the interest he took in the cause of native education, we positively deny that he was the originator of the institution alluded to, although he was one of its earliest supporters. Doubtless, much credit is due to so much virtue, and the natives who voted for, and subscribed to, the erection of his statue deserve much praise for their just appreciation of so excellent a friend. But let not undue merit be ascribed to any man—let not one be robbed of his reputation to erect that of another. Let the Truth be told, and it will appear that Mr. Hare was the originator, and the most active individual in effecting the establishment of the Hindoo College. He it was who first performed and induced the worthy members of the native

community to subscribe towards the establishment of a fund for such an institution; he prevailed upon them to do so; he exerted himself to secure friends who might be able and willing to second his efforts; he got things ready into a train of operation; he subscribed (largely, we believe,) to the fund; the ground upon which the college now stands was sold by him at a considerable sacrifice; he witnessed the birth of the institution, watched it in its cradle, and now that it is prospering, his zeal for its success, and attention to its interests have not abated one jot, although the charm of novelty is gone—let not Sir Hyde East, or Mr. Wilson be put upon an



David Hare

So far as the conception of the Hindu College was concerned, the credit is primarily due to Raja Ram Mohun Roy. It was Ram Mohun who proposed orally for the first time to Sir Edward Hyde East that a college should be established in Calcutta to satisfy the modern needs of his countrymen.

Vide "Ram Mohun Roy as an educational Pioneer" by Brajendra Nath Banerji. *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, June 1930. Also my article in *The Modern Review*, January 1933.

equality with Mr. Hare, when the disinterestedness, assiduity, and regard of each for the mental improvement of the natives are discussed. Mr. Hare is also a secretary of an institution [The Calcutta School Society] for the propagation of useful knowledge among Hindoo youth. How much is he paid for his services? Let this be the answer. The School Society's disbursements fell short of its receipts by 6000 rupees in the year 1828: the deficiency was supplied by this gentleman, whose portrait has not been painted, whose statue has not been erected.

"A Hindoo and no lover of Mushroom



"Aristocracy" further dilated on the activities of David Hare in the paper :

There is another point, Mr. Editor, which I wish to bring to your notice. Who Mr. Hare is, what he does, and how he spends his time are questions that have not, I believe, been satisfactorily answered. You have said a great deal respecting these points, when you have mentioned that he is personally known to the three thousand boys that are attached to the School Society's Institutions, that he is also acquainted with the generality of the natives, and that there is no school in Calcutta which he does not visit. But you should have said more—from generals you should have descended to particulars. However, since you have not done so, permit me, Mr. Editor, to sketch an account of what Mr. Hare does in the course of the whole day. From ten O'clock in the morning, (the time in which the schools begin) to seven and sometimes even to eight in the evening, he visits all the native schools everyday. Enquire for Mr. Hare, during this time, and you are sure to find him in one or another school. But stop, Sir, this is but a part of what this worthy gentleman does for the good of the natives. If any of the pupils be sick, Mr. Hare prescribes Medicine, attends to him, and is not in ease, until he is quite recovered. All this I speak from my own experience. (*Ibid.*, June 18, 1830)

A rejoinder by "A Director of the institution from its very foundation" to the statements of the editor of *The India Gazette*, also reproduced in *The Hurkaru*, was published in *The Government Gazette* of June 24, 1830. It flatly denied that Hare was the originator of the Hindoo College, and that he subscribed to it. The Director wrote :

On the [14]th May, 1816, a very respectable Meeting of the Hindoos assembled, by the invitation, and at the House of the Honorable Sir Edward Hyde East, for the purpose of subscribing to, and forming an establishment for the liberal education of their children. Sir Edward alone addressed the meeting as to the object for which they were assembled, and as to the benefit that His Lordship considered would be derived by the country at large, from forming an establishment for the education of their youth. This proposal was explained by W. C. Blaquiere, Esq. and received with the unanimous approbation of all the Natives present, including the most eminent pundits, who sanctioned it with their express support and recommendation, and a large sum of money was immediately subscribed. Under this circumstance, it clearly appears that Mr.

Hare was not the originator of the Hindoo College; nor did he subscribe to it...

He, however, added :

In concluding this, I think it necessary to add, that it must not be supposed for one moment that I deny the merits of our much respected friend Mr. Hare, who is no doubt, a most disinterested promoter of the education of the Hindoo youths, and who devotes his whole time to further the objects of all useful Institutions established for the improvement of Natives; and as such he is universally esteemed and admired among us, and has our warmest thanks and most sincere acknowledgements for his unwearied attentions.

The rejoinder gave occasion for the following retort from the editor of *The India Gazette* :

Before "a very respectable meeting of the Hindoos assembled, by the invitation, and at the house of the Honorable Sir Edward Hyde East, for the purpose of subscribing to, and forming an establishment for the liberal Education of their children," had there been no such proposal in writing circulated among several native gentlemen? Had it not been handed to Sir Hyde East by a native gentleman? Did not that learned Judge make a few alterations in it, and approve of the proposal? And was not the author and originator of that paper, Mr. David Hare? Further, is it not a fact that on the occasion of an address being presented to Sir H. East by some members of the native community in which the same veracious compliment was paid to him which has since been engraved on marble, he disclaimed the honour? Let these questions be directly and explicitly answered. "A Director of the Hindoo College" may be able to favour us with something better than a *non-mi-ricordo* reply, "to remove doubts that might arise in the minds of the public." (*The India Gazette*, June 25, 1830).

In support of the editor's contention, "S" wrote a letter to *The India Gazette* on the 26th June. Part of the letter is given below :

(*Ibid.*, June 28, 1830)

The just claim which Mr. Hare has upon the respect and admiration of those, whether European or Native, who take interest in the liberal education of the people of this country, is beyond all doubt. It may not have been so generally known that Mr. Hare is the gentleman with whom the Institution of the Hindoo College originated. This being the case, it must be universally acknowledged that public honours considered to be due, on that

account, ought to have been testified, primarily and principally, towards Mr. Hare, and not towards Sir E. H. East; who, as it appears, only seconded and gave the weight of his influence and station as Chief Judge of the Supreme Court, to a project which had been first devised by another person, to whom therefore, the credit and merit of the plan belonged as matter of exclusive right.

Mr. Hare has his time entirely at this disposal, and he devotes the *whole* of it, in the most efficient manner, to further the objects of ALL useful institutions established

for the improvement of the natives, nay, more; he advances those objects by munificent donations from his private purse. No praise can be too great, no honours too high, for the man who thus exerts himself to promote the best interests of humanity, in the most comprehensive sense of that word. These tributes are due to him from the *whole body* of native gentlemen, who feel concern in securing the advantages of liberal education for the rising and for future generations: they are not due to him from any one isolated institution.

## RAMMOHUN ROY'S EMBASSY TO ENGLAND

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

RAMMOHUN sailed for England on 15th November, 1830, and reached Liverpool in the April following. The foremost thought which occupied his mind there was the mission from the King of Delhi. He explained his object in visiting England in a long letter addressed on 25th June, 1831, to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company. He wrote:

"I have the honour to acquaint you that one of the principal objects of my visiting England is to lay before the British authorities, if found necessary, a representation with which I am charged from His Majesty the King of Delhi, and more especially a letter from His Majesty to the King of England,\* which letter it will be my duty to take an early opportunity of presenting in the event of the appeal which I am induced in the first instance to make to the Hon'ble Court of Directors not being attended with success.

I would beg to state on the present occasion that I possess full and unlimited powers from His Majesty to negotiate and agree to a final settlement of what the King considers to be his fair and equitable claims on the Hon'ble East India Company. The circumstances connected with the appeal are stated in a pamphlet printed for greater facility of perusal and reference, a copy of which I now beg to submit herewith...."

As our intention to reproduce here the pamphlet mentioned above which was hitherto unknown to the biographers of Rammohun. This document, it will be seen, exhibits Rammohun's great forensic ability and was printed in London in 1831 for private circulation. I have discovered a copy of it among the Home Miscellaneous Series Records of the India Office and this will

also be included in the collected edition of Rammohun Roy's works shortly to be published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

### TREATY WITH THE KING OF DELHI DECISION THEREON

BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA  
WITH REMARKS ON THE LATTER

Original Treaty with His Majesty the King of Delhi, entered into in 1805, by the Local Government of Bengal, consisting of the Marquis of Wellesley and the Members of the Supreme Council.

Decision passed by Lord Amherst, Governor-General in Council, on the Articles of the above Treaty in 1828, in consequence of frequent demands on the part of His Majesty for its fulfilment.

#### TREATY

1. "All the Mehals (districts) to the west of the Jumna, situated between the west and north of Mouza Kabilpoor, shall be considered the crown-lands of His Majesty."

#### DECISION

1. As to the requests concerning the 1st and 8th articles of treaty, Government states, "that it was the original intention of Government to have assigned certain Mehals to the west of the Jumna, for the support of His Majesty and the Royal Family: but the plan was never, from unavoidable causes, carried completely into effect, and in 1809 the royal stipend was fixed at one lakh per month."

#### REMARKS ON THE DECISION

By the use of the word "intention" in this paragraph, His Lordship conveys the idea that the assignment of these districts was a mere inclination or suggestion in the breast of the Local Government, which it was at liberty to act on or not. Now, when in consequence of an intention, a promise is made, if even verbally, on which other parties are

\* For a copy of this letter see my monograph on *Rammohun Roy's Mission to England*, pp. 51-65.

induced to rely, the party promising becomes bound to fulfil it. But when that intention and promise have assumed the solemn form of a written contract or treaty, on the faithful observance of which the honour and character of the contracting party depend, and such treaty has even been reduced to practice for years, is it possible to regard the conditions of such a treaty as a mere "intention," which the party stipulating it is at liberty either to fulfil or not as it may suit his interest or convenience? Not only was this engagement formally embodied in a treaty regularly executed and recognized in the regulations or statutes of the British Indian empire, which are printed and circulated all over the country as the laws by which it is governed; but it was acted upon for some period after it was made; and it was afterwards repeatedly recognized in subsequent enactments of the government, which spoke of it as a Treaty which had been entered into, and was still in full force. For the evidence of this, see Sections 1st and 3rd of Regulation VIII. of 1805, which states, "that the revenues of the territory on the right bank of the Jumna are assigned to His Majesty Shah Alum." At Sections 1st and 2nd of Regulation X. of 1807, and at Section 1st of Regulation XI. of the same year, the language is similar though more general; for in these, "the territory assigned for the support of the Royal Family at Delhi," is mentioned without specifying its locality as in the former instances, the very absence of this specification marking its notoriety, and the distinctness of the purposes to which the revenues of that territory were exclusively applicable.\*

As a further proof, if such were necessary, of the actual cession of the territory for that purpose in pursuance of the Treaty, the King of Delhi was allowed to appoint his own accountants in conformity with the 3rd article of it, to attend at the offices of the Collector of the revenue to keep an account of the amount received, and report the same to him, that the royal treasury might not be deprived of any part. This they did for some years; after which, when the revenue realized, began to exceed very considerably the minimum stipulated and paid to His Majesty, his accountants were dismissed as inconvenient. On being informed that the revenues of the crown-lands had increased greatly, His Majesty applied for an augmentation of stipend; and Lord Minto directed the sum of 13,000 rupees to be added to His Majesty's personal allowance in addition to 60,000 previously received, both together not amounting to more than 73,000 rupees, which is very far short of one lac or 100,000 rupees, the sum which would be supposed from the above statement. This augmentation was made, however, without the least reference to His Majesty, and with a total disregard to the provisions of the Treaty by which it ought to have been much greater: against which injustice His Majesty never ceased to complain to all the Residents at his court, and also personally to Lord Amherst when his Lordship visited Delhi in 1827.

#### TREATY

2. "The management of these Mehals (districts) shall be continued according to custom in the hands of the Resident."

\* By a reference to the regulations, it will be found that the regulations above quoted, are still in force and not rescinded.

#### DECISION

2. "Requires no answer."

#### REMARKS

Virtually admitting that the territory continued under the control of the Resident, who, as sole manager thereof alienated and exchanged various parts of it.

#### TREATY

3. "For His Majesty's satisfaction, the Royal Mootusuddies (accountants) shall attend at the Cutchery (collector's office) to keep accounts of the receipts and disbursements, and report the same to His Majesty."

#### DECISION

3. "The Governor General is not aware of any advantage which could result from the enforcement of this article; as the maintenance of Mootusuddies (clerks) of the several Cutcheries (collector's offices) in the Delhi territory must obviously be an useless and unprofitable source of expense to His Majesty, which it would be better to avoid."

#### REMARKS

Were they dismissed, after several years attendance, from a kind regard to His Majesty, and to save him from the expense of them, as his Lordship here intimates? or with the view of concealing from His Majesty a knowledge of the amount of revenue justly due to him in terms of the treaty, but which it was now more convenient to withhold from him!

#### TREATY

4. "Two Adaulats (courts) one for Dewanee (civil) and the other for Foudary (criminal) business, shall be established, and all matters coming before them shall be decided according to the rules of Mahomedan law."

#### DECISION

4, 5, and 6. "The British Government distinctly reserved to itself the right of introducing such modifications as it might deem expedient and necessary into the system originally established for the management of the assigned territory, and it has exercised that discretion in the instances here referred to."

#### TREATY

5. "Two learned and respectable inhabitants of Delhi shall be appointed to the offices of Cazeer (judge) and Moottee (lawyer) in the above courts."

6. "In every criminal case where the punishment of mutilation or death may be adjudged by the officers of the Foudary (criminal court) the papers will be submitted by the Resident to the King for His Majesty's decision."

#### REMARKS

The British Government might introduce modifications into the mode of regulating its Courts established by these articles; but a disregard of the provision in article 6, cannot be called a modification, but a violation of the treaty.

#### TREATY

7. "The sums specified below shall be paid monthly by the Resident from the public treasury for the expenses of His Majesty and the Royal establishment, whether the whole of the amount is, or is not collected from the Khalsah (or crown) lands."

DECISION

7. "No answer required."

REMARKS

There is in fact no complaint of any violation of this article (fixing at first the minimum allowance) but rather that the Government adhered to it, with too great a tenacity after its operation had been superseded by the increase of the revenue produced by the assigned territory.

TREATY.

8. "Should there be an increase in the collections from the above Mohals (districts), in consequence of extended cultivation and the improved condition of Ryots (cultivators) an augmentation to that amount will take place in the King's Pesheush (tribute)."

DECISION.

8 "Noticed above (par. 1)"

REMARKS.

No specific answer is given to this, because it is unanswerable, and proves, beyond all question, that the King's monthly tribute (then fixed at a minimum of 60,000 rupees) was to increase in proportion as the revenues of the crown-lands improved. Yet notwithstanding the vast increase that has taken place in the revenues, now more than trebled, the above tribute has only been increased 13,000 rupees.

TREATY.

9. "The Resident will present 10,000 rupees on the occasion of each of the seven festivals held annually, viz., two Eeds, the anniversary of the Accession, the Now Roze (new year's day), the Holy Rumzan, the Hooly, and Bussunt."

DECISION.

9. "The presents here referred to, were commuted long since for a monthly payment of Rs. 6000 which amount was added to His Majesty's stipend."

REMARK.

Even this arrangement was made without the previous consent of His Majesty.

TREATY.

10. "The Jagheers (estates) of the heir apparent and Mirzah Aizedbukhsh, situated in the Doab, shall be made over to the officers of the Honourable Company."

DECISION.

10. "Requires no answer."

REMARK.

The fulfilment of this rested with the Resident and Aizedbukhsh, etc.

TREATY.

11. The expense of the Troops, Police Corps, etc. employed in the Khalsah (or crown-lands) shall be defrayed by the Honourable Company.

DECISION.

11. "The expenses here alluded to have been always defrayed by the British Government."

REMARKS.

The obvious meaning of this article is, to satisfy the King that this expense of troops, etc., was to be defrayed by the Honourable Company, and that they were not to be maintained at His Majesty's expense, or become a charge upon the produce of the crown-lands, so as to diminish in any degree the amount of their revenue which was stipulated and exclusively due to His Majesty.

In short, when by increased cultivation the revenues of the crown-lands augmented considerably above the fixed minimum, the Local Government began to regret that the treaty should operate more favourably for His Majesty than was at first expected, and felt less reluctance to violate a treaty with a fallen dynasty, than to part with a considerable sum of money.

In order to remove an objection which might have been made by some illiberal men, that allowing of an increase of revenue to the King would be contrary to sound policy, it may be added that His Majesty has agreed, in a letter to the British Sovereign, never to retain in his treasury more than twelve lacks of rupes (about £120,000 sterling) at one time, and to forfeit any sum beyond that which may be found in his possession; and that he will invest in the Honourable Company's funds any surplus beyond the twelve lacks, should such exist.

He has also given a solemn promise under his hand to one of his confidential servants, that if any surplus exists beyond what is absolutely required by the actual necessities of himself and family, he will employ it in establishing seminaries of education throughout his territories.

SUMS ALLUDED TO IN ARTICLE 7TH OF THE TREATY.

"Detail of the fixed Pesheush (tribute) and other allowances,

"For His Majesty"	Rs. 60,000
"The Heir apparent, exclusive of the Jagheer (estate) of Kote Cassini"	Rs. 10,000
"Mirza Aizedbukhsh (viz. on account of Doab Jagheer) 1000 Pesheush."	Rs. 2,000
"Princes and Princesses, each"	Rs. 200
"Salary of Shah Newaz Khan"	Rs. 2,500

As the Local Government of Bengal in their letter to the Honourable Court of Directors in 1828, ground the above decision on the Report of Sir Charles Metcalfe dated June or July, 1827, it is therefore necessary to subjoin this Report, in so far as it relates to the Treaty in question, with remarks on each paragraph, to enable the reader to form a judgement how far this report can afford any degree of support to such a decision, or justify the direct violation of the Treaty.

REPORT OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE.

Observations on the Report of the Hon. Sir Charles Metcalfe dated July 1827, then Resident at Delhi, and recorded by the Local Government of Fort William in July 1827, on which the resolutions of Government in 1827, refusing to adjust the claims of the King of Delhi are founded, as is evident from its despatches to the Court of Directors, of July 1828, and May, 1829.

1. **Report.**—The 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th paragraphs of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Report, containing no arguments, do not require comment.

2. Sir Charles Metcalfe states in the 5th paragraph of his Report, "that it seems impossible to ascertain to what district" (the Mehals assigned in the first article for the support of the royal family) "are applicable"; and again in the 6th paragraph of the same Report, that "respecting the document" (the written agreement entered into by Government

with his Majesty in the year 1805), "it may be remarked that it is an intimation of the intentions of the British Government at that time, and not an engagement positively binding as to its future conduct."

3. **Remarks.**—With a view to ascertain how far these statements are correct, I may refer to the document alluded to—*viz.*, a Treaty permanently concluded with His Majesty in 1805, by the Marquis of Wellesley, as well as to the concurrent spirit and words of several regulations of the Supreme Government, passed in subsequent years. With regard to the district which it seems to Sir Charles Metcalfe impossible to ascertain from the terms of the Treaty, as assigned to His Majesty, the specification appears pretty distinctly stated in the words of the 1st article of the Treaty alluded to, which are as follows:—

4. Article 1st. "All the Mehals to the west of the river Jumna, lying between the west and the north of the Mouza of Kaboolpoor, are fixed, as the Khalsah Shureefah, or Crown-lands of His Presence or Majesty."

5. Again, that this article was conformable to the deliberate intentions of Government, appears clearly from the words of Section 4th, of Regulation XI of 1804, the year *previous* to the final conclusion of the Treaty, where it is most clearly expressed, "that the revenues of the territory on the right bank of the Jumna are assigned to His Majesty Shah Alum;" and we find precisely the same language used at Section 22nd of the same Regulation, wherein it is laid down that certain articles imported by sea are exempted from duty, on their exportation to the territory on the right bank of the Jumna, the revenues of which are assigned to His Majesty, Shah Alum;" at Section 35 of the same Regulation, it is also ordered that salt imported into the Zillahs, or "from the territory situated on the right bank of the Jumna, the revenues of which are assigned to His Majesty, Shah Alum, shall be subject to a duty." At Section 3rd of Regulation VI of the succeeding year, the same expression as to the assignment of the revenues on the right bank of the Jumna to His Majesty Shah Alum is used; and at Sections 2nd and 4th of Regulation VIII. of the same year, it is enacted that the "laws or regulations of the British Government, printed and published in the manner prescribed in Regulation I. of the year 1803, are not to extend to the territory on the right bank of the Jumna, the revenues of which are assigned to His Majesty Shah Alum." That the British Government continued in the intention of acting in the spirit of the Treaty of 1805 is equally manifest from the fact that, in 1807, the fourth year after the first announcement of the aforesaid territories being assigned to His Majesty, Shah Alum, and the third year of the Treaty of 1805, the same language is used, though in a more extended sense. It is enacted in Sections the 1st and 2nd of Regulation X of 1807, "that territory assigned for the support of the Royal Family at Delhi" shall be excepted from the superintendence of a commissioner appointed by the Supreme Government to superintend the settlement of the revenues, and for the general control of the collectors. And again, in Section 1st of Regulation IX. of the same year, it is ordained that "the territory assigned for the support of the Royal Family at Delhi" shall be exempted from the ordinances framed in this Regulation.

6. After these incontestible proofs that the boundaries of the Crown-lands in question are most

distinctly laid down and the appropriation of the revenues thereof to the support of the Royal Family deliberately, fully and unequivocally set forth, during a period of four years—*viz.* 1804, 1805, 1806 and 1807, and so late as the latter year, 1807, these territories were entitled, "the lands assigned for the support of the Royal Family at Delhi," it is rather unaccountable that Sir Charles Metcalfe should think it "impossible to ascertain to what district the territory was applicable," or to believe that the Treaty itself, and the provisions cited from the Government Regulations for a period of several years are to be construed as "merely intimations of the intention of the British Government."

7. It may not be considered superfluous if I quote, in this place, the language of the 10th paragraph of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Report, as indicative of the inconsistency of the honourable gentleman; for he there admits the identity of the district which he sets out with declaring the impossibility of ascertaining. He says, "these instructions declare that the territory to be assigned for the support of His Majesty is to comprise all the territory on the right bank of the Jumna, to the northward of Kaboolpoor, ceded to us, by the Treaty of Surjee Angaunam."

8. **Report.**—In the first part of the 7th paragraph of the same Report, Sir Charles Metcalfe states, that "it will be easy to show that this Treaty was not deemed binding for any, the shortest period, that it was scarcely written before it was virtually annulled, and that the British Government never did intend to enter into any compact with His Majesty."

9. **Remarks.**—This assertion is equally unaccountable as the former one, and it is quite sufficient to refer to the quotations already offered from Regulation XI. of 1804, Regulation VI. and VIII. of 1805, and Regulation X. and XI. of 1807, for the most undeniable proof that the assignment of the territory in question, was not only held valid, "for any, the shortest period," but publicly announced, and officially recognised, for several years, as the Khalsah lands, the revenues of which belonged to the Royal Family of Delhi.

10. **Report.**—In justification of the delusion which according to Sir Charles Metcalfe, the British Government put on the world, as well as on the King of Delhi, by the apparent liberality of the Treaty of 1805, he alleges, at the conclusion of the 7th paragraph of his Report, that "the British Government never did intend to enter into any compact with His Majesty, who, having in fact come into the hands of the British Government, without power or possessions, had nothing to confer in return for the benefits which he received and was not master of the materials for mutual negotiation, or treaty."

11. **Remarks.**—My remark on this paragraph is, that the only reciprocal advantage which could be derived from a cession to His Majesty, at the period of the first British conquest of the western provinces, consisted in the greater stability to the power of the British Government, attained, by securing the grateful friendship of a monarch, who, though without territorial possession, was still regarded by the nations of Hindoostan as the only legitimate fountain of either honour or dominion. The assignment, even of a small slip of territory, to the acknowledged Emperor of India, was, in the circumstances of the times, eminently calculated to ensure the popularity of the English nation, and, in common with several other acts, was strongly illustrative of

the wisdom and foresight that characterised the policy of the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley. I may, moreover, observe, that to this Royal Family the British nation stood indebted for their original legal settlement on the banks of the Ganges, and consequently, for their subsequent gradual territorial acquirement of almost the whole of Hindoostan. And further, His Majesty, Shah Alum, in the year 1765, then an independent sovereign and the universally acknowledged monarch of the whole of Hindoostan, readily granted to the Hon. East India Company, at the solicitation of their representative, Lord Clive, with other privileges and immunities, the Dewanship, in perpetuity, of such fertile territories as Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. It cannot, I presume be considered an over-excess of liberality, or favour, that the representative of his Britannic Majesty should in the full plenitude of power, and after the conquest of a most extensive country, have granted a comparatively minute portion on the bank of the river adjoining the royal city of Delhi, for the maintenance of that personage and his family, who was, from their first landing in India, the firmest friend and ally of the English nation.

12 And with reference to that part of Sir Charles Metcalfe's statement, that "the British Government never did intend to enter into any compact with His Majesty," who, in fact, according to the honourable gentleman, fell into their power, I may refer to a part of the Marquis of Wellesley's letter to His Majesty at Delhi, dated the 27th July, 1803, and subsequently communicated to the Secret Committee of the Hon. East India Company, under date 12th April, 1804, which clearly shews that His Majesty was induced to place himself under the protection of the English nation, by reason of the earnest solicitation of the British Government itself, and on account of the repeated promises made to His Majesty by the representative of that government, as to "permanent arrangement, calculated to provide durable security for the happiness, dignity, and tranquillity of His Majesty and the Royal Family."

13. The language of the Supreme Government of India, in their letter to His Majesty, as above referred to, dated 27th July, 1803, is as follows:—

"Your Majesty is fully apprised of the sentiments of respect and attachment which the British Government has invariably entertained towards your Royal person and family."

"In the present crisis of affairs, it is probable that your Majesty may have the opportunity of again placing yourself under the protection of the British Government, and I shall avail myself with cordial satisfaction of any event which may enable me to obey the dictates of my sincere respect and attachment to your royal house."

"If your Majesty should be disposed to accept the asylum which, in the contemplation of such an event, I have directed His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in Oude to offer to your Majesty, *in the name of the British Government*, your Majesty may be assured, that every demonstration of respect, and every degree of attention which can contribute to the ease and comfort of your Majesty and the Royal Family, will be manifested on the part of the British Government, and that adequate provision will be made for the support of your Majesty, and of your family and household."

"At a proper season, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will have the honour of communi-

cating to your Majesty my further sentiments on the subject of the proposed arrangement."

(Sd.) J. MONCTON,

Asst. Pers. Sec. to Government.

14. Notwithstanding these solemn promises made to his Majesty, *"in the name of the British Government,"* by the Marquis of Wellesley, the King boldly and candidly expressed his doubts as to the sincerity of the professions of the Governor General in Council in the following terms:—

"The English have for some years past, been unmindful of me; conceiving therefore, lest when the English gain possession of the country, they may prove forgetful of me, it becomes necessary for the General to settle this point with the Governor General, that *hereafter* there be no want of obedience, or cause of dissatisfaction to me."

(Sd.) J. GERARD.

Aug. 20, 1803

15. With the intention of still further refuting the statement of Sir Charles Metcalfe, that "the British Government *never* did intend to enter into any compact with his Majesty," I may here quote an extract from a letter addressed by His Majesty, Shah Alum, to the Marquis of Wellesley, dated 5th October, 1803, and which His Excellency, General Lake, "did not hesitate entirely to approve."

"Be this great victory and splendid success happy and prosperous to us, and to all the servants of our illustrious court, especially to your Lordship."

"As the designs of our faithful servants have now happily succeeded, the time is now arrived for your Lordship, in conformity to the *distinct and obligatory engagement described to us by your Lordship*, in the letter which you lately transmitted, to secure to yourself happiness, temporal and eternal, and permanent reputation, by *fulfilling that engagement*, and to carry into effect that which may provide for the interest and welfare of the servants of this Imperial Court (meaning His Majesty and family), and for the happiness of the people of God, through the aid and services of the officers of the Company's Government."

"For the rest, consider our boundless favour to be extended towards your Lordship, in a daily increasing degree."

(A True Translation.)

(Sd.) W. B. BAYLEY,

Asst. Pers. Sec.

16. **Report.**—In the 8th paragraph of the honourable gentleman's report he states, that, in November, 1804, the following declaration was made by the Governor General:—

".....the Governor General does not deem it advisable to enter into any *written engagement* whatever with his Majesty, nor is it His Excellency's intention to solicit any concession, etc."

• 17. **Remarks.**—As to this expression of the sentiments of the Governor General, I can only say, that it is obviously inconsistent with subsequent public acts, and with the previous declaration of the Governor General in Council, in a letter to His Majesty, Shah Alum, dated 8th October 1803, as follows:—

"My attention is now directed with great solicitude to the formation of a permanent arrangement calculated to provide *durable security* for the *happiness, dignity, and tranquillity* of your Majesty

and Royal Family, conformable to the intimation contained in my former address to your Majesty."

"I trust that the testimony of my early attention to your Majesty's service may be acceptable to your Majesty, until His Excellency, General Lake, under my orders, can be enabled to offer to your Majesty's consideration, the plan of a permanent settlement of your affairs, secured by the power of the British Government."

"I request your Majesty to consider His Excellency, General Lake, to be fully authorized by me to conduct all affairs in Hindoostan, and to possess my entire confidence and highest respect."

"Your Majesty will, therefore, be pleased to signify your commands on all occasions, to General Lake with the same confidence by which you have honoured me; and your Majesty will also be pleased to accept all communications from General Lake, as proceeding immediately from my authority."

(A true copy).

(Sd.) W. B. BAYLEY,  
Asst. Pers. Translator.

18. As I have no means of ascertaining the peculiar circumstances out of which the declaration quoted by Sir Charles Metcalfe may have arisen, whether it was the act of the Governor General in Council (which is not stated), or the personal suggestion of the Governor General, it is inconceivable to me that any stress whatever should be laid upon it by Sir Charles Metcalfe. If admissible to prove anything, it can only be to shew that the policy of entering into a written treaty with the King, which appeared at one time expedient, was afterwards, on more mature deliberation, embraced and acted upon, and held forth to the world as a matter that reflected honour on the British name.

19. **Report.**—The only part of the 9th paragraph of the report requiring observation, is the assertion, "that a fixed stipend should be assigned to His Majesty, payable in ready money, out of the revenues of our territory on the west of the Jumna."

20. **Remarks.**—In commenting on this, I have only to refer to the 8th article of the Treaty alluded to where, as plainly as words can declare anything, it is affirmed, that "should there be an increase in the collections from these Crown-lands, in consequence of extended cultivation, and the improved condition of the Ryots, in augmentation to that amount will also take place in the King's stipend." By these words it is most obviously indicated, and without a shadow of doubt expressed, that the stipend for the support of the Royal Family at Delhi, was not to have a perpetual limitation, but was to be increased in proportion to the augmented revenue of the Crown lands, and that the fixed stipend allotted to His Majesty in 1805, was merely a temporary arrangement, in consequence of the unsettled state of the country, as is evident from the words of the 7th article of the Treaty, as follows:—"Whether the amount be or be not collected from the Khalsah Mehals (or Crown-lands), the Resident will pay in monthly, in ready money, to the royal treasury, the sums fixed and particularized below, that the servants of the Sacred Presence may suffer no inconvenience for expenses."

21. **Report.**—The 10th paragraph of Sir Charles Metcalfe's report states: "These instructions declare that the territory to be assigned for the support of

His Majesty is to comprise all the territory on the right bank of the Jumna to the northwest of Kaboolpoor, ceded to us by the treaty of Surjee Angangnaum."

22. **Remarks.**—Requires no comment, as I have adverted to it in my remarks on the 5th and 6th paragraphs. This acknowledgment by Sir Charles Metcalfe is in confirmation of the justice of His Majesty's claims upon the revenues derivable from the said lands.

23. **Report.**—Paragraphs 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, of the same Report state that "a large portion of those territories" (i. e. the Crown-lands assigned to His Majesty), were alienated to various individuals by the Resident in the latter end of the year 1805, and beginning of the year 1806; that, that alienation was in a great measure executed, and took place without reference to the previous assignment of those lands to the King, from which premises Sir Charles Metcalfe infers, that "it is quite clear that no such treaty was supposed to exist between the British Government and the King of Delhi."

24. **Remarks.**—Supposing the alienations alluded to had taken place, and that His Majesty had made no attempt to oppose them, it should be remembered, that by the 2nd article of the Treaty, it was provided that "the management of the Crown-lands was to be continued, according to custom, in the hands of the Resident," by which very proviso, His Majesty was precluded from interfering in any of the arrangements which the British Resident might deem fit to adopt, and the alienation of portions of those lands to any individuals by the Resident, or the annexation of others was equally beyond the control of His Majesty. In fact, from the whole tenor of the Treaty, the King considered himself as merely entitled to the revenues of his Crown-lands, without any right to interfere in their settlement, or to take an active part in their collection. The British Government could not surely evade its obligation to the King, by the expedient of alienating, i. e., diverting the collection of the revenue into another channel.

25. **Report.**—The 16th and first part of the 17th paragraphs of the Report state, that the Crown-lands assigned to the King are now included in the central and northern divisions of the Delhi territory, and that the whole revenue, after paying the civil establishments only, is about 9,25,000 rupees.

26. **Remarks.**—It is clear from this statement that a sum of not less than 9,25,000 rupees, is at present the public revenue arising from such part of the Crown-lands as still remain under the immediate management of the Resident, after the extensive alienations to other individuals by the Resident since the Treaty of 1805. Those alienations having taken place without consent of His Majesty, he cannot reasonably be required to suffer by the acts of another person, who was, by virtue of the Treaty, entrusted with the sole management of the whole of the Crown-lands; His Majesty is therefore, consistently with the pure spirit of justice, entitled to the whole of the income, derivable from the territory assigned for his support, by the engagement of the British Government in 1805.

27. **Report.**—Sir Charles Metcalfe thus concludes his 17th paragraph, "these divisions contain considerably more territory than were in the possession of the British Government at the settlement of affairs in 1806."

28. **Remarks.**—His Majesty, as I have observed in the preceding remark, was and still remains,

incapacitated by the Treaty, from interfering in the administration of the Crown-lands, and consequently is ignorant of the manner in which *considerable acquisitions* have been made by the Resident in the Delhi territory since the final settlement with His Majesty in 1805; and I have only to observe, that although some portions of land may have been alienated by the Resident on one side of the Delhi territory, without the consent of His Majesty, yet it is admitted that much larger acquisitions have been made by the same gentleman on another, though unknown to His Majesty.

29. **Report.**—The 18th paragraph of the Report states, that enough has been said to shew the meaning of which the first article of the Treaty is susceptible, that "it was never acted on by the British Government; that the article from the commencement has, in fact, been null and void for every purpose, but that of providing His Majesty with a liberal stipend, without reference to the revenue of the territory once designated, assigned, but which designation has long since ceased and become *obsolete*."

30. **Remarks.**—The singleness of meaning of which the 1st article of the Treaty is alone susceptible, can by no means be perverted by any subsequent interpretations; and from my quotations from the Government Regulations, it is obvious that no attempt ever was made to represent the Treaty of 1805 as "null and void, or set aside" until the year 1809, when it appears that the British power being so firmly established in India, as to enable it to disregard popularity in the western and other provinces, and to encounter with impunity public odium—the necessary consequence of a manifest breach of faith—the public officers endeavoured to render a Treaty (which had been solemnly and voluntarily entered into) "*obsolete*."

31. **Report.**—Paragraphs 19th, 20th, and 21st, after repeating that "the 1st article of the Treaty of the 23rd May 1805, merely indicated an intention of the British Government, which was never fulfilled," proceed to state, that "a part of the instructions" to the Resident from the Supreme Government (which was withheld from the knowledge of His Majesty), "produces the impression that the intention ascribed to the article in question was not even at that time (1805) entertained; for it is stated that if the revenues of the assigned territory shall hereafter admit of it, the monthly sum to be advanced to His Majesty, may be increased to one lack of rupees;" which limitation Sir Charles Metcalfe observes "is inconsistent with any intention that the whole of the net revenue of the territory" (after the improved cultivation), "should go to His Majesty;" and that, although this paragraph was never communicated to His Majesty by the Resident, yet it may *now* with propriety be cited, as a means of ascertaining the real intentions of the Government with regard to the Treaty of the 23rd May 1805, although they even (the intentions of the instructions) "were not carried into effect," and the honourable gentleman is further of opinion, that the *intentions* of the Supreme Government, although they were overlooked in the Treaty with His Majesty, may *now* be brought forward for consideration, because the treatment of the King of Delhi by the English nation was "*gratuitous*."

32. **Remarks.**—In the first place, it is evident from Sir Charles Metcalfe's own statement, that a part of the instructions from the Supreme Government to the Resident, concerning the Treaty

of 1805 which states, that "should the revenue of the assigned territory hereafter admit of it, the monthly sum to be advanced to His Majesty might be increased to one lack of rupees," was never communicated to the King, and consequently it cannot *now* be urged as a reason for violating the Treaty of 1805, which was solemnly contracted, and publicly announced, and recognized in the regulations of Government. Had that part of the instructions concerning the Treaty been communicated to His Majesty, and notwithstanding he had agreed to the articles of the Treaty, this circumstance might probably by some persons be evasively adduced, for the purpose of weakening the claims of His Majesty. I say *evasively*; because even that part of the instructions which was withheld from His Majesty by the Resident, (and which declares, that in the event of an increased augmentation in the revenue of the Crown-lands, the personal royal stipend should be increased to one lack of rupees monthly,) does not affirm, that in the event of the progressive improvement of the Crown-lands beyond one lack monthly, nevertheless, the stipend should remain fixed at that sum. I might also, by a parity of reasoning, according to the arguments used by Sir Charles Metcalfe, assert that the intentions entertained privately by the Government in 1805, had in fact "become null and void from having never been carried into effect, or having been shortly set aside" by the public execution of the Treaty of 1805; but I refrain from resorting to such a mode of argument, and I feel myself not transgressing the bounds of decorum and respect when I assert, that by representing the Supreme Government as capable of wilfully withholding from His Majesty, a portion of the public instructions concerning the Treaty of 1805, a gross deception is, in addition to a breach of promise, imputed unintentionally to the British Government by the honourable gentleman. And if anything could possibly render the Treaty more binding, it would be, its having been (as Sir Charles Metcalfe states), "*voluntarily and gratuitously* entered into," and solemnly ratified by the representative of His Britannic Majesty. I have considerable pleasure in being enabled to corroborate this opinion by the disinterested testimony of one of the ablest and most honourable of the Bengal civil servants. Mr. Alexander Ross, who was, for some years, the representative of the British Government with the King of Delhi, and who has candidly observed in an official communication to his Government, that "as this statement" (now brought forward by Sir Charles Metcalfe), "was never communicated to His Majesty Shah Alum, it cannot with propriety be *now* cited," as indicative of any intentions entertained by the Government in 1805, against the claims of His Majesty.

33. **Report.**—The 22nd paragraph of the Report, in giving the view most favourable for Government, admits, that "an increase of 40,000 rupees per month was contemplated beyond the amount of stipend then granted (*i.e.*, in the year 1805), and that the increase which has since taken place is not fully to that extent."

34. **Remarks.**—This admission, partial as it is, evinces the justness of at least, a portion of His Majesty's demands for the arrear of the stipend due to him for his support, and proves the violation both of the Treaty of 1805, and the intentions of the Government, upon which Sir Charles Metcalfe principally dwells.



**35. Report.**—The 23rd paragraph of the Report states, that "the obligation which the British Government had imposed on itself, was that of providing adequate means for the support of the King and his household, in a manner suitable to the condition in which he was placed; while in policy it was inexpedient that the provision granted should exceed an amount sufficient for that purpose."

**36. Remarks.**—The obligation which the British Government imposed on itself, was fully set forth in the Treaty of 1805; and had they deemed the appropriation to His Majesty of the total amount of the revenue, arising from the improved state of the Crown-lands, as being at all impolitic or likely to give rise to alarms (however ill-founded), prejudicial to the Supreme Government, the latter had it completely in their power to demand or enact any honourable and suitable stipulations they deemed requisite; such, for instance, as His Majesty has now voluntarily proffered of not keeping in his own possession more than a certain sum of money at a time, and investing, in the East India Company's treasury, the remainder of his revenue (which might occasion the entertaining of fears unworthy of his fidelity).

**37. Report.**—In the 24th paragraph Sir Charles Metcalfe states that "it has been contended" (by Mr. Ross the late representative at the Court of Delhi), "that these are not reasons which can be urged for not fulfilling the promises supposed to be contained in the Treaty of 1805." But the honourable gentleman nevertheless is of opinion, that the reasons he has already adduced have shown that the said Treaty "was virtually annulled almost as soon as it was formed; that it was not at any time a stipulation; that the territory to which it related was for the most part alienated within a few months from its date; and that the whole revenue of what was reserved would not nearly pay the present allowance to the Royal Family."

**38. Remarks.**—As I have clearly demonstrated in the preceding remarks, that the Treaty was not, as Sir Charles Metcalfe states "virtually annulled almost as soon as it was framed;" that the Treaty of 1805 was a stipulation voluntarily and deliberately entered into with His Majesty by the British Government; that the alienation of a part of the territory assigned as the Crown-lands of His Majesty, was an act with which the King had no power to interfere, the administration and management of the said lands being entirely in the hands of the British Resident, according to the 2nd article of the same Treaty; and that, consequently, the amount of revenue arising from the lands which the Resident retained or gave away to others, is still due to His Majesty, the opinion expressed by Mr. Ross stands valid and unimpeached.

**39. Report.**—The 25th paragraph of the Report states, that "it appears that it was the intention of our Government at that early period (*viz.* in 1805), to assign a territory for the support of the Royal Family; and fixing the stipend at a certain amount to pay the deficiency of the revenue from the Company's treasury. It is not quite clear, because different parts of the Resolution are not consistent with each other, whether it was intended that the King should enjoy any amount of revenue that might accrue from the territory to be assigned, or that his stipend should be limited to the maximum mentioned as what might be given, if the territory should ever yield so much. The settlement of this point is of

the less consequence, as the territory mentioned in the Resolution was for the most part alienated, and not assigned."

**40. Remarks.**—The admissions in this paragraph, though mingled with doubt by Sir Charles Metcalfe, are not a little remarkable, after the train of reasoning previously adduced by the honourable gentleman, with a view to shew that such an intention could not have been contemplated by the British Government; for, observes the honourable gentleman in the 15th paragraph of his Report, "it is quite clear that no such engagement (as the Treaty of 1805), "was supposed to exist, and the only notion entertained at that time was, that the King was the pensioner of the British Government, who were to take care of him by a handsome provision, and that all the territory in our possession was at our own disposal." However, the doubt expressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe might perhaps have been suggested by the articles of the instructions to the Resident in 1805, which, in the honourable gentleman's opinion, are "inconsistent with each other." To an impartial judge, no inconsistency or want of explicitness will, I think, be observable in the articles of the Treaty, which were presented to the Emperor Shah Alum in 1805, so the instructions of Government to the Resident appear quite consistent with each other, though the last article was not explicitly expressed by Government; as is fully explained in my observation (Par. 32) on the 19th, 20th, and 21st paragraphs of the Report. The alienations to other individuals by the Resident, of a portion of territory assigned to His Majesty, which may have been caused by some unforeseen circumstances, and which took place without the consent of the King, cannot be adduced as weakening the claims of His Majesty to the whole of the revenues of the territories assigned to him, or justify the charge which the honourable gentleman has brought against the Supreme Government, of inconsistency in its resolutions.

**41. Report.**—The 26th paragraph of the Report states, "that the only principles acted upon by the British Government with relation to the stipend of the King of Delhi" were, "that the stipend of His Majesty should be liberal and suitable to his condition; but that it should be fixed and limited according to the exigencies of the Royal Family, and the available resources of the British Government," and Sir Charles Metcalfe states, that he "does not see why it should depart from those principles, with reference to a doubtful construction of an intention which, whatever it may have been, was laid aside almost at the moment when it was conceived."

**42. Remarks.**—My observation upon this paragraph is, that the principles which actuated the Supreme Government could only be divined from their solemn engagement and public announcement of them, and these are entirely in favour of that right which Sir Charles Metcalfe is pleased to term "a doubtful construction."

**43. Report.**—The 27th paragraph asserts that "there is no want of reason for believing that the real intention of the resolution of May 1805, was that the King's stipend should be fixed, it evidently not being at that time supposed possible that the revenue of the Delhi territory could increase to so great a degree as to admit of a payment greater than the limited allowance ultimately contemplated."

**44. Remarks.**—By a reference to the 7th and 8th articles of the Treaty entered into with the King of Delhi by the British Government in 1805, it is

evident (and so far I agree with the honourable gentleman), that the stipend of His Majesty should be limited to a certain amount, only so long as the revenue arising from the Crown-lands assigned for the support of the Royal Family, did not exceed the sum then allowed; but that, as soon as the revenues should exceed that stipend in any degree, a proportionate increase should take place in the Royal stipend. This positive declaration or fact, cannot be altered by the supposition of Sir Charles Metcalfe, that the promise made by Government to augment the Royal stipend, in proportion to the increase of the territorial revenue, was founded upon an erroneous calculation, that the revenue of the Delhi territory could not possibly "increase to so great a degree as to admit of a payment greater than the limited allowance ultimately contemplated." I have admitted this supposition of the honourable gentleman for a moment, although it is unsupported by any official document that I am aware of; but I may be permitted to inquire, Does not national honour bind the Government to the fulfilment of a solemn compact, deliberately entered into, even if a part of its engagement rested on a calculation which might hereafter be supposed not to come up entirely to the expectations of one of the contracting parties? Were a contrary mode of reasoning to be adopted in any, the most trifling domestic or social agreement, the confidence between man and his fellows would be irretrievably destroyed. Indeed, I can scarcely persuade myself, that the honourable gentleman could have reflected, when he adverted to this supposition, which if admitted as a just rule in one instance, would be a fair precedent for the supreme Government to lay aside the obligation into which they entered with the Zameendars of Bengal and Behar, in 1793; on the plea, that their lands, the assignment of which was rendered permanent in 1793, now yield a greater revenue than was contemplated at that time.

45. **Report.**—In the 28th paragraph Sir Charles Metcalfe states, that he "cannot concur in the opinion which has been expressed" (by Mr. Ross, the Government Agent at Delhi, in 1823), "that the Resolution of 1809 is to be considered invalid, because it does not agree with the seeming intention of a prior period," which the honourable gentleman again states, "was never carried into effect."

46. **Remarks.**—As the honourable gentleman has not brought forward any argument in support of this difference of opinion with Mr. Ross, except such as have been noticed by me, in the preceding passages, I am unavoidably necessitated to refer to my remarks upon the same assertions in the 6th paragraph. (17d. par. 3-6, page 8-10, supra.)

47. **Report.**—In the 29th paragraph it is stated that, "although the King has often applied for an increase of stipend there is nothing on record," within the knowledge of the honourable gentleman, "heretofore indicative of His Majesty's desire to have his stipend regulated by the amount of revenue produced by the Delhi territory."

48. **Remarks.**—Sir Charles Metcalfe here admits His Majesty's having often applied for an increase of stipend, but asserts that he had no knowledge of any document being on record, indicative of the desire of the King to have his stipend regulated by the amount of revenue derivable from the Crown-lands. It must be sufficiently obvious, that the applications made by His Majesty for an increase of stipend, could be alone founded on the 8th article of the Treaty of 1805, which provides for the

regulated extension of His Majesty's stipend, by "the amount of revenue" accruing from the anticipated extended cultivation of the Crown-lands, and the improved condition of the cultivators.

49. Sir Charles Metcalfe frequently adverts in the foregoing paragraphs of his Report, to the remarks made by Mr. Ross, in his communication to Government, dated the 13th of June, 1823, wherein Mr. Ross expresses His Majesty's desire to have his stipend regulated by the amount of revenue produced in the Delhi territory. This circumstance of Sir Charles Metcalfe's adverting to the communication in question, shews that the honourable gentleman must have read this official document, communicating the desire of the King to have his stipend increased, in proportion to the augmentation of the revenues of his Crown-lands. I have, therefore, to regret, that this fact should have escaped his advertence, when the honourable gentleman stated that there was nothing hitherto on record to that effect. Indeed, for the first two or three years succeeding the Treaty of 1805, His Majesty made no application to Government for an increase of stipend, in consequence of the unsettled state of the country; but at the time of the administration of Lord Minto, in 1809, His Majesty renewed his application for an increase of stipend, and incurred considerable expense in deputing an Envoy to Calcutta, to represent his claims; as is evident from the minute entered by that nobleman in the same year. But to the great surprise of His Majesty, he was informed, that the Governor General in Council had made a partial augmentation to his stipend, without reference to the enhanced revenue derivable from the Crown-lands assigned for the support of the Royal Family; though his Lordship, being aware of the unjustness of the measure, expressed in his minute, that the arrangement of the Government would prove dissatisfactory to the King. His Majesty finding he could not procure an adjustment of his claims from Lord Minto, waited the arrival of his successor, the Marquis of Hastings; and being unable to afford the expence of another Envoy to Calcutta, awaited the expected visit of the Marquis to His Majesty at Delhi. This interview was, however, prevented by an unforeseen and unfortunate obstacle, and the preferring of His Majesty's demands to the Governor General himself, was necessarily postponed until Lord Amherst assumed the reins of Government, when, on his visit to Delhi, the King again advanced his claims, and his Lordship referred them to Sir Charles Metcalfe, for his opinion on their validity. From this brief recital, to say nothing of the perpetual complaints made to the Resident, it is clear, that although considerable delay has been unavoidably incurred in bringing forward His Majesty's appeal against the wrongs which His Majesty suffered from Lord Minto, yet the insinuation that His Majesty has only lately preferred a new demand against the British Government, will be perceived to be perfectly unfounded.

50. **Report.**—The 30th paragraph of the Report states, that "it was the expressed intention of the Marquis of Wellesley's Government, in May, 1805, to increase the *personal stipend* of His Majesty, to 100,000 rupees per month, whenever the territory assigned for the payment of the royal stipends should yield a net revenue adequate to the supply of the proposed increase." But the honourable gentleman offers his opinion that, "that intention was superseded by the arrangement concluded in the Earl of Minto's administration, in 1809." It is moreover stated, "that the King's *personal allowance* at present, is 82,200

rupees per mensem, exclusive of lands which Sir Charles Metcalfe imagines "yield more than 5000 rupees per mensem, and 2000 rupees which the King appropriates from the allowance assigned for the Heir-apparent." Sir Charles Metcalfe, therefore, conceives, "the difference to be less than 10,800 rupees," while the honourable gentleman admits that, "by another calculation, it may be 16,800 rupees per mensem." In support of Sir Charles Metcalfe's conception—*viz.*, that it is 10,800 rupees a month, which fall short of the promised personal stipend, and not 16,800 rupees a month, the Report states that "it is not clear, that the personal stipend of 100,000 rupees per mensem, was to have been exclusive of allowance for festivals, commuted afterwards to 6000 rupees per mensem, and if not, the difference will be only as first stated—*viz.* 10,800 rupees." The Nuzzurs presented to His Majesty by the British Government, exceeding, it is supposed, 1000 rupees per mensem, are not included in the statement, nor those which His Majesty receives from the natives of all ranks."

51. **Remarks.**—It cannot escape the notice of every reader of this Report, that Sir Charles Metcalfe has unequivocally admitted, that it was "the expressed intention" of the Marquis of Wellesley's Government in 1805, to increase His Majesty's personal stipend to 100,000 rupees per mensem, whenever the territory should yield a "net revenue adequate to the supply of the proposed increase." But the opinion offered by the honourable gentleman, that "this arrangement was superseded by an act of Lord Minto's administration, in 1809," is unsupported by argument, and inequitable in its effect; since the obligatory and voluntary arrangement made during the administration of the illustrious Marquis of Wellesley approved of by the Court of Directors, and the British Parliament by which the British faith was irrevocably pledged to the Royal house of Timour, could not be "superseded," or "set aside," by the act of any ulterior administration, or Government, without a direct and public violation of national faith, and a sacrifice of the unstained honour of the British name. This obligatory arrangement with the Royal house of Timour was so far considered binding, that although Lord Minto practically infringed thereon, yet having no power "to supersede" or set aside a solemn compact made by his predecessor, and guaranteed by the British Government, he gave such a colouring to his resolutions on the subject, as should make it appear that he was intent on fulfilling the engagement entered into by the Marquis of Wellesley, in 1805; for his Lordship, in a minute, dated 17th June, 1809, in stating his reasons for augmenting the Royal stipend, observes that this measure "is expedient, with reference to a conditional promise to that effect, made with Shah Alum, in 1805, and to fulfil the obligation of the public faith."

52. These expressions of Lord Minto appear to have made the intended impression on the Court of Directors; so that, in their letter dated 4th September, 1811, they did not scruple to admit, that "the period had arrived at which it became incumbent on the British Government, to fulfil the promise made by Lord Wellesley, on the part of the British Government to the King of Delhi, and Royal house of Timour."

53. I may also be permitted to point out the inconsistency which is displayed in the 30th paragraph of the Report; for, after stating, that the *personal stipend* of His Majesty was intended to be increased to 100,000 rupees monthly, the honourable gentleman states, that "it is not quite clear" that this sum was

exclusive of the allowance for festivals, afterwards commuted to 6000 rupees per mensem. I am at a loss to comprehend, how Sir Charles Metcalfe, who is distinguished for his accurate knowledge of diplomacy and Court affairs, should for an instant imagine that *allowances* for *festivals* and Court ceremonies, were meant to be included in a "personal stipend."

In every document relating to the public affairs of His Majesty, the amount of money assigned for public festivals, is separately set forth, and in no instance does it appear, that an idea was ever entertained by the Government, of consolidating this most indispensable branch of Court expenditure, with the *personal stipend* of His Majesty: nor can I perceive the object which Sir Charles Metcalfe had in view, when introducing the subject of the Nuzzurs given to His Majesty by the Resident, and "by the natives of all ranks." I trust the honourable gentleman did not also mean to include those sums, in the personal allowance for the King.

In justice to His Majesty's claims, it may be now fairly advanced, that the arrears due to His Majesty for his personal support alone, are 40,32,000 rupees, even according to the admission of Sir Charles Metcalfe, calculating at 16,800 rupees a month, from the year 1809 to the present period.

54. **Report.**—The 31st paragraph adverts to the state of the Hon. East India Company's treasury, and observes, that "if it were overflowing with surplus revenue, the increase of the comforts of the Royal family might be a fair object for liberal consideration." But even then, observes Sir Charles Metcalfe, "the pinched situation of many of the Sulateen (relatives of the King), much more urgently requires relief."

55. **Remarks.**—The plenitude, or otherwise, of the treasury of the Hon. East India Company, does not in the most remote degree affect the lawful claims of His Majesty, who seeks no favour, but justice. And here Sir Charles indirectly admits the justice of His Majesty's claims; but pleads the inability of the Company to meet them. The remark on "the pinched situation" of some of the Royal family, which Sir Charles Metcalfe here acknowledges, is most probably founded on his personal experience; and, I doubt not His Majesty will be highly pleased to see the British Government manifesting its compassion towards them, and alleviating their distress. All that His Majesty wishes is, that relief should be rendered them, but not at his expense.

56. **Report.**—The 32nd, 33rd, and 34th paragraphs of the Report, remark on the net revenue of the Delhi territory (under the present boundaries), which Sir Charles Metcalfe is of opinion, would scarcely pay the monthly stipend of 100,000 rupees, if the expenses of the maintenance of the troops and Government, were to be included, and the honourable gentleman asserts, that the maintenance of the troops was plainly indicated, if ever the revenue should be adequate to it, by the following extract from the notes of instructions to the Resident in 1804 (the year previous to the Treaty which was signed by Lord Wellesley), "the total designated amount of the provisions for the King, (is) to include the estimated expense of the force to be permanently stationed at Delhi, for the protection of that city, and of His Majesty's person; but the amount to be assigned for the actual maintenance of His Majesty and the Royal Family, is not to be affected by the fluctuation in the charge of the force."

57. "The only meaning" says Sir Charles Metcalfe, "to be attached to this passage, seems to be, that the expense of the troops is to be paid from the territory assigned, but that the King's stipend is to be fixed, and not to be diminished, if the expense of the troops exceed the estimate, nor to be increased, if the expense fall short of the estimate."

58. **Remarks.**—In remarking on these paragraphs, I must first observe, that even if the private instructions to the Resident in 1804, were to be considered as valid, yet I do not think that the interpretations given by Sir Charles Metcalfe are conclusive. By the words said to have been contained in the instructions to the Resident in 1804 (His Majesty's stipend shall not be affected by the fluctuation in the charge of the force), Government meant to secure the certainty, for the time being, of the stipend assigned to His Majesty, that it might not be affected by the number of troops quartered in the Delhi territory. But I can by no means acquiesce in the conclusion drawn therefrom, that, by preventing the fluctuation arising from rapid and uncertain charges, the personal allowances of His Majesty were intended to be permanently limited; since by the 11th article of the Treaty of 1805, it is stipulated, "that the expense of the troops, police corps, etc. in the Delhi territory, shall be defrayed by the Hon. Company."

59. **Report.**—The 35th paragraph states, that "it may be said that the intentions of 1804 were superseded by those of 1805, and were not acted on; so also the intentions of 1805 were not acted on, but were immediately set aside, and were finally superseded and abrogated by the arrangement of 1809."

60. **Remarks.**—Whatever were the intentions of the Governor General in 1804, which Sir Charles Metcalfe adverts to, they are to me unknown, and being, as the honourable gentleman observes, merely intentions, and not acts, cannot, of course, be adduced in support of the honourable gentleman's opinions; besides, these alleged "intentions," are directly at variance with the correspondence (and obligatory promises therein contained), between His Majesty, and the Marquis of Wellesley, and Lord Lake, in 1803, quoted in my remarks on the 7th and 8th paragraphs, (*vide* par. 13, page 12, *supra*) and also negatived by the regulations of the Supreme Government, in the year 1804, and several succeeding years, and by the Treaty of 1805.

61. In pursuance of the intentions of Government in 1805, there was an actual written engagement, confirmatory of these intentions, ratified by the representative of the British nation, and personally presented to His Majesty by the English Resident at the Court of Delhi: an engagement, be it remembered, which was executed by the local Government of India, confirmed by the Court of Directors of the Hon. East India Company, and approved of by the British Parliament; as well as publicly announced and promulgated in the regulations of the Supreme Government, for several succeeding years. Therefore, the Local Government had not in 1809, or at any period, in its power "to supersede and abrogate" an engagement thus solemnly and deliberately sanctioned by the highest authorities in Great Britain, without violating every principle of justice, and disavowing every tie by which national faith and honour are secured.

62. Sir Charles Metcalfe, in the 36th, 37th, and 38th paragraphs of his Report, thus proceeds to sum up his previous arguments against the validity of His Majesty's claims to an increase of the Royal stipend. 1st "It is not certain what the intention

of 1805 was; whether to limit the King's stipend to a fixed amount, or to give him the net revenue of a territory." In reply to which I have only to observe that the honourable gentleman must have overlooked the 1st, 7th, and 8th articles of the Treaty, while making the above assertion; for, in the aforesaid articles, it is, as I have previously stated, most fully and clearly expressed, that a certain territory "is fixed as the Crown-lands of His Majesty;" that the Royal stipend should be paid, whether the full amount of that stipend was or was not collected by the British Resident, from the said Crown-lands; and that when the revenues of them increased, His Majesty would receive a proportionate augmentation in his stipend.

63. It is, moreover, unaccountable how Sir Charles Metcalfe could have expressed this doubt, after having previously affirmed, in the 27th paragraph of his Report, that "there is no want of reason for believing that the real intention of the Resolution of May, 1805, was, that the King's stipend should be fixed."

This, as well as many other similar inconsistencies of opinion, exhibited in the honourable gentleman's Report, is strongly indicative of the insurmountable obstacle which the justice of a cause, based on facts, opposes to all the attempts at perversion that the best talents are capable of suggesting.

64. The second clause in Sir Charles Metcalfe's summary, is "There is strong reason to believe, that the utmost contemplated, in any event, was the maximum of fixed stipend, mentioned at that time." It is evident by the 7th article of the Treaty, that, owing to the fluctuating state of the revenue in the Crown-lands, during and for some time succeeding the war, a *minimum* allowance was assigned to the Royal Family, payable out of the Government treasury; and it is equally certain, by the plain language of the 8th article of the Treaty, that the stipend of the King was not to be limited to any maximum, but to be increased in proportion to the "extended cultivation and improved condition of the Ryots," in the Crown-lands of His Majesty.

65. The third clause of the summing up of the Report, is as follows:—"Supposing the net revenue of the territory to have been meant, without limitation as the amount of the stipend, it is not clear that it was settled what really constituted net revenue, and what expenses were to be included or excluded, with reference to the charges to be borne by the territory; although it is manifest, that in 1804, the expense of the troops was considered as a charge to be borne by the territory."

66. It is not a matter of supposition, but a substantiated fact, that the entire revenue of the Crown-lands of His Majesty, were appropriated by the Treaty of 1805, to the use of the Royal Family, and whatever might have been the intention of the British Government in 1804, as to the charges to be borne by the Crown-lands, it is fully stated in the 11th article of the Treaty of 1805, that "the expense of the troops, police corps, etc., employed in the Crown-lands, shall be defrayed by the Hon. East India Company."

67. The fourth clause of the summary observes that "whatever was the intention of May, 1805, it was never acted on." Having in the preceding passage commented fully on this assertion, I shall merely state, that the substance of the Treaty of 1805, was acted on, as is evident from the Regulations of Government, quoted in my remarks on the 6th paragraph (*vide* par. 5, page 9, *supra*), by which

"the territory on the banks of the Jumna, the revenues whereof are assigned to His Majesty," were exempted from the imposition of certain customs and laws, &c. Moreover, the language of the 43rd, 44th, and 49th paragraphs of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Report, are most palpably at variance with the unqualified statement in the summary, and my quoting them here will leave me quite free from the necessity of further demonstrating the incorrectness of the honourable gentleman's assertion.

68. In the 43rd paragraph of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Report, it is affirmed, that the 5th article of the Treaty of May, 1805, "May be said to be in force;"—again, in the 44th paragraph of the same Report, that "the operation of the 6th article has been long discontinued;" and again, in the 49th paragraph of his Report, the honourable gentleman asserts that "the 11th article" of the Treaty "has been fulfilled by us."

69. The 5th clause of the summary states, that "the territory specified as to be assigned to the King, was given away to other Chiefs, and what was reserved of it, was beyond measure inadequate to defray the expense of his stipend." In reply to which, I have already observed in my remarks on the 11th and 17th paragraphs, that according to the 2nd article of the Treaty of 1805, the management of the Crown-lands continued to be vested in the British Resident at Delhi; solely, and any alienations or acquisitions made by that officer, were according to his discretion, and cannot, therefore, for a moment, be supposed to invalidate the lawful claims of His Majesty, who, according to the terms of the Treaty, is entitled to the revenues arising from the Crown-lands, and not to the possession of them.

70. The 6th clause of the summary states, that "the Royal stipends continued to be paid, without reference to the amount of revenue."

I am at a loss to conceive what inference Sir Charles Metcalfe intends to be deduced from this statement: for surely the honourable gentleman does not mean to inculcate the principle, that an infraction of an engagement, solemnly, deliberately, and publicly contracted, can justify in the most remote degree, its continued violation.

71. The 7th clause of the summary observes, "a final arrangement was made in 1809, by which an increase was allowed, and by which the assurances before held out to the King, were considered both by the Government in India, and by the Hon. the Court of Directors to be sufficiently fulfilled."

On this repeated assertion of Sir Charles Metcalfe's, I have only to observe, that the arrangement of 1809, was directly at variance with the unequivocally expressed articles of the Treaty of 1805, executed by the Local Government of India, confirmed by the Hon. Court of Directors, and approved of by the British Parliament, as well as directly opposed to "the expressed intention of the Marquis of Wellesley's Government in 1805" according even to the honourable gentleman's own statement.

If the arrangement of 1809, ever met with the sanction of the Hon. Court of Directors, it must have been caused by the misrepresentation of the Local Government; as is evident from the language used by the Hon. Court, in their letter, dated 4th September, 1811, in which they state that "the period had arrived at which it became incumbent on the British Government to fulfil the promise made by Lord Wellesley, on the part of the British Government, to the King of Delhi, and the Royal Family

of the house of Timour." I may also here safely assert, that it was not in the power of the Hon. Court of Directors, much less of the Local Government, to preserve good faith, and yet to annul a solemn engagement, entered into on the part of the British nation, unless they would be justified in publicly avowing their contempt of all engagements, and their disregard of the sanctions of Parliament, and that nothing can bind them to the fulfilment of a sacred promise, but their own temporary interest, or the expediency of the moment.

72. The 8th clause observes, "If in consequence of the apparent increase of revenue in the Delhi territory, it be proposed to revert to such parts of the intention of 1805 as related to the assignment of territory, it must be recollected that the present southern division of the Delhi territory was not included in the assignment then contemplated, and that other districts which were then included, do not now form a part of the Delhi territory."

With reference to this statement I can merely reiterate as before, that the acquisition or alienation of territory to or from the Crown-lands by the Resident, was perfectly independent of His Majesty; the management of the said Crown-lands, according to the 2nd article of the Treaty, being placed at the entire disposal of that gentleman.

73. The 9th clause states, "It is remarkable that the present revenue of the Delhi territory, after defraying the charges of local civil administration, amounts nearly to the sum proposed in the liberal arrangement contemplated in 1804, *i. e.*, 30 lacks, out of which the military establishment also was to have been paid; and if the same plan were now adopted, it would not produce any increase to the King's stipend."

Sir Charles Metcalfe has here apparently overlooked the 11th article of the Treaty of 1805, by which "the expense of the troops, police corps, &c. employed in the Crown-lands" was stipulated "to be defrayed by the Honourable Company"; otherwise the honourable gentleman would not have supposed, that out of 30 lacks (the revenue of the Delhi territory, after defraying the local civil administration) "the military establishment also was to have been paid."

74. In the 37th paragraph, Sir Charles Metcalfe thus concludes his summary. "On the whole there does not seem to be sufficient reason to deviate from the plan that has been really acted on by the British Government." I should not be surprised if the Local Government were to persist in pursuing the plan they have hitherto adopted, though manifestly in violation of their sacred and obligatory promise; but it does not appear to me at all probable, that the British Government will for an instant sanction so direct a breach of faith as the violation of an engagement which was guaranteed to the Royal house of Timour by the moral and political integrity of the English nation.

75. In the 38th paragraph, Sir Charles Metcalfe offers the following concluding observations: "It would be very inconvenient at present to have to increase the stipend, and I do not conceive that so great an exigency exists as to render it necessary." The honourable gentleman also observes, that "the greatest exigency, as before remarked, is with reference to the scanty allowances of some of the Sultaneen."

76. I cannot help here admiring Sir Charles Metcalfe's candour in assigning *inconvenience*, as the real reason for the infraction of the Treaty of 1806,

thereby tacitly admitting the justice of His Majesty's claims, but making the restitution of his rights a question of expediency. It was certainly found *convenient* or politically necessary by the British Government in 1805, to assign the revenues of a certain portion of land for the support of the King of Delhi and the Royal Family of Timour; but the honourable gentleman is of opinion, that it is now "very *inconvenient*" to adhere to the engagement thus solemnly promised and ratified; I am, therefore, anxious to know whether in his estimation, justice and conscience ought to be made subservient to *convenience*?

77. Sir Charles Metcalfe does not deny the distressed situation of His Majesty, but supposes that "the *greatest exigency*, as before remarked (in his 31st paragraph), is with reference to the scanty allowances of some of the Sulateen."\* Notwithstanding the repeated professions of attachment and respect of the British nation towards the Royal house of Delhi and the promises made to His Majesty "in the name of the British Government" (as quoted in my remarks on his 7th paragraph), wherein it is stated, that "every demonstration of respect, and every degree of attention which can contribute to the ease and comfort of His Majesty

and the Royal Family, will be manifested on the part of the British Government, and that adequate provision will be made for the support of His Majesty, his Family and Household" (*I*de, par. 12, page 12, *supra*), I deeply regret that the Local Government should have so entirely overlooked these national and solemn obligations; and that, although the "pinched situation of many of the Sulateen" has been brought to their notice by the British Resident at Delhi, so long ago as June 1827, that, nevertheless, no measures have been taken for the alleviation of their distress; and an appeal to their humanity has met with the same reception as an application to their justice.

The wrong done to His Majesty, the King of Delhi, by the continued violation of the Treaty, became at last so glaring, that in 1823, Alexander Ross, Esq., the Agent of the Governor General at Delhi, felt bound in conscience, to state his view of it (however disagreeable this might be to his superiors) in the form of a letter to the Governor General in Council, through the Persian Secretary's Office, which I here subjoin:\*

\* For considerations of space this report cannot be printed here. It will, however, be reproduced in full in the Sahitya Parishad Edition of the Works of Rammohun.

\* Relations of the King.

## THE TEMPLES AT NEMAWAR

A. C. BANERJI

**N**EMAWAR or Nemawoor is a small village in the dominions of His Highness the Holkar of Indore.

Lying between 22°30' N., and 77°3' E. the hamlet is picturesquely situated on the north bank of the river Narmada, and is mentioned by the celebrated Muslim traveller Al-Biruni as an important ford of the river.\* *The Indore State Gazetteer* mentions the existence of a Jain temple at this place. But the temple is a Hindu shrine, and there are also remains of another Hindu temple. A description of these two temples appeared in *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1921. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji also published an account of the temples in Bengali.†

\* Sachau—*Al-Biruni's India*. Vol. I., p. 203.

† *Masik Basumati*, 1331 B. S., pp. 722-33. The present contribution is based on both these publications.

The bigger temple at Nemawar is complete, and with the exception of some slight modern additions on the roof of the *mandapa* it has not suffered any damage or undergone any alteration during the eight hundred years of its existence. The temple is dedicated to Siva, and is called by the local people as Siddhanatha or Siddhesvara temple. The materials with which the temple was built are sandstone of different colours. The *garbhagriha* and the *sikhara* of the temple were built of yellowish sandstone. The plinth of the *mandapa* to the height of 1'3" was built of the same material, but the upper part was built of bluish sandstone. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that the *mandapa* and *ardha-mandapas* were probably later additions. The building materials were probably obtained locally; the sandstone quarries of Ghatia, Katkut, and on the banks of the Kanar river are even now used by the

State authorities. The temple of Siddhanatha-Mahadeva consists of a *sabha-mandapa*, and the *garbhagriha* surmounted by curvilinear *sikhara*. The temple was built on the river bank over a massive stone platform, and was surrounded by a rampart with bastions at regular intervals. The paved courtyard is irregular in shape. Thanks to the munificence of Maharani Ahalya Bai the deity is still worshipped daily.



Sculptures on the wall of the *garbhagriha*!

#### MANDAPA

In plan the *mandapa* is a square with porches projecting on three sides. Each of these porches rests on four small pillars. The dome of the *mandapa* is supported by ten

small pillars, four on sides and two in front. The pillars bear high niches containing semi-divine figures. The intermediate space between the smaller pillars of the *mandapa* is filled with fine stone *jali* work. On each side of the projecting porches are stone benches without back rests. Below the level of these benches the external surface of the walls of the *mandapa* bears elaborate sculptural and other decorations, the principal feature of which is a beautiful dado consisting of two horizontal bands of carvings. The lower band only 8" in height consists of a row of niches alternating with sunken panels. They contain seated male or female figures. Above this is the bigger row of about 22" in height with alternating niches and sunken panels as the lower one. The panels contain female figures, while the niches bear divine or semi-divine figures. Below the pillars on each side of the porches there are large niches containing divine figures. The two pillars of the porch facing south have the following figures grouped below them :—(1) Brahmani, (2) Kali, (3) Karttikeyani, (4) Vaishnavi. On the south-eastern corner of the *mandapa* we find an image of Brahma, while in the south-western corner there is an image of Mahadevi. In a niche by its side we find a male figure whose identity is problematical. The figure is seen standing near a man lying on his stomach, and has a seven-headed serpent above his head. It holds a dagger and a thunderbolt in its left hands, and a shield with its upper right hand, while the lower right hand is broken. In the absence of the plough and the drinking bowl it cannot be regarded as an image of Balarama. Below the pillars of the western porch we find the following images :—(1) dancing Ganesa with six hands, (2) a male (?) figure with eight hands and the lion as his *vahana*, (3) Varuna. The images below the pillars of the eastern porch are all new, and need not be taken into our consideration. The pillars of the porch on the northern side have the following figures :—(1) Indrani, (2) Chamunda, (3) Parvati.

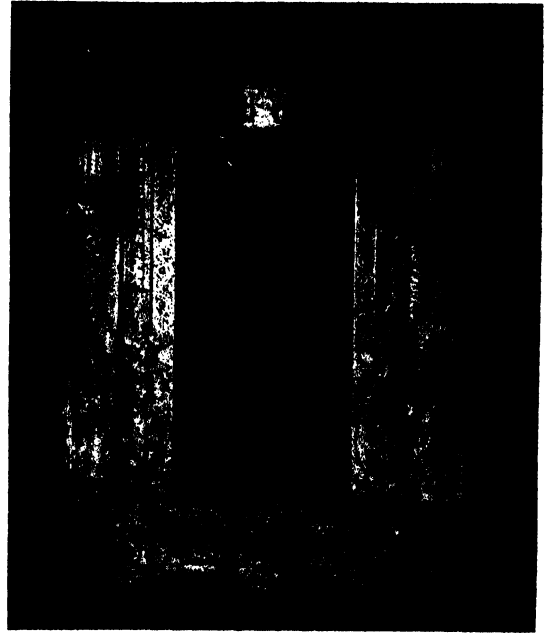
#### DOME

No account of the *sabha-mandapa* would be complete without a description of the

magnificent dome that adorns it. Twelve pillars (two large and ten small) of the *mandapa* support the main frame of the dome. The first frame is a square made by four huge horizontal beams. Eight niches containing divine figures are found on these beams. The square frame in its turn supports an octagonal frame formed by cutting of the corners of the square frame by stones laid across. On the surface of these stones were carved huge *kirtimukhas*. Over this was placed a sixteen-sided frame, supported by sixteen brackets with female figures (*apsaras*) in relief. From this frame the concentric circles of the trabeate dome begin. The dome is elaborately carved with pleasing designs, and there is a long delicately carved pendentive hanging from the centre of the dome. Domes such as this one were once a common feature of ancient Jaina and Hindu temples of northern and western India. The dome of the Delvada temple at Mt. Abu was built on the same principle as this one, and the dome of the Siddhanatha temple may be compared with those of Vastupala temple at Girnar, and Vimala and Tejapalas temples at Mt. Abu.\*

#### ANTARALA AND THE DOOR

*Antarala* is the passage which connects the *sabha-mandapa* and the *garbhagriha*. The ceiling of the *antarala* of the Siddhanatha temple bears five inverted, fully blossomed lotuses. The door frame which is remarkable for its beauty, consists of eight bands of vertical carvings, and three horizontal bands. The first one is a meandering creeper design with a female figure below. The second is a row of flying figures, and the third a single row of lotus petals. The next is a fine pillar in high relief at the middle of which we find a pot with foliage hanging down its two exposed sides. The portion above the pot is fluted, while the lower part of the shaft bears a screw and spot design. This type of pillars are generally found in temples built during later mediæval period, but so far as I know, this is the first time that it is found in a temple of 11th century A. D. It stands on an hexagonal base below which



Door frame of the unfinished temple of Vishnu

we find a male figure, probably a *Siragana*. The next band consists of a row of human figures with clasped hands. The next one is a meandering creeper, and then double rows of lotus petals. Three of the bands are carried overhead horizontally, at the centre of which is a small niche containing an image of Ganesa. Above the third band is a projecting cornice, over which is a big horizontal beam divided into nine compartments. The central compartment bears an image of Siva with four hands, two of which hold a *trina*, and the remaining left and right hands hold a *damru*, and skull cap. The Bull which is the *vahana* of Siva is also depicted. The other eight niches contain the images of Brahmāni, Mahesvari, Karttikeyani, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Indrani, Chamunda and Mahadevi.

#### GARBHAGRIHA

Internally the cella is a plain square, but on the outside the walls have four projections on four sides, and between each projection there are projected angles and recessed corners. The sunlight falling on these radially arranged projections introduce not only

\* Fergusson—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. Vol. II, pl. XX, and fig. 286.



graduated tints of shadows, but also produce a violent but infinitely varied display of light and shade, enhancing thereby the exquisite beauty of the temple. The *garbhagriha* faces west on which side the *mandapa* has been built. Over the plinth of the temple, on the line of the string courses there is a row of *kirtti-mukhas*. At a slightly higher level we find a series of niches containing anthropomorphic figures. Over this is a row of ninety-five divine or semi-divine figures. This endless procession of horizontal rows of sculptures that decorate the walls of the mediæval temples is not a meaningless barbarity. The vast fabric is bound together by a system of thought. By studying them alone an observer can easily guess to which deity the temple was dedicated (this is specially

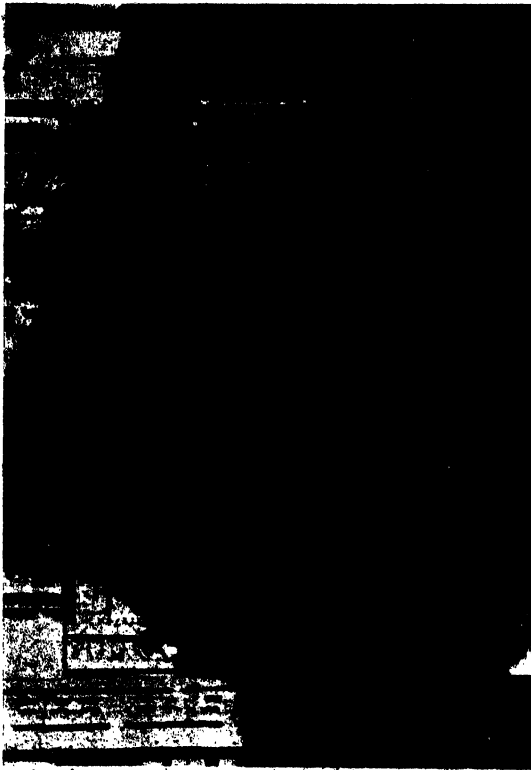
be discussed in a subsequent section). In this particular case the rows of tall, divine or semi-divine figures depict the companions of Siva, technically called the *Siraganas*. The carvings on the *garbhagriha* of the Siddhanatha temple may be compared with those on Kandaria-Mahadeva temple at Khajuraho; but unlike the Khajuraho temple this shrine is free from all erotic scenes.

#### SIKHARA

The *Sikhara* is the spire which invariably surmounts the roof of the *garbhagriha* of the mediæval temples of northern India. These towers, though square in plan, usually have a curvilinear outline in elevation. In the present case the *sikhara* consists of five component parts; first the tower gradually decreasing in circumference with the increase of height. Above it is a circular band, over it another circular band with human faces carved on it, over this is the *amalaka*, and above all the *kalasa*. The *sikhara* under consideration is in a class by itself. While describing the *garbhagriha* we mentioned four projections on four sides with angular projections and recessed corners between them. Each of these angular projections bears five vertical rows of miniature temple spires above them, while the bigger projections bear four slightly inclined ridges. At the junction of the ridges and the roof of the sanctum, we find large *chaitya* windows in high relief, while the surface of the ridges is covered with *chaitya* window patterns.

#### THE UNFINISHED TEMPLE

On the northern side of the Siddhanatha temple there is a high mound called *Tekri*. At the top of this we found the *garbhagriha* of an unfinished temple. The shrine faces east. The string courses of the plinth consists of three bands of lotus petals, two rows of *kirttimukhas*, a row of elephants facing, and a row of dancing human figures. The principal decoration on the wall of the *garbhagriha* consists of a horizontal row of divine figures 3'6" in height, mostly those of *Vishnuganas* or companions of Vishnu. As the cult image is missing the figures of *Vishnugana* indicate that the builders intended to dedicate the temple to Vishnu. The door frame is similar



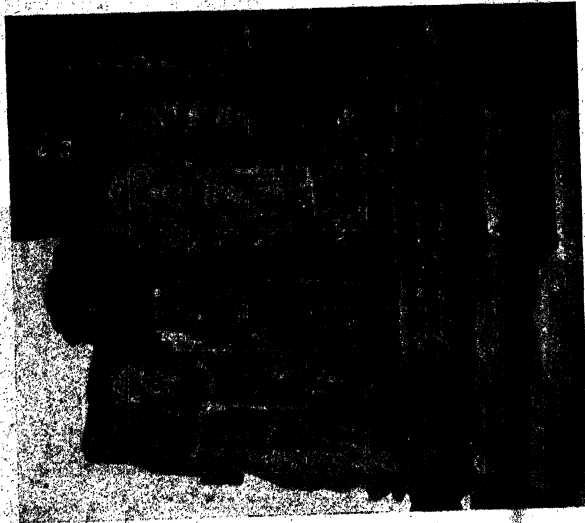
Stone jali work : Siddhanatha temple

useful when the cult image is missing, as is the case with the unfinished Vishnu temple to

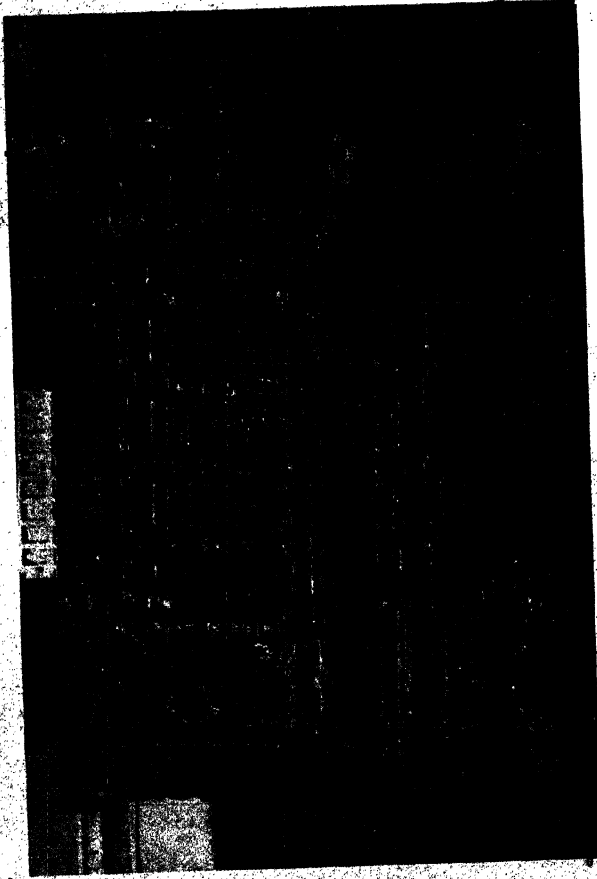


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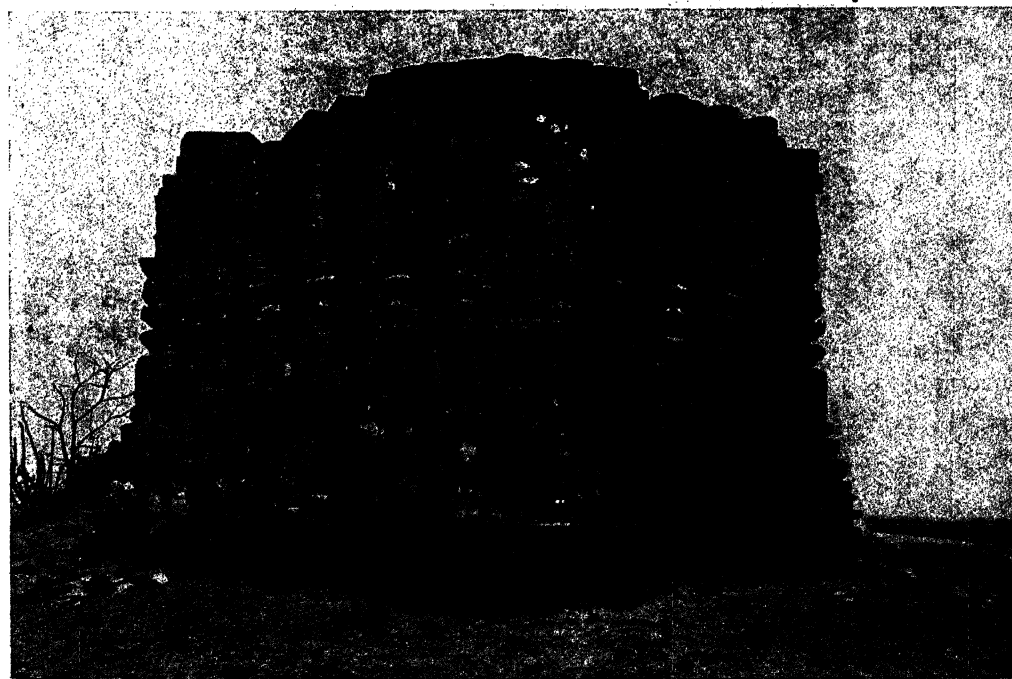
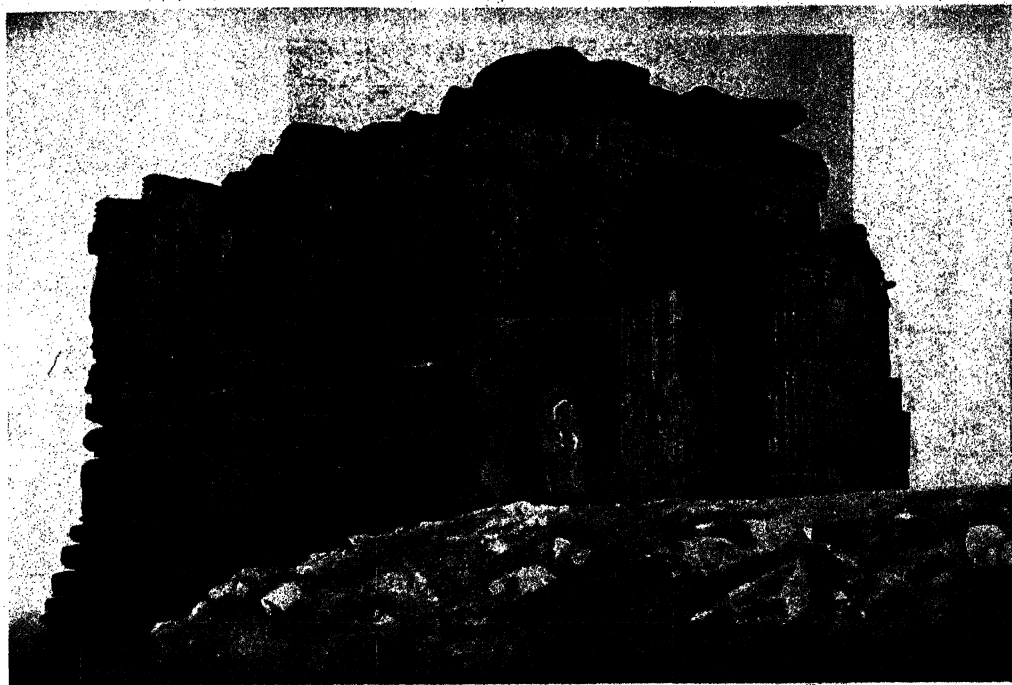
**Siddhanatha-Mahadeva Temple, Nemawar, Indore State ; 11th Century. A. D.**



Sculptures on the *Garbhagrha* of Vishnu Tempel.



Sculptures on the wall's of the *Sabha-mandapa*, Siddhanatha Temple.



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- (a) Garbhagriha of the unfurnished temple of Vishnu, Nemawar, Indore State.  
 (b) Back view of the same.



Door-frame of the Siddhanatha Temple.

to that of Siddhanatha temple. At the centre of the horizontal lintels of the doorway we find an image of *Badri-Narayana* in a niche. The deity has four hands two of which are lying on his lap in *dhyanamudra*. The left hand holds a conch (*sankha*), while the right hand holds a wheel. Above these, is the projecting cornice, over which we find a big slab containing images of Siva, and the divine mothers in low relief. Unlike the Siddhanatha temple this has one or two amorous scenes. The cella is a plain square. It has four brackets at the corners and two on each of the three walls. These brackets support a square frame, over this is the octagonal frame on which horizontal slabs of the roof rests.

#### PLASTIC ART

For the history of Indian art importance of these two temples cannot be exaggerated. The dissolution of the Gupta Empire disturbed the uniformity of plastic tradition that ruled over the greater part of India. Hence the different provinces evolved local styles under varying circumstances. Thus we find the school of Bihar and Bengal in eastern India, Pallava and the Rashtrakuta styles in the distant south. In Central India we already know of two distinct styles, one that flourished under the patronage of the Haihayas of Tripuri, and the art of the Chandellas of Mahoba. These two temples introduce us to yet another school of art and architecture. Almost all the members of the Paramaras of Malwa were builders, but greatest of them was Bhoja. But most of their work are now gone. Ujain, a famous city of ancient India, hallowed with the name of Kalidasa and other great figures of Indian history, stands now shorn of all its ancient grandeur. At Dhara the few buildings that still survive are all Muslim in character. The iconoclastic zeal of the conquerors has denuded the whole country of almost all its ancient Hindu monuments.

The local people told us that in many inaccessible parts of Malwa temples built by Bhoja still exist. But local traditions are unreliable, and the whole of Malwa, now being included in the territories of various Native States, is *terra incognita* to non-official British Indian archaeologists. Therefore, these temples introduce us for the first time to the new type of temple architecture which Bhoja is reported to have introduced in his realm. Apart from architecture the temples under discussion supply us with valuable information about the condition of plastic art under the Paramaras of Malwa.

The modelling of the figures on the *garbhagrihas* is vigorous, soft and graceful. While the figures of the Siddhanatha temple have a tendency towards volume, those on the unfinished Vishnu temple are remarkable for their youthful charm. Most of the reliefs being high, and placed in niches and sunken panels, there is considerable field for light and shade. The jewelleries and other ornaments are laid in a detached manner. The supple and rounded bodies are pleasing to look at, and a faint softness is traceable in expressionless faces. The figures are absolutely without any motion, and the legs are rigid and awkward.

#### INSCRIPTIONS

There are many pilgrims' records in the Siddhanatha temple two of which are important and dated.

(1) The first one records the visit of a man named Thakura Vijadhara (Vidyadhara) who was a *Gauda-kayastha*, on the 13th day of dark half of Asvina in V. S. 1253 (September-October 1196-7 A. D.)

(2) The second inscription states that on Friday the second day of dark half of the month of *Bhadrapada* 1281 V. S. (August-September 1224-25 A. D.) a *Gauda-kayastha* of the name of Raja, son of Sihada visited the temple.



# THE RACIAL FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By SASADHAR SINHA, B. A. (CAL.), B. SC. (ECON.), PH.D. (ECON.) (LOND.)

**E**XCESSIVE preoccupation with the political history of the world during the last few centuries is apt to obscure one's true historical perspective with regard to the destiny of mankind. Looking at the gradual proliferation of European domination over the entire globe, particularly during the nineteenth century, it is natural to arrive at the conclusion that this is the final verdict of history ; that this must always be so. The facile division of the human race into "white" and "coloured" with the tacit assumption that the "white" race must always be in the ascendant clearly demonstrates that this danger is not a pure fiction of fancy. If one casts one's mind back sufficiently far and looks at the kaleidoscopic changes in history, one is struck by the fact that practically all races of the world, irrespective of colour, have dominated other races and have been dominated by them in their turn. The true view of European domination over non-European races would thus be to look upon it as a temporary historical phase, as temporary as the Roman empire, the Moorish conquest of Spain, Mongol invasions of the Western world or the vanished glories of the Spanish empire. Aryans, Mongols, Semites, all have had their day. Indeed, we see before our very eyes vast changes taking place all over the world. The "menace of colour" is not so much a menace as a challenge of the bulk of humanity against the political and economic hegemony of a minority of the European races.

Faced with these developments, imperialism is no longer content with direct exploitation of the politically weaker races of the world. It seeks to build its edifice on the solid foundations of science. Anthropology, psychology and latterly, eugenics, have all been laid under contribution. Clearly in so far as they affect public policy, the pursuit of science is quite secondary to their purpose. Thus, although it is usual to set up a cleavage between the "white" and the "coloured" races, it is found

that there is as little in common between the "white" races themselves as between those who are classed under the latter omnibus designation. It is well known that the immigration policy of the U.S.A. and Australia is only a shade less discriminating against the Southern or Eastern Europeans than against the Orientals. Professor Griffith Taylor has gone so far as to assert that the Mediterranean races are definitely inferior to the Mongols. In practice, therefore, the scientific generalizations on the superiority of the "white" races are nothing more nor less than an elaborate apologia for the Anglo-Saxons—namely, that the present supremacy they have over non-European races is both justified in fact and in theory.

Briefly speaking, the race theory has taken as many forms as there are races in the world. Thus, at the one end where the European races have been thrown together, as in the United States and Africa, with the Negroes, it has undergone its most monstrous evolution. Miscegenation, which is well-nigh inevitable where two races co-exist, is worse than a crime in these countries, although in both it is the dominant races who were initially at fault. Nevertheless, the process continues. In America, according to some authorities, the racial dilution is taking place on such a vast scale through marriages of "whites" and "near whites" that any prediction with regard to the racial future of the country is premature. Nor is the verdict of science on mixed marriages between the "blacks" and the "whites" unequivocal. Some of the outstanding Negroes of America, like Booker T. Washington and Dubois, are of mixed origin. Indeed, there is a large volume of opinion to show that in most cases the unfortunate results of such marriages are due more to social disadvantages than to differences of race. Nurture rather than nature is at the root of the evil. In Australia, for instance, it is said that marriages between Chinese and Australians have been happy and

successful, and children of such marriages are "healthier and better cared for than the white children in the same environment with similar white mothers." Professor J. W. Gregory has joined issue with this statement, but his objection may not be primarily eugenic, because almost immediately he adds that "the admission of Asiatics to Australia is unnecessary for the development of tropical regions, for . . . there is nothing in climate to prevent the development of tropical lands by white labour." It is not improbable that a similar motive underlies the following remark. Professor Gregory writes: "Until my first walk through one of the crowded streets in the poorer districts of Calcutta, I had not realized the truth of the classification of the Bengali as Mongolo-Dravidian. I then noted with surprise the strength of the Mongolian element, which explains why the people, whom Sir Frank Younghusband aptly describes as 'the supple, quick, affectionate Bengalis,' although of remarkable intellectual capacity are of unusual mental variability and instability."\* It is curious that he should on the same page classify the Eurasians as Aryans. "The objection to inter-racial inter-marriage . . . does not apply to that of many people of different cultures, and even colour . . . The Eurasian is the offspring of members of the same race." To assert that the Eurasian, whose parent on the Indian side may belong to any one of the ethnic groups composing India, which are themselves mixed, is racially pure, obviously belongs to the same order of scientific value as to call a particular race mentally variable and unstable and to account for it by its racial make-up. When, however, one turns to regions where the possibility of mass admixture with Europeans is non-existent, the argument takes its stand on grounds which are either fictitious or intangible. One of the popular misconceptions is that Asia is breeding faster than Europe; that the human reservoir called Asia will presently burst and submerge Europe in a devastating flood of colour. But, as Mr. H. G. Wells says: "India and China are no doubt

going forward in the population race, but the European and American communities are still going forward much faster."

The propagandist now shifts his ground and takes refuge behind such qualities as individual enterprise and initiative, which he claims as pre-eminently European, but the emergence of Japan as a successful military and industrial nation within the short space of fifty years has clearly demonstrated that such virtues are by no means a European monopoly. Professor Gregory is probably not aware of the contradiction when he concedes that "in ability the European is not probably superior to members of other races who have had an equal training and opportunity." Be that as it may, there is little doubt that no finality can be claimed for the eugenic argument. Apart altogether from its recent origin, the study of racial biology has hardly been carried out under conditions which make for complete objectivity.

Lothrop Stoddard writes: "We whites will have to abandon our tacit assumption of permanent domination over Asia, while Asiatics will have to forgo their dream of migration to white lands and penetration of Africa or Latin America."

This puts in a nutshell the prime motive behind racial antagonism, which in the last analysis is not really a conflict between white and coloured races, but between all races whenever and wherever they compete for their livelihood, for according to the same author, "even within the white world, migration of lower human types, like those which have worked such havoc in the United States must be curtailed." The political motive, the eugenic motive, are both subordinate to the economic motive. The exclusion of Asiatics from North America, Australia, and South Africa, the disfranchisement of the Negroes in the Southern States of U. S. A., the political domination of Europe over Asia are all links in the same chain of argument. "In South Africa the black is so far from being inferior to the white that the Kaffir is debarred from education, skilled trades and various professions, to protect the white from his competition." The lesson of Indian emigration to South Africa is similar. How apparent friendliness can be turned into bitter enmity

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\* I remember once having a discussion with a distinguished Professor of a well known British University, who similarly characterized the Irish.



from economic motive is shown nowhere better than in the Northern States of U. S. A. since the Negroes began to drift from the South to the industrial North on account of labour shortage during the War. "The entry of so many Negroes into the Northern labour market aroused jealousy and alarm among the white workers." The history of the anti-Chinese, anti-Japanese and anti-Indian feeling on the Western coast of America is the same. They were welcome as long as they were needed for the opening up of the Pacific region and dispensed with as soon as they were found superfluous or too dangerous as rivals. The quota system applied to European immigrants points in the same direction. "The result is," says M. André Siegfried, "that according to the 1924 law the annual contingent can consist of only 13.3 per cent. Latins and Slavs as against 86.6 per cent. Nordics. Out of 165,000 allowed each year, the Anglo-Irish can send 62,000, the Germans 51,000, but the Italians only 3,845, and the Russians only 2,248." Despite the outstanding contributions of the Jews to European culture, anti-Semitism is more or less latent throughout Europe, and has lately burst into savage flames in Hitlerite Germany. It is well known that it derives its main strength from economic jealousy. Nor is this entirely a European or American phenomenon. The economic motive which brought Japan to the mainland of Asia has led, as sure as night follows day, to the civilizing pretensions of Japan and its corollary, the race cult. The Asiatic "Monroe Doctrine" desired by Japan may never be realized, but it indicates which way the wind blows.

Obviously, then, the so-called race theory has grown out of economic and consequently political necessities. Science is being prostituted for shaping public opinion at home as well as for forging fresh chains for those who are the victims of this insidious propaganda. The psychological weapon becomes

indispensable to the economic and political armoury. It can be used both as a method of offence and of defence. The quite temporary ascendancy, historically speaking, of Europe over the rest of the world is raised to the status of a biological theory, which while speaking for the white race only registers a subtle claim for the Nordics. It is a theory, which is inwardly inconsistent, for while it speaks of racial superiority of the Northern races, it degenerates into staking economic claims for them over certain regions of the earth. It is inwardly uncertain, for its basic motive is fear, fear of those races who may yet play the historical rôles that they played in the past. Mr. Wells says: "They had no sense of the transferability of science and its fruits. They did not realize that Chinamen and Indians could carry on the work of research as ably as Frenchmen and Englishmen." The biological argument thus raises issues which are as shallow as they are pernicious, because they not only divide humanity into warring camps, but side-track the one and the only relevant issue namely, the economic motive which lies behind all race conflicts, between one white race and another, between one yellow race and another and between all races. The pursuit of false gods only postpones the day when humanity will live at peace.

NOTE :—The following are works of the authors referred to in the article :

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# THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY AND DISARMAMENT. WILL THE LABOUR PARTY TAKE THE LEAD?

By WILFRED WELLOCK

## LABOUR OUTLAWS WAR

**A**T last there is a glimmer of light upon the international horizon. Into the gloom caused by the failure of the World Disarmament Conference, the triumph of Hitlerism in Germany and the growth of Fascism on a fairly wide front, the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labour Party have thrown a challenge to militarism which is fraught with profound possibilities, and may be the beginning of a policy which will not only save the world from the horrors of another war but strike a mortal blow at the menacing spectre of Fascism.

At Hastings the Labour Party at its recent annual Conference passed a resolution which instructs the National Executive Committee, in conjunction with the Trade Unions Congress and the Co-operative Movement:

"to pledge itself to take no part in war and to resist it with the whole force of the Labour Movement and to seek consultation forthwith with the Trades Union and Co-operative Movements with a view to deciding and announcing to the country what steps, including a general strike, are to be taken to organize the opposition of the organized working-class movement in the event of war or threat of war, and urges the National Joint bodies to make immediate approaches to endeavour to secure international action by the workers on the same lines."

Similar action was foreshadowed in the discussion on Disarmament at the Trade Union Congress in September, when it was decided that a special Congress should be called to consider the Executive's proposals on the issue, while a resolution passed at the International Trade Union Congress demanded boycott action at a stage in the development of a war crisis earlier than the actual outbreak of hostilities. It is, moreover, significant that the proposed action was not to be dependent upon a League of Nations decision, but might follow the decision of a Joint Committee of

the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International specially called "to give a lead to the working class when a state of crisis exists."

This resolution means that British Labour has definitely outlawed war. This view is confirmed by the title "Labour Outlaws War," which Mr. Henderson gave to the speech in which he supported the resolution at the Hastings Conference, and by the assertion in that speech, that the step which had been taken represents

"a formal break with the old traditions, with the blind loyalties which have made the workers the victims of war. This new spirit, this willingness to dare and risk all things in the cause of peace is, I am profoundly convinced, the beginning of wisdom and the best guarantee of victory in the battle for a secure peace."

Mr. Henderson further reinforced this view by saying that another great War would destroy Socialism itself.

It is quite clear, therefore, that so far as the Labour Movement is concerned, there is to be no more war.

## DISARMAMENT MUST FOLLOW

Now what is the logical consequence of that decision? It is surely that disarmament must become the definite policy of the Labour Party.

Obviously it is futile to spend some £105,000,000 a year on maintaining a military system which is never to be used, at any rate by a Labour Government. Yet that is what will happen unless the Labour party changes its policy.

And no one would argue that a Labour Government should maintain fighting services which it did not intend to use in order that its political opponents, if they so desire, may plunge the country into war or attempt to impose a Fascist regime on this country!

## DISARMAMENT AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

This raises the question of the extent to which a Labour Government ought to be tied to the League of Nations.

It is admitted that a League of Nations is indispensable to the ordered Government of the world, and thus that it ought to be kept intact and made as effective an instrument as circumstances permit. Even if the League is unable to give effect to disarmament, the adoption of its procedure in a time of crisis may cause sufficient delay to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. At the same time it cannot be denied that at present the League, being composed of Capitalist States, ought not to receive the blind support of a Socialist Government.

As time goes on, and the contradictions within the capitalist system sharpen, powerful clashes between capitalist and non-capitalist members of the League are bound to arise. Hence it may well be that decisions will be reached which no Socialist Government could accept. The Imperialist bias within the League was clearly demonstrated by its action over the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. That bias has also been recognized in numerous Labour Party Conference resolutions, as in regard to possible concerted action by capitalist Powers within the League of Nations against Russia.

Moreover the Hastings resolution quoted above authorizes strike action, etc., without reference to any decisions of the League of Nations, while, as already pointed out, the resolution of the I. T. U. Congress reserves to the Joint Committee of the I. F. T. U. and the I. L. and S. I. the right to determine who is the aggressor against whom boycott action is to be taken.

It is abundantly clear, therefore, that no Socialist Government ought slavishly to accept all the decisions of a League of Nations which is mainly composed of Capitalist and Imperialist States, and thus be tied to the Juggernaut of Militarism which the League of Nations at present maintains. It must surely claim the right to follow a more enlightened policy if it so desires, especially since, as must be frankly admitted, the League of Nations is not as yet a practicable alternative to war.

## CAPITALISM CANNOT DISARM

This raises the profoundly important question of whether Capitalism can disarm. I hold that it cannot, and for the primary reason that its policies produce the very fears and antagonisms which make huge and ever growing armaments necessary. At this very moment the principle of exploitation which is inherent in Capitalism is throwing the world entire into chaos and turmoil. It is responsible for the dictatorships in Russia, Italy, and Germany, as well as in many other countries. It is sharpening the clash between the classes in every European State, in the United States no less than in the South American Republics, and at last throughout the Far East. Its Imperialist manifestations are fomenting revolt in India, in Africa, in the South American Republics, etc. Moreover, as the capitalist system approaches collapse, and so-called over-production stultifies and destroys capital on the one hand and intensifies poverty on the other, class antagonisms will multiply and become more acute, whence fear will grow and prevent any real disarmament.

I will reinforce this argument by the following facts:

(1) Armaments are increasing. The oft-repeated statement that this country has disarmed enough already is untrue. No nation has so far disarmed in the least degree. We are spending as much on armaments today as we did ten years ago, but that sum, owing to the fall in prices, buys 50% more armaments. I estimate that during the past twelve years, owing to increased mechanization, concentration upon powerful arms like armoured cars and tanks, the air force and the seaplane, the fighting and killing power of the armaments of all armed nations has at least been trebled.

(2) It is incontrovertible that the prospects of disarmament are worse today, after two years of discussion by the Disarmament Conference, than they were at the beginning.

(3) The rapid rate at which national and international crises are occurring makes it impossible for those who support policies which produce these crises to disarm. The recent action of Germany in withdrawing from the League of Nations and from the Disarmament Conference is but one of these crises. It

should not be regarded as a bolt from the blue, therefore but as an inevitable product of Capitalism, resulting from commercial rivalry, a World War, an iniquitous Peace Treaty, broken disarmament pledges, and class war within Germany itself. If proof be needed that such crises prevent Capitalism from disarming, I will cite the following evidence :

(a) On Oct. 9, 1933, Mr. Henderson, reporting to the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference, admitted that "on the more important questions the approach was manifestly influenced by the present unsettled state of Europe and the resultant distrust and fears."

(b) On Oct. 13, 1933 Sir John Simon stated that the proposed Disarmament Convention would have to be re-cast as "the present unsettled state of Europe is a fact, and statesmen, in drawing up their plans have to face facts."

Hence, with sublime irony, Sir John pleaded for a modification of the proposed Convention, which he described by the word *evolution*.

(4) Owing to the present break-up of capitalist civilization, Treaties and Conventions are being broken wholesale and thus becoming increasingly valueless. Note the following instances :

(a) Japan, for Imperialist reasons has broken away from the League altogether, thus showing the lengths to which the big Powers will go in order to get their way.

(b) Germany, having despaired of the League and of the Disarmament Conference has left both.

(c) The Allied Powers have signally failed to honour their undertaking to disarm, and have thus broken the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

(d) Germany, revolting against what she believes to be humiliating and indefensible clauses in the Peace Treaty, has to some extent rearmd in defiance of that Treaty.

(e) The League of Nations Gas Protocol of 1925, which prohibits the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, is a dead letter, since the poison gas departments of all the armed nations are working at full strength. The total number of staff on the approved establishment of the British Chemical Warfare Research Department on April 1,

1930, was 553, or 73 more than in 1925, the year in which the Gas Protocol was adopted.

(5) The fact—and none will deny that it is a fact—that the Allied Powers will not disarm sufficiently to prevent Germany from rearming, means that when the latter takes place fear will grow, and will lead to an increase of armaments all round, which in turn will lead to war unless the control of the situation passes into other hands than those of capitalist governments.

(6) The last piece of evidence I will give here is a quotation from the Constitution of the International Labour Office, *viz.*,

"The League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based on social justice."

Thus the present capitalist League of Nations as an instrument for establishing peace is condemned by its own offspring, the I. L. O. The simple fact is that in the cauldron of world Capitalism more powerful fears are seething and are being created than have ever been known. Those fears will not only prevent disarmament but will give rise to demands for increased armaments.

#### LABOUR AND DISARMAMENT

If Capitalism cannot disarm, can Labour? To say the least, it will be extremely humiliating if the supporters of the next Labour Government in the House of Commons are to be asked to march into the Lobby to vote year after year some £105,000,000 for military purposes. It is either madness or cowardice to say we have definitely outlawed war and to go on spending these huge sums on arms. If we do not mean to use them we must not allow others to do so.

*The Manchester Guardian* in a leading article on Oct. 11, 1933, said :

"Read literally, the Hastings resolution is a pledge 'to take no part in war' and to resist any war or threat of war, an extreme pacifist declaration which is, as its Tory critics point out, equivalent to support of unilateral disarmament."

That is perfectly true, and to be logical the next Labour Government must embark on a policy of disarmament no matter what other

governments may do. And that, I contend, is a practicable policy.

In the first place let us keep in mind the fact, upon which all are agreed, that the next war will destroy civilization, and that there will be little to choose between victors and the vanquished. Thus the one hope of escaping extermination is in being disarmed.

Naturally a nation which disarmed would thereby declare that it would be prepared to take all its disputes before a recognized international tribunal for arbitration. No one could say that such a nation was the aggressor in any circumstances. Hence no one would think of attacking it, and if any Government tried to, it would find that world opinion, and its own working class population were opposed to it, and thus that the risk of going to war was too great.

#### A WORLD CONSCIOUS WORKING CLASS

That issue brings us to the heart of the problem. If war is to be eliminated it must be by the creation of a world opinion which stands out from and above that which is marshalled behind Capitalism. That public opinion must consist mainly of working class elements, although other elements will come into it. The workers of the world, now fairly enlightened, are capable of being reached through numerous working class organizations, national and international, and a growing labour press. Working class leaders in every country preach the unity of the world's workers, and dream of realizing that unity. The sole reason that dream is not realized is that those same leaders have so far been afraid to trust their faith. Unity in any sphere can only be achieved by action, acts of courage and faith. There is no issue upon which it would be more possible to weld the workers of the world into a solid unity than that of disarmament; and the one body which has it in its power to achieve that unity on the issue of disarmament is the British Labour Party. I am convinced that a policy of unilateral disarmament carried out by a British Labour Government would have an electric effect upon world opinion, and particularly working class opinion, and would galvanize it into a solid unity. In other words I believe that one of

the greatest ideals of modern times has come within the bounds of realization.

I would here like to give two quotations from Mr. Henderson's Hastings speech:

"If we abandon our international faith, we shall be powerless to save the world from another war, and from the dictatorships and awful tyrannies which are the consequences of war."

"We are the only force in the world strong enough and determined enough to win through to peace."

Precisely. But how can that faith be created if we go on building up military power at the behest of capitalist states? Labour should seek to isolate rather than co-operate with Capitalism; it should expose its evils, not emulate them. Labour denies its own ideals and defeats its most cherished ends, when it adopts the ideology and methods of Capitalism, for have not that ideology and those methods brought civilization to its present *impasse*? Thus a Labour Government must act on Socialist and not on Capitalist lines. Otherwise how will it ever be possible to galvanize world working class opinion into a controlling and challenging unity?

As has often been said, the acid test of peace intentions is the willingness to disarm; and that is as true of a Labour Government as of a Capitalist Government. Likewise the acid test of our faith in working class solidarity is our readiness to trust it, to give it something to live on.

There is nothing to fear. The gains from disarming would far outweigh the losses. As for risks, the risks of disarmament are far less than the risks of armaments. To the argument that by disarming, a Labour Government would forfeit a valuable bargaining power, I would reply that it would secure instead such enthusiastic support from the workers, and many others, throughout the world as would make the heart of Capitalism quake. The acclamation of the world's workers would be worth more to a Labour Government which had the courage to disarm than any slavish adherence to a Capitalist armaments policy.

Again, to the contention that in case of a war between France and Germany it might be necessary for Britain to assist France, I

would say that a Labour Government in Britain ought to make it quite clear that under no circumstances would it feel justified in once again attempting to clear up the mess which Capitalism has made in Europe by means of bloodshed. If the loss of 10,000,000 men was not able to put matters right between these two countries fifteen years ago, the loss of 100,000,000 men, women and children (for that is what it would mean) is not likely to do it now.

Moreover, a Labour Government which acknowledged in deed India's absolute right to determine her own Constitution, and which stood firmly against every form of exploitation of the natives in Africa and for their development through the fullest use of their right of self-determination, would have no need of extensive armies or of bombing machines in "those outlying regions" which are doing so much to prevent disarmament today.

At the Hastings Conference someone asked how a policy of disarmament would square with a bellicose Japan which sought, say, to take possession of some portion of Australia. The reply is that the whole question of emigration and the distribution of the world's population will sooner or later have to be thoroughly explored. If Australia, or any other country should be unwilling to do that, (and no one is entitled to assume that she would), I do not think we or anyone else ought to be called upon to support that unwillingness by going to war. The simple fact is that the world has got to be trained to apply reason and conscience to the problems of life, and an essential condition of that training is the abolition of armaments. The nation which has the courage to blow up its own arms will do more in one hour to secure the sovereignty of reason and morality than has been

accomplished by a thousand years of warfare.

### TOWARDS NEW HORIZONS

The Labour Party is thus presented with a magnificent opportunity of leading the nations towards new horizons. Everywhere the people are ready for a strong lead on the issue of disarmament. Individual resistance to war is taking root in the Universities and in the Churches in this and other lands, as well as in the ranks of Labour. Certain polls which have recently been taken in this country and also in America show a powerful vote in favour of disarmament by example. In Europe, again, young men are in prison for resisting conscription in no fewer than six countries, while very active anti-conscription movements are in being in Belgium and France. So alarmed have the authorities become in France and Belgium at the growth of such movements that special measures are being taken to combat them.

Therefore, let the Labour Party, in the words of Mr. Henderson, "make a living reality of the international solidarity of the workers" by leading the world to peace through disarmament. It will never lead the world to peace by playing the armaments game of the capitalist Powers. The opportunity may come sooner than we expect. Let us be ready to seize it when it does. Having outlawed war, let the Labour Party face the logic of its decision, complete the work it has so well begun, and courageously decide to embark upon a policy of total disarmament. Along no other road can mankind free itself from its nearest menace. The League of Nations has given us words. The Disarmament Conference has given us words. It is by deeds that the world will be saved: and these must not long be delayed.



# HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

BY SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI AND BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

## I

SINCE Indians began to demand the right of popular self-government, an oft-repeated objection raised against this claim has been that India does not possess any tradition or history showing her fitness for such government. India, it is said, has from time immemorial been used to unmixed autocracy and it is, therefore, in the fitness of things, that she should for all time to come be governed according to autocratic methods and standards. Self-government, it is urged, is achieved by practising it. Indians had no experience of popular self-government. Indians could not, therefore, be expected to work properly and efficiently institutions based on popular principles.

The argument underlying this objection to the introduction of any measure of popular self-government in India has been met as often as it has been raised. But like Banquo's ghost it appears and reappears over and over again. An organized campaign of publicity is being conducted against India among vast masses of ignorant and unsuspecting peoples in both hemispheres at the present moment. This virulent propaganda is being engineered by wealthy and powerful groups of persons and interests having unbounded resources at their back, with the support and help of a government, perhaps, the most reactionary of modern times. It may not be inappropriate, at such a time, to take a retrospect of the historical and political background of the Indian constitution.

## II

India possesses a very ancient historical past. Owing, however, to lack of proper materials, based on reliable evidence, it had not, so far, been possible to prepare any continuous record of the public events of the country up to the seventh century B. C. But with such records as were available, India's history could be traced so far back as to 3000 B. C. The archaeological discoveries recently made at Harappa in the Punjab and at Mahenjo Daro in Sind bear evidence of a civilization which appears to have flourished in a still remoter antiquity.

There is ample evidence that in the early periods of history, there existed in India states with oligarchic or republican forms of government. Vedic literature contains references to non-monarchical forms of government

and to a system of conducting public administration by means of an assembly of the people. In the *Mahabharata* also mention is made of similar states without kings.\*

The popular assembly was also a familiar institution in the early years of the Buddhistic age.† The earliest Buddhist records reveal, says Prof. Rhys Davids, the survival side by side with different grades of monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence. Even as late as the time of Alexander's invasion (327-325 B. C.) popular institutions flourished in the numerous principalities of the Punjab.§ From references made in various works it may be assumed that such forms of government existed in this country even after the sixth century A. D.

The history of the Hindu Power in India may, for all practical purposes, be said to have come to an end at the close of the twelfth century A. D. A succession of brilliant rulers—Chandragupta Maurya; his illustrious grandson, Asoka the Great; Samudragupta, who died towards the end of the fourth century A. D.; his famous son Chandragupta Vikramaditya; Harsavardhan, who ruled till the middle of the seventh century A. D.—have left marks of their uncommon powers of administration. The achievements of these rulers and of many others in every branch of civic and political life and in the spheres of literature, art, and science have extorted universal admiration. An eminent English writer describes Asoka's reign as "one of the brightest interludes in the troubled history of mankind." Alone among the conquerors he was so disgusted by

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\* Vide K. P. Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity*.

† Referring to the system of government prevailing among the Sakyas, Prof. Rhys Davids says: "The administrative and judicial business of the clan was carried out in the public assembly at which young and old were alike present in their common Mote Hall at Kapilavastu. A single chief—how and for what period chosen we do not know—was elected an office-holder presiding over the sessions, and, if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore the title of Raja, which must have meant something like the Roman Consul or the Greek Archon"—*Buddhist India*.

§ *Public Administration in Ancient India*—P. N. Banerjea

the cruelty and horror of war that he renounced it.\*

Some of the edicts of King Asoka emphasize the duties of the monarch and assure the people of his accessibility to them at all times of the day.

The elaborate organization of the vast empire of the Mauryas, specially its army, the division of various activities of government into groups, under different councils, and such progressive aspects of administration as the elaborate municipal administration of their capital Pataliputra; the maintenance of a regular census; the institution of a jail code; and the establishment of a foreign department, for instance, excited the wonder of even such a widely-travelled person as Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador.

During all this period India was not ruled as a single country. It was, in fact, divided into numerous kingdoms and principalities. In some cases, however, very large tracts came under the sway of a single overlord. Whatever the forms of government existing in those times, a very vigorous system of local government formed the basis of the political structure in India†.

"The freedom and general happiness attained by the people of Great Britain with the help of Parliamentary institutions and the richest revenues of the world can hardly be compared with that which Indians within the Aryan pale

\* "He organized a great digging of wells in India and the planting of trees for shade. He founded hospitals and public gardens and gardens for the growing of medicinal herbs. He created a ministry for the care of the aborigines and subject races of India. He made provision for the education of women. He made vast benefactions to the Buddhist teaching orders, and tried to stimulate them to a better and more energetic criticism of their own accumulated literature, for corruptions and superstitious accretions had accumulated very speedily upon the pure and simple teaching of the great Indian Master (Buddha). Missionaries went from Asoka to Kashmir, to Persia, to Ceylon and Alexandria." *A Short History of the World*—H. G. Wells.

† "It is interesting in reviewing the past history of India to trace a remarkable continuity of policy on the part of the rulers of whatever nationality who have succeeded in welding together the great congeries of widely differing races and tongues. The main principles of government have remained unchanged throughout the ages. Such as they were under the Maurya empire, so they were inherited by the Muhammadan rulers and by their successors, the British. These principles are based on the recognition of a social system which depends ultimately on a self-organized village community. Local government thus forms the basis of all political systems in India."—E. J. Rapson—*Ancient India*.

enjoyed both before and after the fifth century A. D.—the time which we regard as our Dark Ages, and theirs. The Indo-Aryan constitution, built up by the highest intelligence of the people upon the basis of the village communities, and not wrung from unwilling war-lords and land-lords by century-long struggles and civil wars secured to the Indian peasant-proprietor not only the ownership of the land, but very considerable powers of self-government. The powers of the Central Government, though they might often be abused were at least delegated to it by the people themselves and limited by unwritten laws which by common consent were given a religious character. E. B. Havell *Aryan Rule in India*.

It is significant that some writers in ancient India regarded the science of politics as the central science from which all other sciences originated. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* refers to thirteen authors and five schools of political thought. These speculative theories exercised a considerable influence in regulating the course of public affairs. The monarch according to one school of thought was bound by contract to his people under which in return for the latter's obedience and payment of state-dues the former was to secure the life and property of the people and ensure a regime of justice. The monarch's authority was also upheld by another school by attributing divinity to the king. In actual practice, the monarch was guided by the trend of popular opinion to a greater or less degree, as the situation demanded.

Instances of elected kings are not rare,\* and women were not absolutely excluded from succession. The system of government was organized on very scientific principles. The administrative system was composed of four distinct elements, *viz.*, the king, the ministers, the council and a highly organized class of officials.†

In Bengal, according to a Sanskrit work called *Manjusri Mahakalpa*, after king Sasanka a republican government existed for some time. The famous Bengali king Gopala was an elected monarch and even before him a popular Sudra leader was elected king and ruled for 17 years. It shows that "Bengal in the eighth century had freed herself from the law of caste and the Vedic theory of birth superiority and that Bengal had anticipated in 700 A. D. Govinda Singh

• \* At least in two cases kings were deposed by the people. King Brihadraha, the last Maurya emperor, according to Bana, the famous author of "*Harsa-charita*," was deposed for 'being weak in keeping his coronation oath.' For the offence of parricide King Nagadasaka made room for the first king of the Sisunaga dynasty.

† R. C. Majumdar—*Ancient Indian History and Civilization*.



and Rammohun Roy, Dayananda Saraswati and Gandhi".\*

Possibly the most vigorous development of community life was attained in Southern India. The administrative system of the Cholas, for instance, accepted the village community, composed often of a single village or oftener of a group of villages, as the unit of government. The assemblies of these village communities, subject to some supervision by divisional officers were practically sovereign in all the departments of rural administration. Several of these village unions (*Kurram*) formed a district, and a number of the divisions formed by such districts constituted a province (*Manulalam*) under a viceroy selected from the royal family. The Chola empire was divided into six such provinces.

The village communities of southern India, of which minute details are now available, in some cases possessed extensive powers and exercised many beneficent functions, some of them yet to be emulated by modern municipalities.†

### III

It was in 711 A. D. that Muhammad ibn Kasim set foot on the soil of Sind and conquered that part of Indian territory. This was, however, more or less, a temporary occupation and was followed by the raids of Subaktagin, Sultan of Ghazni, and his son Muhammad Ghazni. The country, however, gradually came under Muhammadan supremacy from the date of the decisive defeat of Prithviraj and his Hindu confederates by Sahabuddin Ghorî at the second battle of Tarain (1192).

After incessant struggle between contesting Muhammadan dynasties, Hindu rulers joining one party or other or fighting with both, large tracts of the country came under the sway of the Mughal house of Timur. During these years at least two rulers, Alaaddin Khilji (1296-1316) and Sher Shah (d. 1545) showed consummate administrative skill. But it was under the Mughals, especially under Akbar the Great, (1556-1605), that the country reached the summit of glory during Muhammadan rule.§

\* K. P. Jayaswal in *The Modern Review*, August, 1933.

† S. K. Aiyangar—*Ancient India, and Hindu Administrative Institutions*.

§ In his brilliant monograph on *Akbar*, (1932), Laurence Binyon, after describing how the great Mughal Emperor consolidated his conquests writes:—"His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organization—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Akbar's conceptions were something new in the history of Asiatic conquerors. Though a foreigner, he

Decay and disruption may be said to have set in at the close of the rule of Aurangzib (1658-1707). The rise of the Mahratta Power (1718-1818) under the genius of Sivaji, and of the Sikh Power (1803-1849) under the military prowess of Ranjit Singh, furnished short interludes in Indian history, contributing new experiments in government.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration* says: "The Mughal system at one time spread over practically all the civilized and organized parts of India. Nor is it altogether dead in our own times. Traces of it still survive, and an observant student of history can detect the Mughal substructure under the modern British Indian administrative edifice."

In spite of the democratic character of their religion, Muslims in India introduced a system of government based on military models and needs. The Mughal rule was a centralized autocracy. Yet, as has been pointed out, the people endured Mughal rule in so far it came to be based on religious toleration, social freedom and respect for village autonomy. This implied on the one hand a comparatively narrow scope of state-activity, and on the other, the enjoyment by the rural communities of a limited form of self-government in their spheres.

The emperor used to have a council for purposes of consultation, consisting of the *Vakil* or chancellor and a number of departmental heads. The central government exercised control over provincial administrations by devising a series of checks on the governor's powers. Such powers were applied through limitation of tenure, transfer of officers and the appointment of some of the subordinate responsible provincial officers from the headquarters. Moreover, the emperor by means of imperial tours, personal dispensation of justice at the centre, public appearance on specified occasions, etc., attempted to co-ordinate the administrative machinery, so far as circumstances permitted.\*

This centralized administration lasted for a little over two centuries. The adoption, by Muslim rulers, of the country as their own, led to the evolution of a common language (Urdu) and a composite civilization, arising out of the contact of Hindu culture with that of the Muslim immigrants.

In the Deccan, the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar (1336-1646) embodied the political and social aspects of Hinduism as practised in the South. Among its rulers was Krishna Raya (1509-29) described as the 'greatest of the South Indian monarchs.'

identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practices worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government."

\* Beni Prasad—*History of Jahanghir*, Chap. 4.

He was a contemporary of King Henry VIII of England. Paes, a Portuguese traveller has left for us an 'obviously truthful' account of Krishna Raya's rule.\* After describing the magnificence of the court and the capital, and the permanent army of a million troops, Paes notes that the empire was divided into 200 districts, each under a feudal noble. The government was strong and well-organized, and art and architecture flourished as never before.† The King was assisted by a Council composed of ministers, provincial governors, military commanders, eminent theologians and literateurs. The village moots managed local affairs through hereditary officers, maintained either by royal grants or contributions from the cultivators.‡ The Hindu tradition of government thus continued to exist in southern India.

At a later period, Sivaji, after consolidating his position, designed his administrative departments on early Hindu models. The government of his kingdom was conducted by the Raja, aided by a council of eight ministers, the *Ashta Pradhan*, of whom the chief was the Peshawa or prime minister. This arrangement was reproduced in the district administration also.\*\* The Mahratta army and navy, the civil administration and the revenue system of Sivaji, considering the unsettled conditions of his territories, have been regarded as remarkably efficient by competent observers.

#### IV

England gained her first foothold in India at the dawn of the seventeenth century A. D. when the East India Company, a commercial and trading concern began its operations in this country. The company received a Royal Charter which gave it very large powers including a monopoly of trade,†† and the right to acquire territory and to make regulations for the government of such areas.

In 1693 Parliament passed the famous resolution declaring that all British subjects had an equal right to trade in the East Indies. The Company, however, continued to keep the eastern trade closed to outsiders. Gradually, Parliament, in renewing the charters granted to the Company, limited its trading rights and imposed

duties necessitated by the increasing administrative responsibilities on the Company.

Although several other European Powers entered into competition with the British in the struggle for supremacy in India, after protracted warfare extending over a lengthy period, the British ultimately came out victorious.

The grant of the *Dewan* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company by Emperor Shah Alam in 1765 was a landmark in the consolidation of British power in India. This practically marked the beginning of British territorial sovereignty.\* The double government under Clive, the chaos and corruption† in administrative and trading methods gave rise to criticisms. Further, the fabulous wealth acquired by British traders in India along with the vulgar display that they made of their riches aroused jealousy in many quarters in England. At last the British Parliament was induced to take measures for regulating the administration of the territories by the company. The secret enquiry into its affairs by a Parliamentary Committee (1772) and the request of the Company for pecuniary assistance (1773) resulted in two Acts, one granting a loan of £1.1 millions with safeguards, and the other the famous Regulating Act. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 was enacted with a view to introducing a system of effective control and supervision over the Company's policy and administration. This was the first of a series of Parliamentary enactments regarding India.

Hitherto the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay had been independent of one another. With the passing of the Regulating Act, Bengal was given supreme power over the entire country with a Governor-General and four nominated councillors, who also administered the Presidency of Fort William (Bengal). A Supreme Court was also set up in Calcutta to administer law. The machinery in England for the administration of the affairs of the Company

\* The Company, of course, did not want to assume the sovereignty directly. "Clive seems, in 1756, to have desired the *Dewan* of Bengal rather than any territorial cession, which could have been obtained just as readily. It placed the Company in a strong tactical position alike as regards foreign powers and as regards the government at home" (Dodwell on "The Development of Sovereignty in India" in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, Ch. XXXII).

† Reports of Parliamentary Committees appointed after 1769 made the calculation that between 1757-66 the Company's servants received as presents from Bengal a sum of £2,169,665. This was apart from such acquisitions as Clive's *Jagir* valued at £300,000, the gains made from private trade by the Company's servants by abusing privileges granted to the Company and £3 ¾ millions paid as "compensation for losses incurred" to the officers of the Company.

\* V. A. Smith—*Oxford History of India*, Bk. V, Ch. 3.

† Sewell—*A Forgotten Empire*; and H. Krishna Shastri in *Annual Rep. A. S. India* (1907-9 and 1911-12).

§ Ishwari Prasad—*History of Medieval India*, Ch. 15.

\*\* S. N. Sen—*Administrative System of the Mahrattas*.

†† Whether this monopoly, granted without the consent of Parliament, was legal was decided in favour of the Company in 1685 in the case of the *E. I. Coy. v. Sandys*.

was, however, allowed to continue without any important change.

The arrangement introduced by the Regulating Act, which was halting in its principles and ambiguous and indistinct in specifying the jurisdictions of the Supreme Court, the Council of the Governor-General and the Governor-General, proved unworkable. It was mainly through the instrumentality of Sir Philip Francis, a powerful antagonist of Warren Hastings in the Governor-General's Council, that the unfairness of the Company's administration was brought to the fore.\* After some controversy the measure known as Pitt's India Act was passed in 1784. Under the provision of this Act a Board of Control,† under the official style 'The Commissioners for the Affairs of India,' consisting of the Chancellor of Exchequer, a Secretary of State and four Privy Councillors was established in England.§ The President of this body gradually centralized vast powers in his hands and became the forerunner of the office of the Secretary of State for India. The President was almost always a member of the Cabinet and changed with the party in power. This brought all the operations of the East India Company under the complete control of the Board. The indirect influence exercised by the presence of two Cabinet ministers at least, eventually led to the establishment of the supremacy of the British Parliament over India. The Board could disapprove or modify the despatches of the Directors of the Company and even secret

\* A Parliamentary Committee, presided over by Edmund Burke, considered the administration of justice in India, and changes were accordingly introduced in conformity with the report of this Committee, submitted from time to time from 1781 onwards.

A secret committee under the chairmanship of Dundas, also considered the state of British government on the Carnatic coast. The reports of the two committees were far from complimentary to the administration by the Company (Ilbert, *Government of India*, pp. 60-61) Charles James Fox in 1783 presented a drastic bill proposing the suspension of the Company's charter for four years and providing for the management of the affairs of the Company by seven commissioners nominated by Parliament. The bill though passed by the House of Commons was thrown out by the House of Lords at the King's behest.

† The function of the body was "to superintend, direct and control all acts, regarding the civil and military government, of Indian territories." C.P. Section 2(2) of the *Government of India Act 1919*.

§ The Commissioners did not receive any pay till 1793, when the payment of the members and staff of the Board was made a charge on Indian revenues.

orders had to be communicated to the Board.

The administration of each of the three presidencies was vested in a Governor and three Councillors including the Commander-in-Chief of each Presidency.

With the passing of the Charter Act of 1833 the East India Company was compelled to close its commercial business and became a purely political and administrative body, holding its territories, which had enormously expanded, in trust for the Crown.

According to the provisions of the Act the direction of the entire civil and military administration and the sole power of legislation were vested in the Governor-General in Council of India. This was the first time when the Governor-General in Council was styled "of India." Only one member of the Board of Control, viz., the President, was required to be nominated and it became, therefore, a one-man Board from 1841.

In 1853, when the Charter Act was renewed, not for 20 years, as on previous occasions, but, significantly enough, "until Parliament shall otherwise provide," it was specified that a third of the membership even of the Court of Directors of the Company was to be nominated by the Crown. Bengal was made a separate province under a Lieutenant-Governor and the Government of India assumed the character of a general controlling authority. The Act also gave India her first Legislative Council of 12 members, which was, however, a purely official body. Its meetings were open to the public and the proceedings were to be officially published. The system of nomination to the Indian Civil Service which had so far been followed was replaced by a system of open competitive examination held in London, the first regulations of which were drawn up by a committee presided over by Macaulay in 1854.

During the discussion of the Charter Act of 1853 in the House of Commons, John Bright advocated the assumption of the government of India directly by the British Crown. He characterized the past history of India as "a history of revenue wasted and domestic improvements obstructed by war." The system of double government, in his opinion, had "introduced an incredible amount of disorder and corruption into the State and poverty and wretchedness among the people." It was, according to him, "a system of hocus-pocus which deluded public opinion, obscured responsibility and evaded Parliamentary control."

## V

The Indian Mutiny (1857-58) eventually brought about the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the British Crown.

In December, 1857, Lord Palmerston, as Prime Minister, announced that a bill embodying the principle of direct control would soon be placed before Parliament. This evoked a spirited protest from the Court of Directors of the East India Company whose memorandum was drafted by John Stuart Mill, an employee of the Company. It characterized the proposed transfer of a "semi-barbarous dependency" to the Crown, as "a folly and a mischief." After acrimonious debates and replacements of draft Bills, consequent upon change of Governments, the bill drafted by Lord Stanley was finally passed as the Government of India Act, 1858.

The Queen's proclamation, said to have been drafted by John Bright, was read by Lord Canning on the 1st November, 1858, at Allahabad, which he regarded as more centrally situated than Calcutta. The proclamation among other things announced to the princes of India, that "all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained" and that no extension of the "present" territorial possessions was desired." It continued :

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duty which bind us to all our other subjects.....And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge...."

"When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward."

The Proclamation was described by some as the Magna Carta of the people of India\* and by others as unnecessary and inexpedient as "no change whatever of principle was required."† The Governor-General's short Proclamation accompanying the Queen's was also described by a contemporary writer as dissonant with the latter as it summoned the faithful to co-operation, and was calculated to "exact a loyal obedience" from India's millions ; and he protested

against the Queen's name being forged to promises made only to be broken later by the authorities in India.\* The Queen's Proclamation announcing the resolve "for diverse weighty reasons" to take up the Government of "the territories of India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company," introduced a new order, if not in fact, at least in law.

## VI

Our survey of the past political history of India, though brief, gives unmistakable evidence of brilliant and original achievements in almost every department of public activity along with the growth of institutions of a popular character indigenous to this country. It was the advent of foreign elements in the government of this country that served as a blight to all constitutional progress. This checked and hindered any normal and regular development in the political and constitutional sphere.

During the hundred years that have elapsed since the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, efforts have been made from time to time to introduce popular institutions, so that it cannot now be said that the people have not been used to these. But such efforts have always been of an utterly inadequate and haphazard nature and the working of the political institutions of the country have been on entirely wrong lines.

A special feature of British rule in India is that the destinies of the country are controlled and guided from a distance of thousands of miles. The British in India, unlike the Muhammadan rulers, have neither made the country their adopted home nor has any serious attempt been made to model the constitutional and administrative structure on indigenous lines. A study of the evolution of parliamentary control over Indian administration, shows that not only are all the powers and privileges of the Government of India derived from the British Parliament, but that the closest supervision is exercised from Whitehall over the entire area of the Government of India. Popular institutions cannot be expected to flourish in such singularly adverse circumstances.

The year 1832, which saw the passing of the famous Reform Act is considered as an important landmark in the constitutional history of England. The century that has elapsed since then has given birth to notable reforms in various spheres of national life in England. Both England and India have been under the same government all this time. Exigencies of Government have necessitated the adoption by the British authorities from time to time of such policies as the consulting of Indian opinion, the increasing association of Indians' in administration, and of holding out the promise of 'responsible self-

\* *The Company and the Crown*—Thurlow, Private Secretary to Lord Elgin, p. 245.

† *India under Dalhousie and Canning*—Duke of Argyll.

\* *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown*—J. M. Ludlow.

government.' The Montagu reforms arising out of the pronouncement of 1917 have proved to be ineffective and unsatisfactory; and the British Government have so far failed to take adequate and proper measures to appease Indian opinion. An examination of the proposals embodied in the White Paper (1933) leaves no room for doubt of their utterly undemocratic and retrograde character. Not only are the proposals in direct contravention of the policy of responsible self-government to which the British Parliament and responsible British statesmen are committed, but they are designed to introduce conditions and safe-guards which would render the constitution a most ineffective instrument for progress.

The Passing of the Charter Act in 1833 which brought about a welcome change in the British administration of India is considered as the first mile-stone on the road of political progress. After a lapse of one hundred years, the British Government find it difficult to

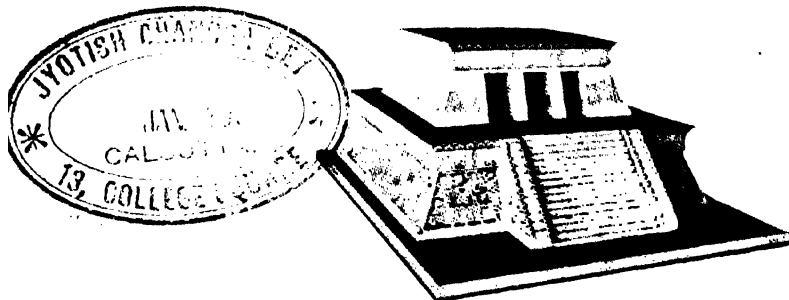
gather courage to fulfil even their promise of 1917, as the White Paper reveals. In a country where the community spirit and local self-government continued to flourish through the vicissitudes of history even up to the days of early British rule, the British government have not only not appreciated and fostered the habit of self-rule but have allowed it to languish and decay. We are confirmed in this view when we compare the progress achieved during the same period by such countries as Canada, a British colony, and Japan, regarded as merely an 'eastern country' with the progress made by India. In the course of a century, Canada, from the days of the Durham Report (1838), has reached the stage of virile manhood, under the regime legalized by the Statute of Westminster (1931). Japan, in the meantime, has also become one of the Powers of the world and has found it possible to divest herself of the feudal and autocratic bases of her government.



An Aztec mother and child



Aztec woman preparing *torillas* or maize *chapatis*



Restoration of the Aztec Temple at Xochicalco

See Article on page 10 of this issue.

# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**THE JAPAJI AND DISCOURSES ON THE BHAGWADGITA.** By Mehta Udhodas, B.A., LL.B., F.T.S. 1932. Price Rs. 2, cloth Rs. 2-8.

The Japaji is a religious book which deserves perusal, the Sikhs like any other nation clinging to their scriptures with reverence. The text and the translation are admirably printed side by side, covering about 64 pages, and the commentary is the author's own contribution to the understanding of the holy book. The Gita discourses deal with topics of current interest like *Ahimsa*, the *Varna-system*, the *Yajnas*, *Knowledge versus action*, man's final goal and the function of the true *guru*. Udhodasji is a *Bhakta* and he has a soft corner for *Bhakti-yoga*, though he recognizes its harmonizing influence, and emphasizes now knowledge, now devotion shown in the *shlokas* contained in the book. Written with zest and on a subject with which the writer is in constant touch, the book deserves a wide publicity which, we hope, it will receive.

**SPIRITUAL TEACHINGS OF SWAMI BRAHMANANDA.** Sri Ramkrishna Math, Myslapore, Madras. 1932.

This is a selection of spiritual instructions given from time to time by Swami Brahmananda either through informal conversation or in personal letters to his disciples when, as *Devamata* informs us in the foreword, in a later period of his administration as the head of the Ramkrishna Mission, he issued from his accustomed retirement and became an active visitor at the various centres. These instructions, already published in the *Vedanta Keshari*, have now been given a more permanent form in the present volume: some of them are in the form of questions and answers, while others are in the way of general discourses.

The teachings embody useful suggestions to those who seek to attain a spiritual life; written in a style which breathes peace and love, they aim at being practical and definite. Details about diet, etc. are given, and though sometimes there is a repetition.

it has a saving grace of warning and caution. The words of admonition are instinct with a passion for the realization of God, and inculcate energy without end. "Shake off despair, shake off disappointment, shake off doubt, make no compromise. Have infinite tenacity, and infinite energy." Again, "God you must realize; now in this very life you must see him."

The book is sure to win appreciation from those who are seekers after God.

**BHAGAVAD GITA:** Translated into English verse with introduction and notes. N. V. Thadani. Bhurat Publishing House, Karachi. 1933. Six annas.

This is a happy rendering of the "celestial song" which deserves to be popular. The writer, Mr. Thadani, introduces his subject with his idea of the Essence of the Mahabharata, going through the *parvas* one by one, and then follows the Essence of the Bhagavad Gita, which the writer seeks to unravel chapter by chapter. He holds that the Gita is a logical step, showing how a progression of ideas from Sankhya to Vedanta, through Nyaya, Vaisheshika and Yoga: his interpretation is thus a fair attempt to correlate the different systems of Hindu philosophy and place them in a logical order, in which a distinct position belongs to the Bhagavad Gita.

The notes at the end will be helpful to the reader who will try to understand this invaluable book through the medium of English. The translation is a lucid version, and the writer's rendering has the additional merit of being in verse. It is sure to be received with grateful appreciation by all lovers of the Gita.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**MARTYRED IN MEXICO:** By R. J. Masters, S. J., Light of the East Office, 30 Park Street, Calcutta.

This is a brief life-sketch of a Roman Catholic priest who suffered imprisonment and was finally shot dead under orders of President Calles of

Mexico. As might be expected, the author claims that Father Pro, the martyr, was only ministering to the souls of Catholic believers and was wrongly suspected of complicity in an attempted political murder and was killed without even a semblance of a trial. This, however, is a matter on which it is difficult to express an opinion without a knowledge of details of recent Mexican history. So far the author judges and vindicates the Father's character on secular grounds. But at the end of the book (p. 82 *et seq.*) he cites evidence of another kind to prove his martyrdom, *viz.*, cases of those (mostly of women) who were healed of blindness and other ills by praying to the departed soul of the Father. We are told of a woman, for example, who had a malignant tumour in the breast and whose disease was so far advanced that doctors advised immediate operation. And this was the opinion not of one doctor but of several. But even this fell disease was cured, without operation, by prayer to the departed Father Pro. The prayer which produced such marvellous results is also given at the end of the book. On the efficacy of prayer in general and of prayers of this kind specially, diverse views have been held even by the most thoughtful among men and men of lesser faith should not venture an opinion.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**SHARADASHIRAM VARSHIK, OR THE FIRST ANNUAL OF THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY OF YAOTMAL:** (Berar) *Containing 6 English and 10 Marathi articles, issued under the editorship of the Secretary Yashwant Khushal Deshpande, M. A., L. L. B., pages D. O. 51 English and 116 Marathi with 8 illustrations. Price Rs. 1-8-0.*

The indefatigable secretary Mr. Deshpande is doing great service to Indian history by organizing a body of expert workers for historical research in his province of Berar, which, it may not be generally known, is rich in historical antiquities and yet comparatively unexplored. The Ashram has undertaken at Yaotmal a task of threefold research in archaeology, history ancient and modern, and literature, including varied subjects such as coins, alphabets, religious practices and similar topics of antiquarian interest. Berar boasts of many places of ancient fame, now buried under mounds of earth, which, if properly excavated, are likely to yield grand results. The articles printed in the annual are from the pen of many reputed scholars and deal with varied subjects of historical import. They are mainly remarkable not so much for the actual output of new discoveries, as for the directions they point out in which further research is urgently demanded. The elaborate introduction by the secretary is eloquent and instructive. We hope that the appeal made by Mr. Deshpande for workers and funds will meet with a ready response.

G. S. SARDesai

**RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION IN RURAL INDIA.** By Premchand Lal, Ph. D. *Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 10s. net.*

The book under review has been written in the light of the programme of work carried on at Sriniketan, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction founded by the great poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

The author is well qualified to describe that work as he was for some time intimately connected with the Visvabharati Institute of Rural Reconstruction as its Director. The author first deals with the problem of rural reconstruction and the intensity of the problem at the present moment and then gives a history of the Visvabharati and the Sriniketan which was established as a supplement to the work of Santiniketan, under the directorship and guidance of Mr. L. K. Elmhirst who brought with him all the necessary technical experience obtained in England and America.

Though the author gives his opinions on the various aspects of rural reconstruction and education in India, he mainly deals with the aims and objects of the Sriniketan Institute which are quoted in this book. He first discusses at length the main activities of the Institute for agricultural and industrial improvement of the village and then gives a detailed account of its educational activities and the *Brati Balak* or scout organization which is the most important adjunct of the Institute in spreading the ideals of service, self-reliance and discipline. The author next narrates the efforts of the Institute in connection with the Rural Experimental School. The author then deals with a number of topics, not related to the actual work done at Sriniketan but as ideals to be set forth before the public, and states his opinions on (1) the Rural Elementary School, (2) the Scout Movement, (3) the Education of Adults, (4) the Education of Women and Girls, (5) Vocational Training, and the Training of Teachers and Community Leaders.

"Reconstruct the villages" has been the cry for some time past and it is really gratifying to find much good literature published on the subject of rural reconstruction in India. Though the work of Dr. Premchand Lal has not been exhaustive in more respects than one and though it does not give any comparative and critical account of the various rural reconstruction schemes adopted in different parts of India, yet it may be said that this book contains much interesting and useful information for all those who are interested in rural reconstruction and can thus be said to be a timely and welcome publication at the present moment when the attention of the country has been drawn to the importance of rural welfare work.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

**WOMEN IN ISLAM.** By M. Fathulla Khan with a Foreword by Baron Omar Rolf Emswils (of Austria). *Published by Moses and Co., 1120 Moosakhan Bazar, Secunderabad, Deccan.*

A small pamphlet of 12 pages, in which the author tries but fails to justify polygamy etc. in the eyes of non-Moslems. It is the priest praising his own scriptures, and prevents rational discussion of any topic connected with religion.

J. M. DATTA

## SANSKRIT

**THE GHERANDA SAMHITA.** A treatise on Hatha Yoga. Translated by Sris Chandra Vasu, B. A., F. T. S. (T. P. H. Oriental Series). Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1933 Price : Indian Edition Rs. 2. Foreign Edition Rs. 2-8. Size—Crown Octavo i-xviii + 1-132.

The work under review gives the text as also the translation of the *Gheranda Samhita*, one of the most important text-books of the Hatha Yoga system. There are incidental references to the description of some of the Yogic processes as found in the *Hathayoga-pradipika* in cases where they differ from those of the present work. In the foreword an attempt has been made to demonstrate the practicability and utility of Yoga practices in general. The learned translator has not, of course, enquired into the question of the date and authorship of the work but the fact that some of the complements of this book are found not only in the *Hathayoga-pradipika* but also in several other Yoga text-books would indicate as much their popularity as their antiquity. On the basis of the directions regarding the food for one who practises Yoga Mr. Vasu concludes that the author was a 'Vaisnava of Bengal' (Foreword, p. xv). This seems to be going too far, at least in the absence of more direct evidence, in the case of a work which may not unlikely have been merely a compilation or have been subjected to occasional interpolations. The scholarly world as well as the reading public will however be thankful to the enterprising publishing house for reprinting this work (first published in 1895) which goes a great way in helping one to make acquaintance with an original Yoga text; for though various attempts are being made through the publications of Kaivalyadharm and Yoga Institute of Bombay and of other individual scholars to popularize the teachings of Yoga, little has been done in the direction of directly popularizing the original Yoga texts.

**MAHABHARATAM WITH BHARATABHAWA-DEEPA :** By Nilakantha. Edited by Pandit Ram-chandra Shastri Kinnaradkar. Printed and published by Shankar Narayan Joshi. Chitrashala Press, 16-26 Sakinaka Peth, Poona City.

Here we have a decent popular edition of the Mahabharata along with one of its most popular and learned commentaries *e.g.* of Nilakantha. In portions however, where Nilakantha had no commentary as on the major portion of the Dronaparvan, the commentary of Arjuna Misra has been incorporated. The eighteen books of the work are here completed in six handy volumes. Two companion volumes one containing the *Harivansa* and the other comprising introductory materials—will, it is announced, be published in a short time. A good number of modern pictures depicting different incidents in the work are inserted in each of the volumes. The edition is stated to be primarily based on the edition of Ganapati Krishnaji which is no longer available. Several other editions and some manuscripts are also declared to have been consulted but extremely few are the variants that are found to have been noted. Not a single variant reading of the commentary is noticed though the text of it does not always agree with that of even some of the printed editions like the Vangavasi edition published from Calcutta.

The scholar as well as the general public will, on the whole, be thankful to the enterprising publishers as well as the editor for unostentatiously bringing this valuable work with its reputed commentary—long out of print—within easy reach.

In the short prefaces in Sanskrit prefixed to the different parts of the work topics like the authorship and extent of the Mahabharata have been briefly touched upon. In the Preface to volume IV the editor has given his interpretation of the term *yajna* in the line *tato yajnam udīrayet*. According to him it

refers to the Mahabharata, as it indicates in letter numerals the number 18 which is not only the number of chapters of the Mahabharata and the Bhagavadgita but also the number of days occupied by the Kurupandava war and the number of *akshauhini* constituting the army. The interpretation is, of course, ingenious and seems to be original as no authority is quoted. But it disregards the fact that the line is uttered not only before the recitation of the Mahabharata but of all the Puranas as well.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## BENGALI

**BANGALA PRACHIN PUTHIR BIBARAN** (*Descriptive Catalogue of Early Bengali Manuscripts*) Vol. III, Part 3, MSS. Nos. 201-400. By Pandit Taraprasanna Bhattacharya, with an Introduction by Professor Chintaharan Chakravarty, M. A. Pp. 178; Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Publication No. 43 (84); To be had from the Parishat Office, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta; Price 10 as. (8 as. for members of the Parishat).

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, which is a national institution for the Bengali speaking people for the study of Bengali literature and culture, has been making for the last 40 years of its existence a systematic collection of early Bengali MSS. and other objects relating to the past and present culture of Bengal. The MSS. Library of the Parishat boasts of the richest collection of early Bengali MSS. as can naturally be expected in an institution of the position and prestige of the Parishat. The MSS. which are typical Indian *puthis* with loose leaves often arrive in a deplorable condition and sometimes huge bundles of MS. leaves from different works all mixed up and in a frightful mess are dumped into the Parishat premises as gifts. The sorting of these and their arrangement into books is often a heart-rending task, but the MS. department has been doing this work for a long number of years. After the books have been laboriously sorted and properly secured within card-board covers and cloth bags their cataloguing with notes of contents can be taken in hand. So far over 3000 MSS. have been sorted and hundreds are waiting to be picked, sorted, and classified and more are always coming in. The work of writing a descriptive catalogue is also being carried on in the intervals of other work and the publication is proceeding as the meagre funds of the Parishat permit. This is a matter which merits fully the sympathetic consideration of the Government of Bengal, the Corporation of Calcutta and other public bodies. The necessity of such collection of MSS. for the literary history of a people can be imagined; and without a catalogue a collection of this type becomes almost useless for those who are not professionally employed in MS. libraries.

• The present volume does great credit to the learning and the patient industry of Pandit Taraprasanna Bhattacharya on whose worthy shoulders has fallen the mantle of Pandit Vasanta Ranjan Ray Vidvatballav, honoured name in Bengali scholarship. The books are properly described with suitable extracts and colophons. The introduction from the able pen of Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarty takes note of the most interesting and important works, and forms a good review of the present batch of 200 MSS. described within. A work like this is an



ample justification of a learned body like the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and considering that out of 3000 MSS. now ready only 400 have been so far described. The necessity for adequate financial support from those who control public funds becomes painfully clear. An alphabetical index of authors and titles forms a very useful feature of this catalogue.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

**HARAPRASADA GRANTHAVALI:** (*Collected Bengali works of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri*). Published by S. Satish Chandra Mukherji from the Basumati Sahitya Mandir, 166, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Price, Re. 1-8. Pp. Royal 1-312.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, well-known outside Bengal as only a great Indologist, was also a forceful writer of Bengali. His writings in Bengali were huge in amount and covered different fields—Indology (his favourite subject), historical novels, literary criticism, Bengali philology and social as well as educational problems of the country. A portion of these writings scattered in different places has been brought together and published in the present volume. There is no prefatory note appended to the volume and there is no indication as to the principle on which the selection and arrangement of the different pieces included in the volume have been based. There is no clear reference in the case of a good many of the pieces as to the year and place of their first publication. In spite of these defects, which are almost characteristic of the otherwise valuable *Granthavali* publications of the Basumati Sahitya Mandir, the present volume will be welcome to the admirers of the writings of the late Shastri, inasmuch as it serves to bring into easy reach many of his works that were becoming almost inaccessible. It is refreshing that his fascinating historical novel the *Bener Meyer* (the Daughter of the Merchant) which gives a vivid picture of old society and his illuminating appreciation of the *Meghaduta* (the Cloud Messenger) of Kalidas have been included here. But it is extremely unfortunate that some of his best and pleasant reading productions on literary criticism and historical investigation have been left out from the respective sections in this volume reserved for them. It may be expected that these will be published along with the remaining works of the Shastri in a subsequent volume.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### ASSAMESE

**RUKMINIHARAN NAT:** By Mahapurush Sankardev. Edited by Ambikanath Borah, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta.

We welcome this edition of a small one act drama in Assamese which is representative of a class

of similar dramas called *Ankiya*. These dramas are stated to have been highly popular in Assam. But it is to be noted that the language of the masses has not been used here. In the words of the editor, 'the language is medieval Assamese mixed with the dialect which is known as Brajabuli.' What is really curious is the frequent use of Sanskrit verses by the *sutra-dhara* for explaining all incidents to the audience. It is a relief, however, that on each occasion the *sutradhara* gives free Assamese renderings as well of these verses. The *sutradhara*, here, unlike his prototype in the Sanskrit dramas, does not remain satisfied only by introducing the drama but stays all along on the stage to act the part of an interpreter to the audience. These interesting provincial peculiarities as well as the reference, in the introduction, to the use of scenes on the Assamese stage as early as the 16th century, will attract the attention of students of Indian drama. Elaborate and authenticated descriptions of the Assamese stage and theatrical houses (*Bharanaghara*) would have been all the more welcome. In the edition of a vernacular work like this belonging to the 16th century and possessing immense linguistic interest one would naturally expect variants to be noted. But strangely no variants have been noticed as is done in all critical editions of old texts. Neither has any description been given of the MSS. on which the edition has been based.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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## LONDON LETTER

### PARLIAMENT'S PRESENT SESSION

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

#### INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

**T**HE chief Bill promised in the present session of Parliament is the new Constitution of India Bill, which will affect no less than three hundred and fifty odd millions of people—one-fifth of the total population of the world. That Bill, framed by the present Tory Government, is not likely to meet either the wishes or the hopes which have been aroused, especially since the Montagu Declaration of 1917, in the minds of the Indian people—by the King Emperor, by Viceroy and by responsible British Ministers. Pledges to India have gone by the board. Leading Tory members of the House of Lords refuse to be bound by them. And Sir John Simon, while admitting "that this country is pledged as clearly as we can be pledged in honour and in policy" declared in the House of Commons that we are bound by that pledge "within our discretion and judgment." It sounds like a new conundrum: When is a pledge not a pledge? The answer, according to Sir John Simon, would be: When according to your discretion and judgment you do not wish to implement it. In other words the Tory Government can treat pledges as scraps of paper, if in their discretion and judgment it suits them better so to do.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL

In domestic affairs in Great Britain the most important legislation promised us is in the sphere of unemployment insurance. The Bill they have introduced, amended, and re-introduced, is not a Bill, be it noted, to deal with unemployment, but merely a Bill to deal with the unemployed.

The great battle over the future of unemployment insurance and administration opened last week in the House of Commons. It will be followed with the closest attention and sympathy not only in our own but in all countries. In the first place because the great depression has revealed unemployment as a sickness which has spread to every people alike. And in the second place because in England we have a system of insurance which, with all its anomalies and imperfections, is still the most comprehensive and courageous yet devised.

The new Bill has, in the words of the Minister of Labour, sixty clauses and seven or eight schedules. In commending it to the House of Commons he claimed that it was "the greatest measure of social progress which has been presented to this country by any Government for

many generations." This is a very great claim to make. And any measure which aspired to such a description must surely, one would imagine, be the outcome of long and considered judgment. But the first thing which strikes the man in the street about this Bill is the fumbling and tentative manner in which it has been brought to birth.

A fortnight ago, at the end of the last session, the Bill was ostensibly introduced. But on the verge of its discussion in Parliament it was re-issued in a new form, "longer by several clauses" as Mr. Greenwood complained! Again this measure is of the greatest importance to many Local Authorities, upon whom has fallen most of the burden of providing relief for unemployed men and women who had exhausted their right to insurance benefit. But the National Government are introducing this Bill and its provisions as to the percentage of the burden which the Exchequer will take over while negotiations are still going on with these Authorities, while they are still at loggerheads with the Association of Municipal Corporations in fact.

#### THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BILL

So much for the background; and now for the principles upon which this Bill is said to be founded. The Minister claims they are two—(1) that there should be a contributory insurance scheme covering as much of the field as possible; (2) that outside insurance the State should assume a general responsibility for the relief of the able-bodied industrial unemployed.

Formulas and principles should always give one pause. They are never the worse for being greeted with the words of the poet Robert Browning, "Stop, let me have the truth of that: Is that all true?" And I think if these two principles are reflected upon it will be seen that in the first one the whole question is begged by the words "as possible." While as for the second principle, the word "industrial" is the sting in the tail. There is not going to be any general assumption on the part of the State of responsibility for the unemployed, but only for the *industrial* unemployed.

In considering the first principle it would be tempting to stray into its by-paths. Many people for instance, and including Mr. Arthur Greenwood, the former Minister of Health, believe that unemployment insurance in a capitalist world is a mirage. To give an insurance basis

to the relief of unemployment is, in his view, an impossibility. "There never has been an insurance basis to the scheme and there never can be during the years ahead."

### CHILDREN BROUGHT IN

Whether this is the case or not, the present measure might go a long way towards giving unemployment relief an insurance basis if in fact, as in theory, it covered as much of the field as possible. As every one knows who has had anything to do with insurance schemes, their essence is to rope in everybody and especially the "good lives." In the world of employment, of course, the "good lives" are mostly to be found in the better salaried position and in the professions.

After all this it is pitiful to have to record that the new lives brought into the Insurance Scheme are children! It is true that the new Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee (of which more later) is to consider the possibilities of bringing agricultural workers into the scheme. But for the moment the children are the newcomers.

### PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE LEFT OUT

What can be the reason for neglecting the opportunity to widen the basis of insurance? As Mr. Greenwood pointed out, at least another 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 ought to be brought in. Many "professional people, black-coated people, superior people" would be glad to feel that if they lost their jobs, and came to the end of their savings, they had something in prospect beside charity or the Poor Law.

One cannot help feeling that the only reason for excluding black-coated workers is the old English little weakness: snobbishness. We dearly love to separate people into those who pay income tax and those who do not, those who earn "wages" and those who have gone one better and attained to "salaries." Respectability in this country and escape from the irksome duty of licking stamps and sticking them on cards can be attained if you have climbed to the dizzy height of £250 a year!

### NO "DOLES" FOR CHILDREN

But a word about these children who are coming into insurance. At present although the school-leaving age is fourteen, they are not eligible for unemployment insurance until they are sixteen. Under the new provisions they will be included in the scheme at the age of fourteen whether they go into employment or voluntarily continue at school—in which case they will be credited with contributions. Contributions will be at the rate of 2d. a week from the child, 2d. from its employer, and 2d. from the State.

Having conceded this much to the children, however, the Minister went on to express his horror of "anything which could be described as

doles for children." He seemed to feel as badly about it as do the old gentlemen who write to *The Times* decrying those London children who twice a year beg us for pennies—for Guy Fawkes or for carol singing. But the Minister of course is mistaken in talking about giving doles to children. The children would never expect to receive them any more than they receive their wages when they are in employment. These wages, as any working class child could have told him, are as a matter of course handed over to their parents who have to keep them and who, when they can, allow the children pocket money merely.

So the children will not receive doles. All that will happen is that "where a child between the ages of 14 and 16 is unemployed, and is the child of an unemployed insured person, the parent may get a dependant's allowance." *And how much is this allowance?* Two shillings a week! And it must be remembered that even this meagre allowance will only be paid if the household is already stricken by unemployment. If the father is in work, the child will get nothing for his contributions.

### MALNUTRITION STABILIZED

It is very unfortunate for the National Government but please Heaven it may improve the lot of the unemployed that at the very moment when they are launching their unemployment proposals, the British Medical Association have issued a report on "the minimum weekly expenditure on food-stuffs which must be incurred by families . . . if health and working capacity are to be maintained." In that Report it is stated that "a youth between the age of 14 and 16 requires an expenditure on food alone of 5s. 11d. a week." More than double the pitiful 2s. allowed by the National Government.

The Minister made great play in his speech of the wonderful schemes which the Government had on foot for the benefit of the children. The Bill, he said, provides a very considerable benefit in the form of increased instruction for children. Local Education Authorities are to set up instructional centres, twenty-five per cent of the cost being borne by them and the rest divided equally between the Insurance Fund and the State. At these centres the little innocents, it is hoped, "will gain mentally, physically, educationally, and industrially."

No one of course could quarrel with that. But the idealism of the National Government in this connection is, alas, very open to question. The very next day after its Minister of Labour had been voicing these admirable sentiments, the National Government voted down a Bill to raise the school-leaving age. If the Government really had the interests of all children at heart, it would blend proposals for industrial instructional centres with a general scheme for continuing their education. I am bound to say that I see

in the present proposals a shabby attempt on the part of the National Government to stop the clamour for raising the school-leaving age by offering the workers' children something "just as good." Because, of course, a general scheme of education would be paid for by the State and the Local Authorities. But these centres, tacked on to unemployed children, can get paid for partly at any rate out of the Insurance Fund.

#### CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY

It is worth while considering what raising the school-leaving age might do for the children and employment. In the first place it is absurd to say, as the Government said on Friday, that raising the age would put a heavy financial burden on the State. Children are cutting out their elder brothers and fathers, whose support is far more costly than the 5s. a week which is the average cost of educating a child. As Lady Astor pointed out in the debate at Plymouth, where a higher school-leaving age is in operation, 1,000 children are kept off the labour market each year.

But there is more in raising the school-leaving age than its immediate financial implications. It is a long-range economy. In a world of contracting opportunities, people must stay at school long enough to discover what they are most fitted to do. In any event, suppose we accept the Government's estimate of the cost which appears to be "£3,000,000 per annum by the year 1936"), how does that figure compare with our expenditure on armaments not to mention new cruisers and a possible expansion of the Air Force to a one-power standard?

#### "CUTS" RATES MADE PERMANENT

But to get back to the Insurance Bill, it is of course on its financial provisions that it will meet with the most serious opposition. Almost its worst feature is that it stabilizes the rates of unemployment benefit imposed in the 1931 crisis. The "cuts" are to remain, even though the National Government is always assuring us that prosperity is returning. In opposing this meanness to the worst off members of the community, the Labour Party will be supported by the Liberals.

It is to be hoped that not only Labour and Liberals in Parliament will fight for a restoration of the "cuts," but that they will have the backing of a strong public opinion up and down the country.

#### THE IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM

The Report of the British Medical Association, to which reference has already been made, makes it abundantly clear that the amounts of benefit now in force are quite inadequate to maintain health and fitness. This Report sets out various diets designed to meet the minimum needs of varying

families. The diet described for an average family, consisting of husband and wife and three children, is given a total cost of 22/6½d. But the maximum unemployment benefit which such a family could draw is 29/3d. a week. The balance, 6/8½d. could not meet the cost of rent in the vast majority of unemployed households and yet out of that 6/8½d. they must meet rent, fuel, clothing, cleaning materials, insurance and so on. What happens, of course, is that the family goes short on food.

No wonder a leading Liberal newspaper, the *Star*, lets itself go on this head:

"To the test of human needs and the country's duty to the victims of the Great War, the new Bill will not stand up. It is because they and their brothers and fathers and sons fought for us that the working-classes are in their present plight. *Would any Government in 1919 have dared to propose to treat them as this Bill proposes?*"

"That is the main charge against it, that it proposes to stabilize not the ideals of the war, but the meanness of the slump, not the courage of generosity but the niggling of fear."

"It will try to stamp on the future of England the spirit of fear, retrenchment, cheeping and inhumanity which has followed the establishment of the National Government."

Before leaving this question of the "cuts" in unemployment benefit, and the deadly light thrown on them by the publication of the British Medical Association's Report, one other feature should be kept in mind. The Committee emphasized the necessity of giving to children first-class proteins. First-class proteins are meat, flour, bacon, milk, butter, cheese and eggs. And, as the *Economist* points out, "It is therefore altogether deplorable that *precisely those sources of first-class protein and fat should have been selected by our protectionist legislators for regulation and control.*" So the unemployed and the poor are being bled both ways. Their benefit has been cut and their food has been restricted and taxed by the National Government.

#### ONUS ON UNEMPLOYED

If the worst feature of the new Bill is that it perpetuates the "cuts" in benefit, scarcely less unhappy is the fact that it reinstates the "Not genuinely seeking work" clause, which was abolished by the Labour Government. That clause, as anyone who has had anything to do with the working of the Act well knows, has been responsible for more injustices and bitterness than anything else in the history of unemployment insurance. The Labour Government threw on the authorities the onus of proof—but now it is back on the shoulders of the unfortunate worker.

As the Labour Opposition pointed out in the debate, the Government are trying to rake a little

kudos to themselves because, in the case of a man who falls out of work after a period of five years' continuous employment, they are proposing to allow an extension of benefit. (To many of us this sounds like the old injustice, "to him that hath, shall be given.") Such an extension would, of course, mean that the numbers on the register were to that extent swelled. But the National Government need not worry. This screw of the "Not genuinely seeking work" clause will remove far more men than the other condition is likely to add.

### THE DEBT ON THE FUND

Another injustice perpetuated in the Bill, and one which again the Liberals are expected to join Labour in resisting, is that the debt on the fund, accumulated during the abnormal years of the slump, is to remain a charge on the Fund. Here, one would have thought, is a debt which should be treated like a war debt and carried by all of us. But the Insurance Fund is to bear the burden alone. It owes £115,000,000 and for forty years generations of workers "yet unborn and unbegot" will see their Fund drained to the tune of £5,500,000 a year!

I have dealt at length with these criticisms of the Bill because they are the most important. They almost all, it may be observed, apply to Part I of the Bill—the Part which deals with the insured worker. Before passing on to Part II, which deals with the uninsured industrial worker and the worker who was insured but has fallen out of benefit, a hasty word must be said as to the administrative changes which are proposed.

### NO PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL

These changes reflect the spirit of the age in that they are a move towards centralization and bureaucracy—and away from Parliamentary control. An Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee is to be set up. It is to have three duties, to report to the Government on the finances of the Fund; to consider how to bring agricultural workers into the scheme; and, most important of all, to "advise on draft regulations." The Committee will consist of five, and three of them at any rate will be as follows:—a representative of the workers, one of the employers, and one of Northern Ireland.

But the innovation is the power to "advise on draft regulations." The Committee is to make recommendations which will be embodied in Orders. The Minister, apparently, may amend these Orders, and Parliament may adopt them by an Affirmative Resolution. But it cannot legislate upon them.

Is this a new tyranny? There may be a lot to be said for taking the administration of unemployment insurance away from politics as such. But there is nothing to be said to handing

it over to a bureaucracy. It could only with justice be handed over to a democratically elected industrial body.

### POOR LAW—UNDER A NEW NAME

This bureaucratic principle is common also to Part II of the Bill—to the Part which deals with workers outside insurance. By the way, the wildest misconceptions are in the air following on the Minister's statement that the State is going to assume a general responsibility for all the able-bodied industrial unemployed. Yesterday I heard someone declare that "everyone was going to get the dole in future." Of course the dole is just what they are not going to get. The change is solely one in status. They will go to the employment exchanges for the payment of assistance instead of to the Public Assistance Committees. And even this meagre concession applies to industrial workers only!

An Unemployment Assistance Board is to be set up and will consist of six members. As in the case of the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee, it also will submit recommendations to the Minister—and Parliament again will give Affirmative Approval only.

This Board is to be actuated by two considerations. The first is the Means Test and the second is, in the words of the Minister, that "the worker who has been long unemployed may require assistance other than and in addition to cash payments." In plain words this second consideration means that the worker who has fallen out of insurance can be dragooned in industrial centres, if considered necessary, and if this does happen one is inclined to think it will oftener be "other than" cash payments rather than "in addition to!"

One fears for the administration of this section because it is so impersonal and bureaucratic. It is the old Poor Law system shorn of the advantage that it was administered by a representative body of people. The new body will take away from Local Authorities the duty of assessing need. It will administer the Means Test. It will be removed from the criticism of anyone, even of the House of Commons. The Minister will be responsible for general policy only.

Much was made in Parliament about the more or less ethical basis of a Means Test. Roughly this runs as follows. People who fall out of benefit become a charge on society. If society has to keep them, then it has the right to enquire into their circumstances. So far, so good—perhaps. But personally I would say if society has to keep them, then they ought to be given work to do for society, and I would leave inquiries out of the matter. But the argument continues, "a man should turn to his own family for help in need, before he calls upon the community." And here I disagree altogether.

### THE MEANS TEST

I have always believed that every man is his brother's keeper, *every* man. By the same token everyone should contribute according to his ability to the support of his neighbour. Rather than a Means Test I would like to see everyone paying income tax, even if it began at a penny a month from those in receipt of unemployment benefit. In this way we would all contribute according to our ability to the upkeep of the State. There would be no selfish chatter from the better-off classes about "it all comes out of the taxpayer's pocket."

But I condemn the Means Test most of all because it is uneconomic, a great waster of human opportunities and abilities. ~~Making the~~  
~~NEW GIVES~~

poor keep the poor means it is impossible for thousands of talented and enterprising people to go out into the world and seek their fortunes. It roots them where they are, in often deadening jobs, in dull depressed towns which they loathe. Better-off people, or the few lucky ones who have escaped, may argue glibly that nothing can keep a genius down and "Where there's a will there's a way" and so on. But the fact remains that only the selfish will slip out from their responsibilities. The rest will plod on, till the vision has faded and they are too tired to cure. They will stick in their dull jobs and society, which instituted the Means Test, will be the poorer for the waste of their talents.

London, 4th December, 1933.

## PRICES, WAGES AND PROFITS IN THE KHADI INDUSTRY

By MELLY ZOLLINGER AND W. LAKSHMANA RAO, M.A., D.Sc.

**T**HE research side of any industry has for its goal the rapid and increased production of the finished article; the commercial side has for its object the cutting down of production and distribution costs and the increase of sales. Rationalization, scientific research, "konjunkturforschung," sales-propaganda—all these demand the co-ordination of the engineer, the scientist and the economist, serving on the general staff of the industry. Khadi industry has yet to learn many lessons which the other organized industries of the world have already learnt. It has already had a foretaste of the cycle of boom and depression and it can certainly profit by the bitter experiences of the highly mechanized industries of this country, without the risk of losing its soul.

The diminished purchasing power of the masses of the world has called forth a new orientation of the principles of production and distribution, and the resuscitation of khadi is in itself an expression of this orientation. And yet the khadi industry seems to have paid as little attention to organize its economic side as to its technological side. Ramshackle *charkhas*, all too wooden gins, combined with old-world methods on the one hand, the futile attempts of a few individual producers to reduce prices to meet the lowered consumption on the other—these represent the industry's efforts to stem the tide of economic deluge. Reports of the various provincial khadi organizations breath more of the musty atmosphere of the counting-house than of the refreshing spirit of economic enquiry. In this article an attempt will be made at outlining the scope of economic

research in the khadi industry and at showing how such research will help the producer, the worker and the consumer at arriving at a correct and just estimate of profits, prices and wages.

### PRODUCTION COSTS AND WAGES

A correct system of costing accounts forms the basis of all rational production. It helps the producer in estimating the future demand and the price at which he must sell his article; hence it gives him an idea of the profits he might be able to realize in his forward dealings. On the basis of this, he has to decide the wages to be paid to the different classes of work and whether it would be profitable to increase or restrict his production. In determining the cost of production of khadi cloth, the wages of the spinners and of the weavers form the important factors. The real wages paid to the workers engaged in an industry and its relation to the standard of living can be taken to be a fair index of the prosperity and efficiency of the industry and of its place in the national and social economy. Therefore the determination of the actual and the real wages paid to the spinner and the weaver, occupies an all-important place in khadi economics.

Considerable difference of opinion prevails among Indian economists—who with rare exceptions are orthodox and hostile to the khadi movement—as to the amount of actual wages earned, or capable of being earned by khadi spinners. A section of the critics consider the wages earned by the spinners to be lower than the sustenance wage, and in fact they have no

hesitation in stigmatizing hand-spinning as a sweated industry (*vide* Puntumbekar and Varadachari: *Hand-spinning and Hand-Weaving* for criticism of this view). Another school of critics are of opinion that spinners are able to earn high wages owing to the sentimental value attached to khadi (and they cite this as a reason of the high prices of khadi) and characterize khadi as a sheltered industry (see Amalsad: *Hand-Loom Weaving*. Government Press, Madras, 1930. pp. 16, 150). In view of these differences of opinion, we have attempted to arrive at as correct an estimate as possible of the daily wages *actually* earned by the spinners in the Velama and Pattusali section of the Andhra khadi industry.

It would, of course, be necessary to arrive at the real wages earned by the different classes of spinners, as different from the actual wages paid to them. Fine yarn spinners, as a rule, buy cotton on their own account, gin and card it themselves, and sell their yarn at the weekly markets. The coarse and medium count spinners often get the ginned cotton from the weavers or the yarn merchants, who supply them with the ginned cotton. Thus, from the prices they realize, they have to pay the price of cotton, and the carding wages. The remaining amount would then represent the net wages earned by them.

The following wage-sheet (designed in collaboration with Sit. M. K. R. Swamy, Manager, Fine Yarn Centres, A.I.S.A., Chicacole) represents the method adopted in gathering the necessary data and the method of arriving at the net daily wages earned by the Velama and Pattusali spinners:

#### WAGE-SHEET

Name of Spinner: Tagiti Bhulokamma  
Village: Tamada (Ganjam Dist.)  
Class of Yarn: Pattusali, Grade 45 count.  
Price of Yarn Rs 0-2-6 per tola.  
Weight of Seed-cotton given: 6 tolas.  
Time taken for:—

(1) Sorting and Cleaning kapas with Fish-jaw	1 hour 13 min.
(2) Ginning	0 " 18 "
(3) Cleaning and Paralleling	1 " 4 "
(4) Carding and Slivering	0 " 8 "
(5) Spinning	1 " 55 "
(6) Winding	0 " 21 "

#### DETAILS OF SPINNING

Weight of yarn spun 7/12 tola.  
No. of Yards Spun 565.  
Calculated count 45.  
Price of Yarn spun Rs. 0-1-3.  
Spinning-Speed 250 yds. per hour.

#### YARN TEST:

Average Count  
(Quadrant) 44  
Evenness of  
Count 39.6 p. c.  
Tensility 49.0 p. c.  
Uniformity of  
Strength nil.

#### CALCULATION OF NET DAILY WAGES:

	Weight (tolas)	Price (pies)
(1) Yarn from the given amount of cotton (Proceeds of sale).....	0.58	15.99
(2) Seeds from Ginning (Proceeds of Sale)	3.00	0.09
(3) Waste Cotton (Proceeds of sale)	0.52	0.45
Total Sale Proceeds		16.53
minus		
(4) Purchase of Cotton	6.00	3.50
Net Wages earned		13.03

#### TIME REQUIRED IF ALL THE GIVEN AMOUNT OF COTTON IS TO BE SPUN INTO YARN:—

For Preparatory Processes 3 Hrs. 3 min.  
For Spinning and Winding 2 Hrs. 23 min.

For total working Time 5 Hrs. 26 min.

Net Wage per Day of 8-Hours: 19.3 pies;  
or approximately: Rs 0-1-7

The data gathered by us according to the above method for the different grades of spinning and in the different localities, is summarized in the tabular statement given below:

TABLE I

Class of Yarn	Count of Yarn	Net Wage per Day of 8 Hours
1. Velama (Singipuram)	20-25's	Rs. 0-0-11.6
2. " " "	25-30's	0-0-10.5
3. Velama (Devadi)	30's	0-1-0.3
4. " " "	35's	0-1-2
5. " " "	40's	0-1-7
6. Pattusali (Bonthalako-duru)	35's	0-0-11.3
7. " (Tamada)	40's	0-1-7.5
8. " (Bonthalako-duru)	45's	0-1-7.3
9. " " "	50's	0-1-7.9
10. " " "	55's	0-1-6.7
11. " " "	60's	0-1-5.9
12. " " "	65's	0-1-6.33
13. " " "	80's	0-1-1.1

From the above table, we gather that the net wage earned by the fine yarn spinners ranges between a minimum of 10 pies and a maximum of 20 pies per day of 8 hours. Exact data are lacking about the wages earned in the coarse and medium-coarse sections of the industry. But we would not be far wrong in estimating the net wages in these sections between a minimum of 6 pies and a maximum of 10 pies per day.

One thing, however, stands out clearly. With such low wages prevailing in the industry, it is neither equitable nor prudent to reduce the wages below this level and that the way to cheapen khadi does not certainly lie in the direction of wage reductions.

There are also other items of expenditure that must be taken into account, before we can arrive at the actual earnings. For instance, allowance must be made for the following items :—

1. Cost of yarn for preparing 'malas' ;
2. Replacement of worn-out spindles ;
3. Expenses for going to market and production centre ;
4. Cost of new fish-jaws for combing cotton ;
5. Lubricating oil for charkha ;
6. Repairs to charkha ;
7. Depreciation of charkha ; and
8. Interest charges on money invested in the purchase and storage of cotton.

Unfortunately it was not possible for us to get reliable data covering the above items. However, as none of these items are very large—

except the last—the daily earnings would not be diminished to any material extent.

#### WAGES AND SKILL IN SPINNING

In any industry a well-planned wage system should guarantee a minimum wage to the unskilled worker and a progressively higher wage to the skilled worker, in direct proportion to the skill and intelligence required. In the khadi industry, which is entirely based on human labour and is independent of machinery, the planning of an equitable wage system ought to be a comparatively simple affair. Whether the wages in actual practice are so graduated or not, forms the next subject of our enquiry. The following table gives the wages earned in the fine yarn section of the industry, together with details about the present spinning speeds and the time taken for the preparatory processes for the different grades of yarns :

Class and Count of Yarn	Price of Yarn per tola	Spinning Speed Yds. per hour	Percentage of Time required for Preparatory Processes in Total Time :		Net wage per 8-Hr. Day in pies 1½ anna		Percentage of the cost of cotton in the total cost of yarn
			at present speed	at speed of 250 Yds.	at present speed	at speed of 250 Yds.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Velama Count 20	Rs. 0 1 1	162	47.0 p. c.	55.5 p. c.	11.6 pies	13.7 pies	25.9 p.c.
" 25	" 0 1 5	139	47.4 "	60.7 "	10.5 "	13.5 "	23.0 "
" 30	" 0 1 5	170	46.4 "	56.3 "	12.3 "	14.8 "	15.1 "
" 35	" 0 1 11	132	39.4 "	55.7 "	14.0 "	22.7 "	11.0 "
" 40	" 0 3 9	130	33.7 "	49.0 "	19.0 "	25.2 "	7.8 "
Pattusali Count 35	" 0 2 2	131	46.4 "	62.7 "	11.3 "	15.1 "	22.5 "
" 40	" 0 2 4	265	50.3 "	49.0 "	19.5 "	19.0 "	18.9 "
" 45	" 0 2 6	280	56.1 "	53.3 "	19.3 "	18.2 "	19.1 "
" 50	" 0 2 8	211	45.8 "	50.0 "	19.9 "	21.8 "	14.5 "
" 55	" 0 3 0	217	52.2 "	55.7 "	18.7 "	20.1 "	14.9 "
" 60	" 0 3 4	225	45.0 "	48.0 "	17.9 "	19.2 "	15.0 "
" 60	" 0 3 6	170	32.7 "	41.7 "	18.3 "	23.4 "	12.6 "
" 80	" 0 4 0	156	46.2 "	58.0 "	13.1 "	16.1 "	10.9 "

In judging whether the wages are properly regulated or not, attention has to be paid to two important factors. The output of a higher count spinner is lower than that of a lower count spinner ; for instance, in the Pattusali section, the spinning speed of an 80 count spinner is 165 yds. per hour, whereas that of a 40's spinner is 265 yards. (The difference is not noticeable in the Velama section, where the speeds for all grades of spinning are about equal, and much lower than what they ought to be). Again, a high-count spinner, if her yarn is to be of a good quality, must devote a proportionally longer time for the preparatory processes, than the spinner of the lower count. This necessarily shortens the time available for spinning in the case of the high count spinner. In order to make due allowances for these two factors, so that a direct comparison might be made of the wages that are earned by spinners of the different grades, the wages earned have been calculated at a basis speed of 250 yards per hour for all grades. This removes one inequality ; the other,

that of the time necessary for the preparatory processes remaining as a determining factor in the estimation of the wages.

We have now to consider how the prices paid by the producer per tola of yarn compares with wages actually received by the spinner. It is evident from the table that the wages received by the Pattusalis compare unfavourably with those received by the Velama spinners. This is due to the higher prices paid by the purchasers of Velama yarn. This does not appear to be fair to the Pattusalis who are the more skilled spinners, as evidenced by their higher spinning-speed and the greater strength of their yarns in general. In this respect a re-adjustment of the prices offered by the purchasers of Pattusali yarns appears to be necessary. The comparative prices for the different grades of yarns in this section also require a better adjustment. For example, the spinner of the medium counts, viz., 40's-60's, are better off than the spinners of 80's. In fact, the wages received by the spinners of 80's and 35's are about equal, in spite of the comparatively



higher speed (count for count) of the 80's spinners (see Table 2).

A great danger threatens an industry when the wages are not regulated in proportion to the skill required of the workers. If the 80's spinner, in spite of the skill and care (witness the high speed achieved by her and the longer time taken for the preparatory processes), and in spite of the high price of 4 annas (the highest in fact offered by the purchaser), is earning much lower than those spinning lower counts, she would give up spinning 80's and resort to spinning only medium counts. This would, in a very short time, lead to the disappearance of high-count spinning. The Pattusali area, which from centuries has been the home of high-count spinning, and which within living memory was producing yarns of 120's and 150's—today usually produces only 60's, and spinners of 80's can be counted literally on one's fingers. It is to be earnestly hoped that purchasers of fine yarn would recognize this danger of the disappearance of high-count spinning and would see that the wages actually earned by the spinners are sufficiently attractive to induce them to continue spinning the highest counts.

#### ANALYSIS OF PRODUCTION COSTS

In order to regulate purchase of raw material, the wages bill and production, it would be necessary to have a knowledge of the factors that go to make up production costs. This knowledge would also provide the consumer with a correct picture of the state of the industry and help to create a healthy interest among the public in its activities and usefulness. The necessity and importance of such an analysis of production costs applies with greater force to khadi, which is to be regarded as a key industry engaging as it does many thousands of the poorest class of workers and which is dependent on the patronage of all the classes of the nation. In the absence of any such analysis of production costs of the different qualities of cloth in the reports of the provincial A. I. S. A. organizations, we have attempted below an analysis for the three different qualities of khadi produced by the Andhra Branch. (The page numbers refer to the "Report of the A.I.S.A., Andhra Branch, 1929-30," and to the 'Price List' of the same organization, dated 1st October 1931).

#### PATTUSALI SECTION

We have taken as an example the production costs of the quality of cloth having 26 *Punjams* and 54 inches width. The selling price of this cloth is Rs. 2-3-6 per yard (Price List, p. 2.)

In finding out the actual cost of production, we have to deduct the overhead charges from the selling price. As figures for overhead charges have not been mentioned in the report, these have been calculated by us from the yearly

balance-sheets of the various production and sales centres appended to the report.

Sale Price: Quality P-26: Width 54 inches  
per yard (List, p. 2) Rs. 2 3 6

minus

Overhead Charges:—

1. Yarn-Purchasers' Commission	
@ 8 pies per Rupee	0 1 3
2. Establishment & interest charges of production Centres @ 1 anna per Rupee	0 1 10
3. Head-office Rebate, @ 9 ps. per Rupee	0 0 11
4. Establishment & Interest charges of Sale Centres @ 15 ps. per Rupee	0 2 4 0 6 4
Production Cost per yard of cloth	Rs. 1 13 2

Items in Production per yard of cloth:—

	Percentage in total Cost
1. Weavers' Wages for P/26; W/54" (Report, p. 25)	Rs. 0 6 6 22.4 %
2. Spinners' Wages for 6 tolas of 40-45 counts of yarn used per yard of the above cloth	1 2 4 62.9 %
3. Cost of Raw-Cotton (See Table 2, col. 8)	0 4 4 14.2 %
	Rs. 1 13 2

#### Velama Section

Cloth of "*Punjam* 24" and width 50 inches was taken as an example, and using the same method the following percentages have been obtained:

	% of total cost
1. Weavers' Wages	28.4 %
2. Spinners' Wages	61.0 %
3. Cost of Raw-Cotton	10.6 %

Production Costs in Coarse Cloth Section

As examples for this section, two qualities of cloth from two centres were taken, viz., Quality *Punjam* 14, width 54 inches, produced at the Kailasapatnam Centre (10 count); selling price Rs. 0-8-6 per yard; and Quality *Punjam* 18, width 50 inches, produced at the Kanupur Centre (20 count); selling price Rs. 0-10-6 (Price List, pp. 8, 9). Prices of Cotton and wages have been calculated according to those given in Table 3. The different items in the analysis are given below:

Percentage of net cost

	Kailasapatnam	Kanupur
	Centre	Centre
1. Spinners' Wages	20.5 %	50.2 %
2. Carders' Wages	10.3 %	3.8 %
3. Ginners' Wages	1.7 %	0.6 %
4. Weavers' Wages	35.1 %	33.6 %
5. Cost of Raw Cotton	32.4 %	11.8 %

Increased Output of Yarn and Cheaper Prices

The above analysis of production costs throws light on the possibility of cheapening khadi. The

question of achieving this by a reduction in the scale of spinning wages has been considered in a previous paragraph. A better method is to concert measures to increase the output of yarn per spindle. Spinning-speed among the fine-yarn spinners (see Table 2) is abnormally low, the highest speed being only 280 yards per hour. Speeds in the low-count section are still worse, a speed of 250 yards being very rare indeed. Low speeds and the consequent small output of yarn, is the reason for the meagre wages earned by the spinners. If it is possible to double the speed of the spinner, and thereby double her output, the producers of cloth can then buy their yarn at lower rates and still the spinners would be able to earn an increased wage and the cloth itself could be sold at lower prices.

In the fine-yarn section, spinners' wages account for 63.66 per cent of the net cost of production. A reduction in the prices of yarn, following an increased output can bring about an immediate and proportionate reduction in the prices of cloth. The extent to which cloth could be cheapened depends on the possible increase in the spinning-speed higher than that now obtaining. The greatest reduction in the prices for the given small increase in speed, is possible in the Velama section. Here the speeds are abnormally low. In the Pattusali section, where a speed of 200 yards is common, the reduction that would be possible is not very great, though here too an appreciable reduction can be achieved.

In the coarse-yarn section the spinners' wages account for only 50 per cent in the medium section, and to 33 per cent in the coarse section. As the present speeds in Andhra are much lower than those that could easily be possible, the maximum possible amount of reduction in prices of cloth for a given small increase in the spinning-speed is substantial.

There is a possibility for an enormous amount of improvement in the spinning-speeds of the Andhra spinners. Andhra fine-yarn spinners are foremost in the whole country in the spinning of high counts. Yet in the matter of coarse yarn, they lag far behind the spinners of other provinces. In Sabarmati the average speed for 17 counts (medium count) is not less than 400 yards. At the Bangalore Exhibition, Sjt. Keshav Gandhi spun 11 count at a speed of 650 yards per hour. At the Madras Exhibition, he spun 21 count at a speed of 400 yards. Sjt. Devadhar at the Lahore Exhibition spun 14's at a speed of 717 yards. At Bangalore, Srimati Veeramma (Andhra) spun Pattusali yarn of 40's with a speed of 400 yards, and 60's with a speed of 257 yards per hour. In the same competition, Sjt. Keshavbhai spun 50's with a speed of 350 yards.

These records in spinning-speeds demonstrate clearly the great increase in output per spindle that is possible by bringing into use a better

type of charkha and by educating the spinners to follow a better spinning technique. In this respect it is to be regretted that the Andhra A.I.S.A. has not taken any adequate steps. The technical department at Sabarmati has proved beyond doubt the enormous possibilities of an improved charkha. Sjts. Puntumbekar and Varadachari, in their prize essay, have also dealt about the possible increase of output that would result from the adoption of better appliances. They give figures of the increase that would result from the use of a better type of spindle. Due to the initiative of the officials of the A.I.S.A. Fine Yarn Centre at Chicacole (Andhra), steel spindles of Sabarmati and Bardoli types were introduced as an experimental measure, (in response to a suggestion from us) among the Velama spinners in their Narasunnapeta area. Nine months later (in June 1932), the official in charge of this village, in discussing the results of this experiment, assured us that as a result of the use of the new spindle, the yarn produced at his centre had shown a great improvement in quality, twist and fineness and that the weavers were experiencing less trouble with the yarn than formerly. It was still more gratifying to learn from him that as a result of the introduction of these spindles, the spinners were now able to earn an increase in wages of not less than 3 pies a day. This is a clear proof of how even small improvements in the charkha and spinning technique can bring increased wages to the spinners, accompanied with an improvement in the quantity and quality of the yarn. It would be interesting to know what encouragement and facilities the Andhra Provincial Head-quarters propose to give to their officials on the spot to extend this experiment throughout the fine-yarn area.

#### COTTON PRICES AND CHEAPER KHADI

From the analysis of production costs we find that the cost of raw material *i. e.*, cotton—amounts to 11 p.c. of the cost of production in Velama cloth (20-40's), 14 p.c. in Pattusali cloth (30-80's), 12 p.c. in the medium coarse cloth (20's) and to as high as 33 p.c. in the coarse cloth (10's). Any fall in the price of cotton, would therefore benefit the consumer, by bringing about an immediate reduction in the selling price of cloth.

#### PRICES IN ANDHRA DURING 1921-1931

We have already remarked that a perfect system of cost accounts would help the producer in determining his production costs and in fixing his selling prices. We give below a tabular statement of the cotton prices. Wages paid (based on our analyses), yarn prices and the selling prices of Andhra cloth (Kailasapatam A.I.S.A. Centre), together with the actual selling prices and the selling prices calculated by us according to the data in the table, for the period 1921-1931. (The prices of raw-cotton are those

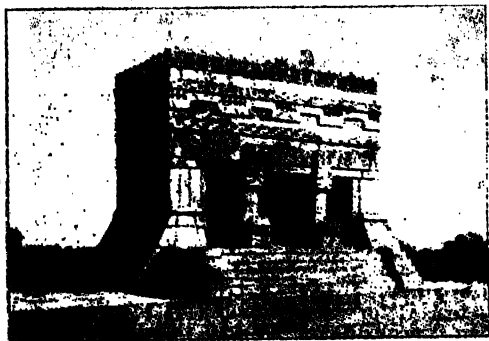
ruling at the Tuni market. The information about the wages in the different branches of the industry during these eleven years has been gathered by us from market reports and from reports of producers (private and A.I.S.A.). The overhead charges have been calculated by us at Rs. 0-2-8 per rupee. Cloth of *Punjam* 14 and width of 54 inches produced at the Kailasapatam centre has been taken as the standard for the purpose of calculation.

With regard to the actual and the calculated selling prices, it is seen that the prices at which cloth was sold was much lower than that calculated by us; and that during the last three years the actuals have approximated more closely

to calculated prices than during the years before. The lower prices at which the Andhra A.I.S.A. has sold their production, accounts for the loss sustained by them during these years. The fluctuations in the cotton prices during 1921-27, the subsequent heavy fall, the loss sustained by the depreciation of the cotton bought by them during the period of falling prices, are responsible for this loss (see Report, p. 35). 'It is also possible that the Andhra A.I.S.A. has sold its cloth at sacrifice prices in order to popularize khadi and to create employment for the great mass of the poverty stricken population for whom no other is available. CHICACOLE, November 1932.

TABLE 3

	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
1. Price of Raw Cotton per Candy	Rs. 45	60	55	52	52	52	57	55	32	25	30
2. Ginning Wages for 1 maund	0-6-0	0-6-0	0-6-0	0-5-6	0-5-0	0-5-0	0-5-0	0-1-0	0-4-0	0-4-0	0-1-0
3. Carding Wages for 1 maund	2-0-0	2-0-0	2-0-0	1-14-0	1-12-0	1-8-0	1-8-0	1-8-0	1-8-0	1-8-0	1-8-0
4. Spinning Wages for 1 maund of yarn	8-0-0	8-0-0	8-0-0	7-0-0	7-0-0	6-0-0	6-8-0	6-8-0	6-8-0	6-8-0	6-8-0
5. Weaver's Wages P/14, W/54" per Yard	0-4-6	0-1-6	0-4-6	0-1-0	0-3-6	0-3-0	0-3-0	0-3-0	0-3-0	0-3-0	0-3-0
6. Actual Selling Price of Cloth per Yard	0-11-0	0-11-0	0-11-0	0-11-0	0-10-6	0-10-0	0-10-0	0-10-0	0-9-0	0-9-0	0-8-9
7. Calculated Selling Price of Cloth per Yard	0-12-1	0-13-5	0-13-0	0-11-10	0-11-4	0-10-5	0-11-0	0-10-10	0-8-8	0-8-0	0-8-9



Maya Temple at Chichen Itza (Restored)



Typical Aztec Peasants—the Committee for the rural school at San Jorge Tezoquipan

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Miss Binapani Mukherjee

MISS BINAPANI MUKHERJEE, the grand-daughter of Mr. Sital Mukherjee, charmed the audience with her extraordinary musical feats in the last Allahabad Music Conference. She is a girl of ten only.

MRS. SARALABAI NAIK, M. A., Honorary Lady Superintendent of the Seva Sadan, Poona, and Fellow of the University of Bombay, presided at the fourth Ujjain Session of the Gwalior State Women's Conference on November 7 and 8 last.

MRS. KAMALABAI N. VIJAYKAR has been appointed Honorary Magistrate at Andhori, Bombay. She is the first among ladies to hold such a post over there.

MISS SUBARNA GHOSH was a student of outstanding merit in the Medical College, Calcutta. She obtained the Gold Medal in Pathology and Calvert's Medal in Medicine, the Goodeve Scholarship in midwifery, F. C. Chatterji's Scholarship in normal and morbid Histology and several College Scholarships. She also received the First Certificate of Honours in Medicine and the Certificate of Honours in Medical Jurisprudence. She has passed the Final M. B. Examination with honours obtaining the 2nd. place in Medicine and 3rd. place in Surgery.



Mrs. Saralabai Naik, M. A.



Mrs. Kamalabai N. Vijaykar

# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Two Poems by Tagore

In *Vishva-Bharati News* appear the following poems by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore :

### Freedom

Freedom from fear is the freedom I claim for you,  
My Motherland !  
Fear, the phantom demon,  
shaped by your own distorted dreams,  
Freedom from the burden of ages,  
bending your head, breaking your back,  
blinding your eyes to the beckoning call of future ;  
Freedom from shackles of slumber  
with which you fasten yourself to night's stillness,  
mistrusting the star that speaks  
of truth's adventurous path :  
Freedom from the anarchy of a destiny  
whose sails are weakly yielded to blind  
uncertain winds,  
and the helm to a hand ever rigid and cold  
as Death ;  
Freedom from the insult of dwelling in a doll's world  
where movements are started through brainless wires,  
repeated through mindless habits,  
where figures wait with patient obedience for a master  
of show  
to be stirred into a moment's mimicry of life.

### Greetings

Though I know, my friend, that we are different  
my mind refuses to own it.  
For we two woke up in the same sleepless night  
while the birds sang,  
and the same spell of the spring  
entered our hearts.  
Though your face is towards the light  
and mine in the shade  
the delight of our meeting is sweet and secret,  
for the flood of youth in its eddying dance  
has drawn us close.  
With your glory and grace you conquer the world  
my face is pale  
But a magnanimous breath of life  
has carried me to your side  
and the dark line of our difference  
is aglow with the radiance of a dawn.

### How to Teach 'New Words' in English

Mr. Bidhu Ranjan Das, M.A., B.T. contributes an interesting paper to *The Teachers' Journal* on the above subject. We quote the following passages from it :

No doubt I have made a favourable reference to some of the existing text books on English but to be sure, most of them have been prepared with no regard being paid to the psychological stages of the development of the language-ability of the child. Let me elaborate the point. A child normally learns a language relating it to his own experience of life and environment. Along with the sucking of his mother's breast he learns to utter 'mamma' next he utters 'papa' as he sees his father fondle him and so on. As his experience grows wider with his growth, his vocabulary also increases in size and this process goes on indefinitely for a long period. Therefore the words to be used in the texts must suit the mental age and experience of the learner for whom it is intended. The authors in most cases overlook this principle. Instead of drawing on scientifically standardised lists such as Dr. Thorndike's list of 1000 common words in English, they rely upon their own judgment and introduce words haphazardly. This makes the teaching and learning of English all the more difficult and arduous, because, the teacher gets no opportunity of working on the bonds of association possessed by the learner with a view to making him learn a thing. As for instance, if the word "cruiser" be introduced in a text book for class III in our country, how can the teacher bring home to the learner the idea conveyed by the word and how can the learner grasp it at this stage? Is not the thing beyond his experience? Thus some authors unthinkingly introduce words of the later stages in the lessons of the earlier stages and *vice versa*. This acts as a setback to normal progress. "An English Primer" by W. C. Wordsworth (for class III) is just to my hand. In this book, I find, such difficult and uncommon words as "muddy and fertile" introduced in Lesson 25, p. 30 but simple and familiar words such as "breakfast, kite, lesson" have been reserved for Lesson 40, p. 55. Is it not indiscriminate? In this respect, Dr. West's graded series of the new method Readers are by far the best in the market. The 'new words' are there printed in bold types in the lessons and on their margin. Moreover, scientifically standardised words have been introduced step by step in order of difficulty. These words have been repeatedly used to leave permanent impressions on the learners. Mr. Guha's Simple Readers and Mr. Chatterjee's Readers are the next best.

Now, let us enlarge on the method of teaching 'New Words' to be ascertained in the manner sketched above. The teacher should take up each of the words at a time. He should first of all explain it, as usual, with reference to the context dealing with all its denotations and connotations. He should also try to link it with the apperceptive mass of the learner. He should at the same time bring as many of the derivatives as possible to the notice of the learner. Then he should give the learner a sufficient drilling in the practical use of the "New Word." Herein lies the most important part of the teacher's

work. He cannot neglect it without detriment to the cause of learning or for the matter of fact, the teaching of the language. While doing so, the teacher should invariably detach the 'New word' from the given context. For, the learner of a language should be enabled to use the newly acquired 'word' quite independently in a setting different from that of the text or otherwise the value of this new acquisition will be as good as nil. An example will clear up the issue. Take a short sentence:—"From's parents love him." Let us suppose that 'Parents' is the 'New word' here. It will not do for the teacher if he merely explains the meaning of the word. He should make the learners drill the word independently. He should ask them to frame with the word such simple sentences as the following:—"My parents love me," "His parents are dead," "You have got your parents," "My father and mother are my parents" and so on. This process is called "Depolarisation" according to the terminology of modern science. Here it means "detaching a word from its given text and using it independently." Unless the learners become skilled in "depolarizing" a "new word" it is idle to expect that he would acquire a "feeling" of the language within a reasonable time even though he might not spare pains.

### Indigenous Insurance

Insurance is generally regarded as an importation from the West. It was in vogue in some form or other in India also till recent times. Mr. J.-M. Datta has given a very interesting account of some forms of indigenous insurance in *Insurance World*. We make these extracts from it:

On the borders of Barkarganj boats plying on certain rivers sometimes got drowned with all hands on board. The boatmen, mostly Muhammadans, before starting on a voyage sought the blessings and protection of a certain local *Pir* or saint, offered *sirni* and paid 5 pice per head on board to the man in charge of the shrine and thus pledged their lives to the *Pir*. If they returned alive, they would pay 5 pice more, offer another *sirni* as thanksgiving and thus redeem themselves. They believed that the *Pir* took special care in protecting his servants or slaves during the voyage. If they were drowned, the man in charge of the shrine is to provide their widows with food and raiment for a year and a day, so that they may light the lamp according to Muhammadan custom and practice, to illuminate their journey heavenwards, free from all cares.

This practice was in vogue until some 40 years ago when a dispute between two rival claimants to the shrine put a stop to it. One reason for discontinuing the practice may have been the rise in the price of food stuffs and the consequent increased cost of providing for the widows for the specific period, while the amount of traditional charges of 5 pice remained the same. The proportion of persons pledging their lives at the shrine to the number drowned in a year must have been less than the proportion of 10 pice to the cost of providing the widows for a year and a day. That is why the system worked so long as it lasted.

The *Pir's* shrine was unconsciously carrying on the business of accident insurance, and life insurance for a specific voyage combined.

In the days before the advent of steamers and railways, old people, especially old widows, who went on pilgrimage to Benares or to Brindaban or to other distant shrines with a view to spending the rest of their days there, often deposited a lump sum with some honest firm of traders on the understanding that the sum so deposited would be treated as the capital of the firm, and out of it and the trading profits thereon, the person so depositing would get a small monthly allowance sufficient to cover his ordinary expenses so long as the depositor lived. If the depositor lived long, the resulting loss may fall on the firm; but if he died soon, the consequent gain would be firm's. An ordinary firm would not accept the risks for more than three or four lives at a time; so it could not be safely asserted that such payments of annuities were made on actuarial principles. But some rough and ready actuarial principles must have been known to them to determine the rates of the monthly allowance depending upon the age and sex and caste of the depositor, for we hear of such principles as that a widow would live longer than a male; that a Brahmin would live *twice* as long as a Nababakh, and so forth.

We are told that in former times in such places of pilgrimage as Nabadwip, an aged pilgrim would deposit a fixed sum, say Rs. 500 with the Gossain of a shrine or an *akhra*, and in return he would get board and lodging free for the rest of his life. As a large number of devotees, 20 or 30, would generally stop at a particular shrine or *akhra*, the system had some sort of rough and ready actuarial basis for its success. Any loss that would otherwise fall on the shrine or *akhra*, was generally made good by other occasional pilgrims and devotees. The annuitants, if we may so term the depositors, also helped the institution by doing such odd light manual work as they could easily perform, such as sweeping the gardens, beating cymbals, sewing garlands &c.

### University Education

Dr. W. S. Urquhart delivered an address at a meeting of the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on "University Education." It has been reproduced in *The Calcutta Review*. The following passage from it should set the advocates of technical education to think about the fate of the unemployed expert:

When we turn to the positive side of the matter we find that the remedy suggested by the critics is that education should be of a less literary character and that it should be more vocational and technical. The knowledge of higher mathematics and philosophy and Sanskrit, does not, it is said, fill the family coffers. Let the training be directly related to the work that is available. Give them the education that will be useful, and stop this waste. Waste, yes, from the point of view of quick returns, but perhaps not waste in the long run. At least do not let us decide the question out of hand. And here again it seems that you are trying to solve an essentially economic problem by a change in educational method. By all means improve your technical education and it will do something. But do not expect it to do everything. It will not make a piece of land which even on the most modern methods can produce only enough food for fifty people, capable of supporting double that number. Your change over to technical

education would be an excellent panacea if it were a case of posts waiting until men are trained to fill them. But that is not so. Those turned out of technical training schools find the greatest difficulty in securing employment, and there are many trained to the utmost pitch of efficiency in the West who can find nothing to do on their return to this country. Now to my mind there is no sadder spectacle than that of the unemployed expert. He has been made ready for only one line and that line is closed to him. He has not the general education which enables him to turn to anything else. He cannot dig, or perhaps, if he is a mining engineer, he can do nothing else; and to beg he is ashamed. He is down and out now because he has been tied down at too early a stage in his educational career. And personally if I had to be unemployed I had rather be unemployed with a full mind than an empty one and a university education does at least profess to fill the mind. I should at least have something to think about while I sat about waiting. When the stomach is empty there is no particular advantage in having the mind empty also.

### The Child's Education

In a paper in *Prabuddha Bharata* Dr. Maria Montessori writes:

When the independent life of the child is not recognized with its own characteristics and its own ends, when the adult man interprets these characteristics and ends—which are different from his—as being errors in the child which he must make speed to correct, there arises between the strong and the weak a struggle which is fatal to mankind. For it is verily upon the perfect and tranquil spiritual life of the child that depend the health or sickness of the soul, the strength or weakness of the character, the clearness or obscurity of the intellect. And if, during the delicate and precious period of childhood, a sacrilegious form of servitude has been inflicted upon the children it would no longer be possible for men successfully to accomplish great deeds—and we have there the symbolical sense of the Bible story of the Tower of Babel.

Now, the struggle between the adult and the child finds its expression—both within the family circle and at school—in what is still called by the old name of “education.” But when the intrinsic value of the child's personality has been recognized and he has been given room to expand, as is the case in our schools (where the child creates for himself an environment suited to his spiritual growth), we have had the revelation of an entirely new child, whose astonishing characteristics are the opposite of those that had hitherto been observed.

We may therefore assert that it would be possible by the renewing of education, to produce a better type of man, a man endowed with superior characteristics as if belonging to a new race: the superman of which Nietzsche caught glimpses. Herein lies the part that education has to play in the struggle between war and peace, and not in its cultural content. Above all it is to be noted that the child, a passionate lover of order and work, possesses intellectual qualities superior by far to what might have been expected. It is very evident that, subjected to the usual education, the child has had not only to withdraw within himself, but to dissimulate his

powers, in order to adapt himself to the judgment of the adult who lorded it over him. And so the child performed the cruel task first of hiding his real self, then of forgetting it, of burying in his sub-consciousness a wealth of expanding life whose aspirations were frustrated. Then, bearing this hidden burden, he encountered the errors current in the world.

Thus does the problem of education present itself when we envisage it from the point of view of war and peace, not as a matter of what ought, or ought not, to be taught. Whether we speak or do not speak of war to the children, whether we adapt history for their use in this way or in that way, does not change the destiny of mankind. But an education that is merely a blind struggle between the strong and the weak can only produce an inefficient man, weakened and enslaved, a man whose growth has been stunted.

### A School for Defective Children

In *Teaching*, a scientific journal on education, appears the following:

The estimated number of mentally weak children [in Bengal, Bihar and Assam] is over 50,000. How to deal with the mentally deficient or feeble-minded persons, especially growing children, is a problem of first-rate importance.

Public recognition of the claims of such children begin in Europe with Dr. Itard of the Paris School for the Deaf in 1800. In the course of the nineteenth century, Europe and America came to realize that in the interests of both humanity and society such children should be gathered together in special institutions for proper and appropriate training. On humanitarian grounds we should seriously consider and bear in mind that (1) the feeble-minded are our children, and we can cannot afford to neglect them without denying our obligations as parents; (2) that when we have institutions for the blind, schools for the deaf and dumb, asylums for lepers, societies for the prevention of cruelty towards children, why should we not have societies or institutions for the development of those who have ‘less brains’ than ourselves?

On social grounds also, we should remember that (1) A mentally defective child occupies most of the time, attention and energy of the parents, with the result that the other *normal* children tend to be neglected. (2) That defective children as they grow embarrass their parents; and the general public, not knowing or fully realizing the significance of their real weakness, often unconsciously persecute them by staring at them or calling them by names such as *babu* (idiotic) or *baka* (foolish). The result is that they not only lose what little self-confidence they have, but become positively unsocial, irrational or mischievous little units of society. (3) That just as we protect the general public from infectious diseases by special laws, so we must protect society by having such children specially dealt with so as to keep it safe from any mischief at their hands, and by trying to develop them into useful members of society, if possible.

These considerations lead us to the question—How should we deal with them? The only answer is—Place them, not only for their greatest well-being but also for the protection of society, in an environment of gentleness and understanding and love; in a place free for the complications that confuse their little

brains; guard them from problems and playmates that discourage them and give them a sense of inferiority. All this is possible only in an institution specially established for them. In such an institution a mentally defective child can live in an atmosphere every part of which is planned with forethought and care to recognize his shortcomings and to meet his special needs; where every soul attending him is pledged to the creed of fertilizing his barren life; and where an education is imparted which being specially adapted to him aims to make him economically independent, and to develop the fullest life of which he is capable.

Such an institution has recently been established in Bengal, under the auspices of the Bodhana Samiti, an association for the care and control of the feeble-minded. It is registered under Act XXI of 1880, with a strong committee under the presidency of S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee of the *Modern Review*. The founder-secretary of the Samiti is Babu Girija Bhusan Mukherjee, M.A., B.L., Assistant Public Prosecutor, 24-Parganas. The Rajah of Jhargram made a free gift of 250 *bighas* (more than 80 acres) of land at Jhargram, some 96 miles west of Calcutta. The place is absolutely free from malaria and very healthy; the drinking water is supplied from a natural spring which never dries up.

The whole atmosphere is calm and quiet. Bodhana the name of the institution, was specially coined by the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore. It has already started work with a few children, and Lt.-Col. Owen Berkeley Hill of the Ranchi Mental Hospital has kindly promised to supervise the work of the institution. As it is the first institution of its kind in India, its progress and development will be watched with the keenest interest. In course of time, we hope many such institutions will be established to deal with the large number of mentally defective children.

Those who desire further information may refer to the secretary, 6-5 Bejoy Mukherjee Lane, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

### Healthy Feet

To have healthy feet, the following rules should be implicitly observed. These appear in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

The following exercises will strengthen both feet and ankles, and many of them can be performed during the day at odd times.

1. Stand erect. Rise on the toes as high as possible, keeping the feet parallel. Then slowly sink back to first position.

2. Repeat as above, with the feet turned in, and placed wide apart. This is more difficult than the first.

3. Sit on a chair, place one foot on the other knee, and grasp the foot with both hands. Rotate the foot, pushing it as far round as possible very slowly. Repeat with the other foot.

4. Repeat the above exercise with the feet held out in front. Rotate each foot separately, describing a circle in the air. An amusing variation of this exercise is to write one's name in the air. This strengthens the instep and ankles, as well as the muscles of the foot.

5. Walk around the room on the outside edge of the feet.

6. Sit again, holding the feet in. Now stretch the

feet gradually downwards as far as possible. Hold the position, then begin to stretch again in an upward direction. This can be done in bed before rising.

7. Walk on tip-toes around the room. Practise this whilst dressing in the morning.

### Study of Medicinal Plants

These extracts are made from an interesting article in *The Indian Medical Journal*:

Comparative study helps to bring into prominence properties of plants which would otherwise be overlooked. *Cyperus rotundus* forms an important constituent of the Chinese drug "*Ikingfutzu*" and of the Japanese drug "*Kobishi*," used as emmenagogues in that country, a property that is not so prominently mentioned in India. The essential oil of *Cyperus rotundus* deserves to be studied pharmacologically for its action on the generative organs. *Corallia garuntana* ought on comparative evidence to possess the properties of morphia and be useful in Parkinsonian disease.

Comparative study also helps to draw our attention to those indigenous plants which have not been used medicinally by the natives of our country. The study of the Indian *Ephedras* was stimulated by the studies in China. We also now know that not all *Ephedras* possess the characteristic properties and some are entirely devoid of them because of the absence in them of ephedrin and pseudoephedrin. *Ephedraatata* of Morocco is on the other hand a valuable source of ephedrin on account of its very high alkaloidal content whether the high alkaloidal content is due to soil and atmospheric conditions of Morocco, or is due to a characteristic inherent in the plant itself can only be revealed when plantations of the same are made in other countries. Every one knows that plants owe their virtues as medicinal agents to certain characteristic alkaloids, glucosides and other principles present in them. It is being gradually realised however that it is not always the alkaloid that epitomizes in itself the characteristic properties of the plant and deserves to be designated as the active principle. Conessin, the alkaloid of the *Holarrhena antidysonctorica* is a good illustration of a fallacious belief. In whatever constituents of the plant the active property may lie, the study of alkaloids serves however a very useful purpose of providing us with an easy and accurate means for standardization of drugs.

Comparative study as in the case of the *Ephedras* or of *Artemisia* would help us to reduce the work of drug cultivation to an exact science, and to determine the commercial possibilities of the most promising plants in the same manner as has been done in agricultural and other economic farms.

Indian medicinal plants ought to be widely studied and largely used by medical practitioners in this country, and should not be contemptuously referred to as 'Native Remedies'. With proper advocacy it will not be long before the pharmacology and chemistry of the best of them is properly investigated. Such a study even though it be not immediately productive of useful results, might give a new impetus to chemotherapy. If it be remembered that 3 p. c. of the drugs used in the British Pharmacopoeia of 1914 were in use among the Egyptians, and 50 p. c. were in use among the Indian and Arab Physicians, there are grounds for the hope that many more gems may be garnered from the rich flora of India, by the application of recent methods of research in chemistry and pharmacology.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The Free Press in Russia

*The Living Age* has the following note on the development of the newspaper press in Soviet Russia:

Whatever else Communism may have done for Russia, it has increased the number of newspapers from 467 to 5,400 and their total circulation from about two million to thirty-eight million. Of these papers 1,760 are district organs and 1,500 factory organs, but their enormous following and the fact that there are ten million readers of newspapers published in non-Russian languages would seem to substantiate the claim of the Soviet authorities that illiteracy has been reduced from 60 to 10 per cent.

Only lack of paper keeps down the circulation and size of Russian publications. New subscriptions are sometimes not even filled at contrast with the American practice of continuing old ones long after the date of expiration—yet *Trestia* and *Pravda* both have 1,600,000 readers and *Krestianskaia Gazeta* (*The Peasants' Gazette*) has over two millions, in other words, more than all the newspapers in present Soviet territory had before the Revolution. The daily papers are restricted to four pages and print no scandal, household hints, fashion notes, crossword puzzles, sporting news, or stock-market quotations. Special publications deal with literature and art, and the regular dailies concentrate on foreign news, government decrees, decisions of the Communist Party, and domestic industrial developments. Personality is played down. Except for Karl Radek's political articles, Mikhail Koltzov's humorous essays, and the cartoons of Deni and Elimov the Soviet press, especially in the provinces, tends to a dead level of standardized uniformity.

Functional differences do, however, exist between the various publications. *Trestia* specializes in general news; *Pravda*, in news of the Communist Party. And the people respond with enthusiasm: newspaper lines in Moscow are as long as bread lines. Printed matter in Russia maintains a much higher level than printed matter in corresponding American publications. Although there are no 'quality magazines' and nothing like the *New York Times*, the masses, for whom all the writing is done, not only get better fare than the American tabloids furnish; they are also fired with the desire to improve their newly acquired skill at reading.

### King Faisal

Dr. Wolfgang von Weisl gives an estimate of the career of King Faisal in the *Neue Presse* of Vienna:

A clever Orientalist once said: 'The Orientals are happy because they have *The Arabian Nights*. The Europeans are unhappy because they have not.' The Oriental always lives in the belief that Allah

metes out compensatory justice. The beggar of today may through luck, cleverness, the intrigues of a beautiful woman, or even through personal merit become a minister, and a minister may suddenly find himself a pauper. Because the Asiatic proletariat believes in this possibility of happiness, he remains socially satisfied. Because the European proletariat does not believe in it, he works for social revolution.

There are still men in the Orient who have had careers typical of *The Arabian Nights*, but even in the Orient a certain change seems to have occurred. No longer does the good will of a eunuch, the pleasure of a pasha, or the love of a princess bring advancement but, remarkable as it may seem, courage, courage, courage—with luck and diplomacy added.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha had such a career, rising from the position of commander of a Turkish army corps on the Palestine front to ruler of modern Turkey. Riza Shah had such a career, rising from non-commissioned Cossack officer to Cossack colonel, then from colonel to Prime Minister and then to Emperor of Persia. King Ibn Saud had such a career. He was born a son of an exiled Arabian monarch and set out at the age of eighteen to win back his father's kingdom, just as the Prince in *The Arabian Nights* goes to do battle against the evil jinnec.

And between these three soldiers ruled a fourth king from *The Arabian Nights*, living in Bagdad, the city of Harun al-Rashid. He too was a new man on the throne, who had also commenced his career on the field of battle. He too was a figure out of *The Arabian Nights*, but King Faisal of Irak was a very different kind of man from his three neighbours. The delicate descendant of a line of aristocratic priests, he adapted himself to the more robust methods of the new politics of the Orient. King Ibn Saud, his southern neighbour, is physically the strongest man in his kingdom, a man of unlimited vital energy who has been married a hundred and fifty times, although he never has more than four wives at once. His western neighbour, Riza Shah, is at least as big a man as Ibn Saud, and, whereas the King of Arabia is a comparatively slender man, the Shah of Persia looks like a Pomeranian *Jacker*, bony, muscular, with a square head and powerful jaw. The dictator of Turkey is built in the same way. He is an old soldier who can always summon up his ultimate physical reserves for battle or pleasure.

Faisal of Irak was, as I have said, a different type of man. Medium-sized, thin, and with melancholy eyes, he was always slightly ill, and the climate of his capital did not agree with him. He fled to Europe as often as he could and brought back a love of European customs, fashions, and reforms to his own country, which is half desert a quarter mountains, and a quarter marsh land. He returned to Bagdad as a foreigner and remained a foreigner there. He was the man whom England

protected and wanted. During the World War Faisal served with the 'army' of the famous Colonel Lawrence, who led four thousand Bedouins against the Turks. And by his presence Faisal forced the Mohammedan subjects of the Allied Powers to realize that the war against Turkey and against the Central Powers was pleasing to Allah, for this man who was descended from Mohammed held it his religious duty to break his word to the Caliph and to battle against him.

Courage, as I have said, is well rewarded in the Orient. Because Faisal had been in the field he entered Damascus in triumph after the Allied Powers had defeated the Turks. Because he marched into Damascus, the English made him King of Syria. And when the French, who opposed him, drove him out in the summer of 1920, England had to find another throne for its protégé and made him King of Iraq. But this crown did not yield him unmixed pleasure. In spite of the huge sums of money that England poured into this land of petroleum, whose roads and airways lead to India, it remained poor. Less than two-thirds of the population are Arabs. Half a million are Kurds and Turks, who are much more warlike than the Arabs, whom they hold in tremendous contempt. A quarter of a million are Persians, who have recently been casting their eyes across the border, while the million and a half Arabs are at odds with each other. The Bedouins are inclined to sympathize with the Bedouin leader, Ibn Saud, and they show supreme contempt for the Arabian city dwellers and peasants, who in turn are divided into religious sects of their own.

### Fascism in Japan

An enterprising French journalist obtained an interview with General Araki, the Japanese Minister of War, and obtained the following information from him about the progress of Fascism in Japan. The interview appeared in the *Journal des Debats*, and is translated in the *Living Age*.

I then asked the General a question that had been on the tip of my tongue for a long time: 'What do you think of Fascism in Japan?'

'One must distrust certain foreign words,' General Araki declared. 'The Japanese people, use them without understanding their exact meaning. Thus they call the mountain chain that runs the length of Japan "the Alps." While speaking, General Araki was beating the palm of his hand. 'The Japanese people,' he continued 'have a very vague idea of Fascism. Some consider it the negation of all representative government. Others believe it is a movement opposed to Communism. Still others regard it as a force that is hostile to democracy.'

'That is a negative programme,' I interrupted, 'and it might be said that there are all those things in Fascism, but what is the positive programme of Fascism in Japan?'

'I shall not comment on it,' said General Araki, 'for Fascism in Japan is simply a movement to bring the national spirit to life again, the Japanese spirit that has been transmitted by the laws of the "eternal Emperors."'

For some minutes General Araki had been showing a certain nervousness. The visit of some important personage had been announced and the interview had

lasted over half an hour. The clock that I had admired now seemed intolerable, for without any consideration it was continuing to mark the passage of the hour.

'What is the attitude of the Japanese army towards Fascism?' I asked.

'The Japanese army has no occasion to occupy itself with political movements,' the General said. 'Being a soldier means serving the Emperor and his country. But the spirit that animates Fascist organizations, which want closer contact between the Emperor and the people, is the same spirit that inspires the army, a living force and an idea that gives life to the nation. Furthermore, it is the duty of the military leaders to form young soldiers and officers in this spirit, which they should constantly endeavour to raise to an ever higher level.'

### The Fruits of Zionism

The *Month* writes about the experiment of creating a national home for the Jews in Palestine:

At the end of October strikes and riots broke out amongst the Arabs in Palestine as a protest against the greatly increased immigration of Jews caused by German anti-Semitism. Arab resentment is quite intelligible: they are the victims of that ill-considered policy called Zionism. No one can be unsympathetic with the desire of the landless Jews to found a National Home, and if the 15 million Hebrews scattered all over the world could be organized as a nation once again in some one region, many inconveniences would be avoided. But, unhappily, there is no unoccupied country large enough and otherwise suitable to house that homeless race, and the original sin of the Balfour Declaration was, without consultation with the inhabitants and against their wishes, to encourage the settlement of large numbers of foreign Jews in Palestine. There was a lamentable loss of life in the late riots, for although the High Commissioner endeavours to combine the policies of favouring a home for the Jewish race in Palestine, and at the same time "of safeguarding the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities," it is not generally recognized that the two programmes are irreconcilable. No doubt, a wealthy Jewish settler may stimulate the development of the country, but the Jewish process of buying large parcels of land cannot but ultimately dispossess the original owners. The ignorant and indigent Arab should be protected against himself and should not be allowed by the Mandatory to alienate the soil of his country for a little ready cash. The Jews in Palestine, now about one-tenth of the population, are only waiting for a higher proportion of numbers to set up a Jewish State, and reduce the owners of the land to the condition of foreigners.

### Chinese Ponies and Chinamen

It appears from a note in *The Peoples Tribune* that in the foreign concessions in China racial discrimination has disappeared as regards Chinese ponies but not against Chinese men:

It must be set down to the credit of the foreign sportsmen of Shanghai that there is no racial

distinction observed in regard to the admission to the racecourse of ponies born in China. Possibly this is not altogether an unselfish and generous gesture. Perhaps there are reasons for this tolerance which are connected with the difficulty and expense of importing animals from Europe and America for racing purposes. We have never owned a horse, nor even part of a horse—other than a very juicy but tough steak off which we once dined in Paris. We know nothing about racing, and have never sought to conceal our complete ignorance of the subject, nor have we ever professed possession of that invaluable "inside information"—straight from the horse's mouth—which enables followers of the sport of kings to derive much pecuniary benefit from their sportsmanship. But we do know that while a China pony is welcomed to the Shanghai Racecourse a China man—or woman—is not. They may, if they so desire, gain admission to the public enclosures on race-days on equal terms with foreigners by buying tickets, but for the three hundred-odd other days in the year when there is no racing they are denied the right of entry and opportunity of exercise which is enjoyed even by dogs. And until last year those Chinese citizens of Shanghai who were not afflicted with myopia enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being able to see a number of more fortunate fellow-citizens disporting themselves on the green sward, defending and attacking wickets and goals and what-not. Now, however, the bamboo-railings which formerly surrounded the Racecourse have disappeared, and in their stead there stands a high brick wall which serves the double purpose of preventing "foreign" fresh air from blowing on Chinese faces and prevents Chinese eyes from seeing things which might possibly lead to the development of what the Japanese call "dangerous thoughts."

### Religious Census in the United States

*Unity* writes about the inaccuracy of the religious census in the United States. The observations also apply partly to the religious census in India:

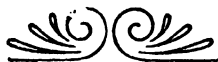
For years—yea, for more than a decade—*Unity* has been laughing at the so-called religious census in this country. We have been deliberately derisive, irreverent, even denunciatory. We have declared that this census, for all the authority of the United States Government, is absolutely untrustworthy, and in its optimistic showing of large increases in church membership, plain downright silly, if not actually dishonest. We have found little support for our skepticism. Religious magazines have gone on publishing the figures as though they meant something; and denominational headquarters, struggling with problems of dying churches and depleted funds, have seized upon these census totals and held to them like a drowning man to a piece of driftwood. Only when the figures did not look so cheerful, when even the census could not turn losses into gains, as in the case of the Unitarians and Uni-

versalists, did the editors and secretaries set up a howl. Because of course, no matter what the facts, religion must gain! But now at last *Unity* has a companion in doubt and denial—no less than the Rev. J. Elliott Ross, scholar and teacher, and influential Roman Catholic. In a recent article in the *Christian Century*, Dr. Ross shows what a farce the so-called federal census is. "As a matter of fact," he says, "this so-called Census of Religions is not federal and is not a census." It is simply a compilation of "figures supplied to it (the federal government) by the different religious bodies" themselves. But these figures are utterly unreliable. A recent critic in the Roman Catholic *Commonweal*, quoted by Dr. Ross, spoke of the "unbelievable untrustworthiness" of the Catholic statistics of church membership. The Protestant statistics are probably worse, though Dr. Ross uses language no stronger than "undoubtedly equal valid suspicions" as directed against them. What is needed, says this outspoken *Christian Century* contributor, is a real census—figures gathered by the U. S. Census Bureau in the same way and at the same time that other figures are gathered. He states the difficulties of getting accurate statistics in this field even by this method. But this is not the reason why it will not be done! The real reason is that the churches do not propose to tolerate, much less further, even a partial disclosure of their dreadful plight.

### British Labour Wins Municipal Elections

*America* writes about the success of British Labour in the recently held local elections:

Members of the British Labour party were elated at their success in the local elections which were held on October 31. The system governing the municipal elections requires one-third of the members of each Borough Council in England and Wales outside London to be retired annually. By this method 350 political units were affected. The total number of candidates in the field were 857 Labourites, 490 Conservatives, 110 Independents and 113 Liberals. When the returns of seventy-four of the largest towns were tabulated on October 31, the result showed 113 Labourite gains with only two Labourite losses, while the Conservatives suffered a loss of 66 seats, the Liberals of 16 and the Independents of 29. Later figures from 105 towns showed the Labourites had elected 441 candidates, Conservatives 234 candidates, the Liberals had elected 93 candidates, and of the Independents 148 were named. Much attention was centered on the returns from the large towns as indicating the true barometer of public opinion. The election was fought on the issues of war and peace, the Conservative orators advocating a large navy, army and air force, while the Labour leaders continually stressed pacifism. In a by-election at Fulham the speeches of George Lansbury, leader of the Labour party, elected his candidate in Parliament as the first Labour member ever to represent that district.



# INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

## Foreign Mission of the Arya Samaj

We must heartily congratulate the Sarvadeshika Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Delhi for bringing out a Hindi pamphlet विदेशोंमें आर्यसमाज containing a brief account of the work of the Arya Samaj in foreign countries—specially in the colonies. The pamphlet contains more than a hundred pages and is well illustrated. One may or may not agree with the religious dogmas of the Aryasamaj or their methods of interpretation or preaching but one will have to admit that the Aryasamaj and the Ramkrishna mission are the two progressive bodies of Hinduism that have done something for our people abroad. Both of them have vast potentialities as foreign missions and can be of immense use to our countrymen overseas in their programme of educational and social uplift.

If the Aryasamajist preachers could get rid of a certain narrowness in their outlook and could adapt themselves to the new conditions in the colonies they can prove more useful even than the Ramkrishna mission whose work on the social side deserves every praise at our hands. Fortunately the present secretary of the Arya Sarvadeshika Sabha happens to be a learned man of wide culture and refinement and can be expected to guide the foreign mission on right lines. Mr. Sudhakar, M. A., is a wellknown Hindi author, a winner of the Mangla Prasad Prize, and he created a very favourable impression as a lecturer in Gurukul Kangri. It is a happy news for the Hindus in the colonies that Sudhakarji has decided to take up this work in right earnest. May we request our colonial friends to supply Mr. Sudhakar regularly with reference books, etc., and to keep him informed of the social and educational work in their respective colonies? His address is 17, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi.

We intend to write an article on this subject in these columns in February if possible. In the meanwhile we congratulate once again the Sarvadeshika Sabha and the president Sjt. Narayan Swami for their determination to organise the Foreign mission of the Arya-Samaj. They have already shown commendable courage in condemning those of the Aryasamajists preachers, who have made it their business to frequent the colonies periodically with the single purpose of collecting funds for their private ends. Let them go a step further. Let them condemn without any reservation those preachers also who hold and propagate narrow communalistic views in the colonies. Will they do so?

The booklet *Videshon men Aryasamaj* is priced eight annas and can be had of Sarvadeshika Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi.

## Indians in Fiji

Events are moving fast in Fiji and if they are allowed to take their course we shall soon have a repetition of the tactics of Kenya Europeans in those islands of the Pacific. Horrified at the prospect of Indian voters being given common roll in the municipalities of Suva and Levuka an European gentleman, named Mr. H. S. Faddy has ventilated his grievances in the following manner through the columns of the *Fiji Times* and *Herald* of 25th Oct. 1933.

"We all, of course, know of the immense British capital invested in India, and the pressure that it brings to bear upon our politicians, is so much that they would sacrifice Fiji and the Fijians upon its golden altar without the slightest qualm if they can get away with it, but we in Fiji must see that that Trust is not abused.

It is unthinkable that for the sake of political India, or any other cause, the impertinent clamour of a small portion of the Indian immigrants should be listened to, and their claim to political equality in our institu-

tions, that directly and indirectly concern the Fijians and Europeans be conceded. It is but the thin end of the wedge, and, will be eagerly fastened upon by the fanatical cranks, whom a foolish democracy has temporarily placed in power in the Home Government, and other concessions will follow closely upon heels until full political equality in the affairs of the colony be given to them and the solemn obligations of the Fijians be wholly abrogated.

His Excellency the Governor of Fiji says that there are only two alternatives in regard to the Municipal governance of Suva and Levuka. Either they shall be run on the lines of the Legislative Council, or we must concede the common roll, which he admits the literary test amounts to. We cannot under the latter alternatives exclude even Chinese and Solomon Island or other races.

His Excellency admits that the lack of racial homogeneity and the fact that the preponderant immigrant voter would not surrender his independence of outlook (in plain words would seek to impose their culture upon the European minority) would militate against the success of such an experiment, and so give his weight to the other alternative. But why, knowing their unfittedness, and the absurdity of their claims should the thought be entertained at all of sacrificing the European and Fijian to them.

It is your task, gentlemen, to organise your constituencies to fight this pernicious doctrine, and see that the prostitution of our Municipalities does not take place. It should be made plain to these agitators that if they do not wish to live peacefully under the laws and institutions of the land of their adoption they can return to their home land, where they would at least have some justification for their political aspirations. Let us make an end of this policy of hush-hush and this docility when seeing our rights invaded, as authority spinelessly given to every bluff that these people put up."

It is the same old history repeated again. We shall request Mr. Faddy to read the following passage from *Fiji of To-day* by Rev. J. W. Burton who worked in those islands for about ten years and who is now the General Secretary of the Australasian Methodist Mission of Sydney. Mr. Burton wrote twenty-three years ago:

"The Indian is wanted in Fiji. He has come at our solicitation, and we are under some sort of compliment to him for coming to us in our extremity—though we would rather die than admit it to him. He is here because capital must have labour to carry out

its plans and the native labour is out of question. Even though the Fijian does, as the result of a proper training, cast off his sloth and become a worker, he would not be the type required. He is a landowner in a country where land is valuable and is more likely to become the small farmer or planter of independent means than the serf of commerce. Though he rises as an artisan, he will seek the higher rather than the lower tasks. He will not be likely to spend his life cutting sugarcane or weeding ditches. Thus the Pharaohs of capital cannot hope to press him to bondage. He will not make their bricks. Experiments have been tried with native races from other parts of the Pacific, but they have proved themselves either too expensive for the economical spirit of commerce or else have been too shiftless and unreliable for the methodical needs of industry. The Indian coolie was given a trial. Though he has no body to speak of and seemingly still less soul, he has shown himself to be so satisfactory that for thirty years now he has supplied the labour for the principal projects of Fiji."

India supplied cheap labour to the Fiji Islands for more than thirty-five years and now that Fiji has been made prosperous the Europeans have begun to agitate against their being given proper position in the colony. Lord Salisbury assured the Indians in 1875:

"Above all things we must confidently expect as an indispensable condition of the proposed arrangements, that the colonial laws and their administration will be such that Indian settlers, who have completed the terms of service to which they agreed as the return for the expense of bringing them to the colonies, will be free men in all respects, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects residents in the colonies."

This promise given by a responsible statesman of the British Government was treated as a mere scrap of paper in South Africa and other colonies after they had benefitted to their utmost from cheap Indian labour. So there is nothing strange in the attitude of the Europeans of Fiji.

May we hope the Indian public will benefit by these unhappy experiences and refuse to be duped again by such promises?

# NOTES

## *Who in Whose Pocket*

We read in *The Bombay Sentinel* :

Sir Leslie Hudson hotly denied in the Assembly that the European group was in the "pockets of the Government." We too deny it flatly. It is the Government who are in the "pockets of the European group."

Since administration and exploitation are opposite sides of the same medal, it does not make any essential difference whether the administrators or the exploiters are in the pockets of the other party.

The writer proceeds :

Since the British Empire is dependent on trade, it is only natural that everything should be subordinated to the interests of Sir Leslie and his friends. No "Lèse majesté" to Schuster there, for facts are facts.

Sir Leslie made his position clear, when he said that the European group stood for "security and stability"—of their own interests! Sure!

He said his group would support anything to make for a stable government, which benefits India as a whole. What benefits the Europeans, who have the Government in their pockets, must benefit the people. Since the people are in Government's pockets. Very simple logic, all this.

## *Prevention of Increase of the Unfit in Germany*

Berlin, Dec. 21.

Drastic measures will be applied throughout Germany when the law aimed at stamping out hereditary disease comes into force on the 1st of January, 1934.

Four hundred thousand persons suffering from them, of whom the majority are weak-minded, will be subject to sterilization.

Seventeen hundred courts will be established to deal with such cases. The necessary

expenditure entailed in enforcing this law is estimated at 14 million marks.—Reuter.

Whether children inherit the qualities or defects of their parents alone or of their grandparents or remoter ancestors also, is a question for biology to answer. Some mentally defective persons have had remarkably intelligent children.

## *Crimes Against Women*

In reply to a question in the House of Commons whether crimes against women were on the increase in Bengal Mr. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for India, said that "the figures did not justify the definite conclusion that this class of crime was increasing." He must have given this answer after consulting the Bengal Government directly or through the Government of India. But many weeks before this reply was given, the police administration report of Bengal for 1932 had been read and commented upon by the Bengal Government on the 17th of October, 1933. The resolution of that Government on the report contains the following passage :

"His Excellency in Council notes that cases of offence committed against women under sections 366 and 354, Indian Penal Code, showed an increase of 94 over the previous year."

So it was known to the Government, long before Mr. Butler's reply in the House of Commons, that "this class of crime was increasing." Yet some Government officer was instrumental in giving Mr. Butler the misleading information that no definite conclusion could be arrived at! Was this wrong

information given because of the ignorance of the officer, or his failure to consult the latest report, or was it a case of deliberate misstatement of facts ?

The Bengal police administration report for 1932 states :

"Altogether, 234 and 459 cases under sections 366 and 354 respectively, against 212 and 387 in 1931, were disposed of as true during the year, of which 78 cases under section 366 ended in the conviction of 174 persons and 173 cases under section 354 in the conviction of 226 persons."

So in Bengal, in 1932, there were altogether 693 cases of crime against women. The numbers of such crimes in the Panjab and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in the same year, according to the police administration reports of those provinces, are given in the subjoined table.

Province.	Population	Crimes against women in 1932
Panjab	23,580,852	504
U. P.	48,408,763	711
Bengal	50,114,002	693

The figures for other provinces for the year 1932 are not before us. But there is an impression in the public mind that crimes against women prevail to a great extent in Sind and the N. W. F. province also.

It is necessary to fight this evil. So far as punishment is concerned, it should be deterrent. In Bengal, a reference has been made officially to the bar in all districts enquiring whether in the case of such crimes whipping may be inflicted in addition to imprisonment. The consensus of opinion seems to be in favour of the suggestion that whipping should be inflicted in addition to imprisonment in flagrant cases.

In cases in which the girl or the woman kidnapped or abducted cannot be found, the property of the scoundrels found guilty should be confiscated. It is frequently found in Bengal that girls or women abducted by miscreants are taken from village to village and kept concealed in the homes of friends or relatives (containing their female relatives also) and there repeatedly ravished by the rogues. Those who in this way help the scoundrels to keep the girls or women concealed should also be punished severely.

### *Castration for Ravishers*

It has been suggested in addition that persons guilty of rape should be castrated. Those who are guilty of gang rape should certainly be castrated. As to other ravishers, this surgical treatment may be administered in heinous cases.

### *Viceroy Going Home on "Private Affairs"*

The Viceroy and Governor-General being then in Calcutta, the following *communiqué* was issued on the 21st December last from "Belvedere," His Excellency's "camp" :

The Secretary of State for India in Council has granted short leave not exceeding four months on private affairs to His Excellency the Viceroy who will proceed to England in May next.

His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir George Stanley, Governor of Madras to act as Viceroy and Governor-General during the Earl of Willingdon's absence on leave.—(A.P.D.)

We have neither the right nor the desire to pry into His Excellency's "private affairs." But sometimes affairs of State *are* private. In any case, nothing would stand in the way of the British cabinet consulting Lord Willingdon on the political situation in India and the "reforms" to be "granted" to India.

### *Suggested Terms of Agreement with Japan and Lancashire*

Regarding the negotiations of the Government of India and non-official Indians concerned in the production of raw cotton and cotton textiles in India on the one side and Japan and Lancashire on the other, the December number of *The Insurance and Finance Review* has made a practical suggestion which is worthy of serious consideration. It writes :

India has got a rare opportunity in this grim fight between Osaka and Lancashire. India must import a heavy quantity of textiles each year. She can import it from her best customer. Both England and Japan import all their raw cotton requirements from foreign countries. India can sell at least 30 lac bales of cotton against 1500 million yards of piece-goods import or one lac bale per 50 million yards. The Government of India can

inform both the importing centres that restricted imports @50 million yards will be allowed from any country purchasing one lac bale of cotton. Will the Government seize this opportunity and help the Indian trade?

The paragraph quoted above is preceded by the following :

England dares not engage herself in an economic fight with Japan. The latter country can hit England on every neutral soil and British business men are aware of this unpleasant fact. For this reason the Indian Government has successively revised the terms offered to Jap delegates in Simla. Anyhow the Government must make a settlement with Japan.

India Government first proposed 250 million yards of Jap textile imports; later on the offer was increased to 400 million yards. To save Japanese competition on neutral soil, the Government will offer many more concessions. We are not aware of the secret negotiations behind the screen. But we can imagine the trend.

### *"Modern Domestic Economy"*

The same journal contains an article on modern domestic economy by Mrs. F. Sylvia Gupta which ought to be read by middle-class housewives in our country. The extract given below is a fair sample of what she, a European lady who has married an Indian gentleman, has got to say.

Let me give you an insight of the average middle class home, taken at random from some of my numerous friends. This will be on par with the "bhadrak-class" here, and the girls and boys will be of equal social status, intellect, and shall we say, worldly wealth!

First of all, I would like to point out that much money is wasted and mis-spent daily in the upper middle-class Indian household. Too much is thrown away upon style, stylish upkeep, and servants. Fancy foods and luxuries are not at all necessary, and in the middle-class Indian home there are too many servants. Of course, where there are large families and plenty of small children, some domestic assistance is necessary, but where there are several big girls and young women this ought not to be necessary. In the West, however, servants are a luxury. Very rarely does one see more than one maid-servant in a home. Sometimes there may be two—a cook-house-keeper and a general servant—but in such cases either the mother is dead, or unable to cope with the domestic duties due to illness. Also where the house is larger

and the family needs greater; a charwoman comes in once or twice a week, for to help with the heavier work, such as scrubbing and washing. Most of the cloths, personal and domestic, such as bed linen, towels and table linen are washed at home. It is considered rather an accomplishment for a young married woman to be able to hang up for drying a well-washed line of linen and shirts, etc., and the young gentlewoman does not feel it beneath her dignity to do so.

### *Premature Hanging in Lahore*

In Lahore, in the case of a man sentenced to death who was in the Central Jail, orders had been sent from the Secretariat to the Superintendent of the jail for postponing the prisoner's execution. But the letter containing the order was not opened and read in time and so he was hanged!

A question having been asked in the House of Commons about this shameful tragedy, a statement was made by the Secretary of State\* in reply, about which *The Tribune*, knowing fully the facts of the case and the distance between the Central Jail and the Secretariat, observes :

Unlike the Panjab Government's *communique*, the Secretary of State's reply does not say that the orders despatched by a special messenger on November 20 directing the postponement of the execution were duly received in the jail office. Indeed, the way in which it refers to this part of the regrettable affair is somewhat misleading. "The Superintendent," it says, "did not receive the order till after the execution when he proceeded to his office to open the letters." These words give one no idea either of the shortness of the distance between the Jail office and the Secretariat or of the long interval between the time when the special messenger arrived with the orders and the time when, after the execution, the Superintendent proceeded to open the letters. As a matter of fact the letter remained unopened for a whole day. The most amazing part of the thing is that three weeks after the tragedy the inquiry into the circumstances under which it occurred is still proceeding. How slowly do the wheels of the bureaucratic machine move when our officials are not engaged in the congenial task of political repression!

This appeared in the Lahore paper of the 15th December. It wrote again on the same subject in its issue of the 21st instant, after the Panjab Government had concluded its enquiry :



The Panjab Government has come to the conclusion, as the result of "an inquiry held by a responsible officer," that "the primary cause" of the premature execution of a condemned prisoner in the Lahore Central Jail on the 21st November, was "the fact that the envelope containing the orders for the postponement of the execution did not bear any indication of its urgent nature." The *communiqué* adds that "disciplinary action is being taken against two Secretariat officials responsible for the grave omission and stringent orders are being issued to prevent its recurrence so far as this is possible." We can only characterize this decision as astounding. Does the Panjab Government mean to say that it was not the duty of any higher official in the Secretariat to assure himself that the letter had reached the Superintendent, that it was not the duty of any one in the Superintendent's office to open a letter received from the Secretariat through a special messenger for one whole day, even though it was not marked urgent, and that it was not the duty of the Superintendent himself before he permitted the man to be hanged, to find out by a direct personal inquiry whether orders directing the postponement of the execution had been issued by competent authority. If all these questions are to be answered in the negative, all we can say, as we have said already, is that there is something essentially rotten in the State of Denmark. Most people, who have followed the controversy connected with this most deplorable occurrence will think that the two Secretariat officials are being punished for a criminal blunder, the responsibility for which must be fully shared with them by others much higher up in the official ladder.

And these persons should receive condign punishment. This tragedy has naturally led many advocates of the abolition of capital punishment to restate their arguments.

### *What is a Terrorist Crime?*

The following message has been cabled by *Reuter's* agency :

London, Dec 21.—The Duchess of Atholl pointed out that the Moral and Material Report gave terrorist crimes in Bengal in 1932 as 97 whereas Sir Samuel Hoare on November 13 gave the figure as 75 and asked for an explanation.

Sir Samuel Hoare replied that he was making enquiries from the Government of India. The discrepancy was doubtless owing to the difference in definition. He pointed out that it was difficult in some cases to say whether a crime should be classed as terrorist.

But though "it was difficult in some cases to say whether a crime should be classed as terrorist," it is *absolutely* certain that the hundreds of Bengali young men confined in Deoli, far away from Bengal, *without any sort of trial*, are terrorists! For are they not guilty of the crime of being Bengalis and young, too?

### *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Rejoinder*

We are glad to find that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has, in his rejoinder, made an *amende honorable* both to the Arya Kumar Sabha and the Hindu Mahasabha in the following terms :

I must begin with expression of regret and apology. It is clear that some of us were the victims of a hoax in regard to the alleged resolution of the Arya Kumar Sabha which was sent to us and in which it was stated that there could be no peace in India so long as there were any Muslims or Christians in the country. It has been demonstrated that no such resolution was passed by the Arya Kumar Sabha at Ajmer or elsewhere. Indeed no resolution of a political nature was passed by that body at all. I am exceedingly sorry for having permitted myself to fall into a trap of some one's devising, and I desire to express my deep regret to the Arya Kumar Sabha.

I must also express my regret both to the Arya Kumar Sabha and the Hindu Mahasabha for having presumed that they were associated with each other in regard to my main contention.

This is quite worthy of him.

He adds :

However, I confess that I am unrepentant and I hold still that the activities of Hindu communal organizations including the Mahasabha, have been communal, anti-national and reactionary. Of course this cannot apply to all but can only apply to the majority of members of these organizations. It can only apply to the majority group in them or the group that controls them. Organizations also change their policies from time to time and what may be true today may not have been wholly true yesterday.

So far as I have been able to gather Hindu communal organizations, especially in the Panjab and Sind, have been progressively becoming more narrowly communal and anti-national and politically reactionary.

It is for the Panjab and Sind Hindu communal organizations to answer the charge levelled at them, if they can.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru states in effect why he is "unrepentant," and he does so mainly by criticizing two speeches of Bhai Parmanand and Dr. Moonje. As our position is not the same as that of these two leaders, as we have ourselves commented previously on the former's presidential address at the Ajmer session of the Hindu Mahasabha, and as our comments remain unnoticed and unanswered, we shall not say anything on this part of the Pandit's rejoinder. But it is necessary to make a few remarks on the sentences which we have italicized below.

It is perfectly true that the Hindu Mahasabha has stood for joint electorates right through its career and this is obviously the only national solution of the problem. It is also true that the Communal Award is an utter negation of nationalism and is meant to separate India into communal compartments and give strength to disruptive tendencies and thus to strengthen the hold of British imperialism, *but it must be borne in mind that nationalism cannot be accepted only when it profits the majority community. The test comes in the provinces where there is a Muslim majority and in that test the Hindu Mahasabha has failed.*

We perfectly agree that "nationalism cannot be accepted only when it profits the majority community. The test comes in the provinces where there is a Muslim majority." But we do not agree that the Hindus have been anti-national in all the Muslim majority provinces. There are only two major provinces, the Panjab and Bengal, in which the Muslims are in a majority. As regards the Panjab, *The Tribune* of Lahore, which knows the Panjab Hindus at least as well as Mr. Nehru, writes :

We do not exactly see in what way the Hindu Mahasabha has failed to satisfy this test in the Panjab. If it has stood for general non-communal representation in the majority Provinces it has, as far as we are aware, stood for no other form of representation in the Panjab itself. As regards reservation of seats, weightage etc., the attitude of the Panjab Hindus, backed by the Hindu Mahasabha, as far as we have been able to understand it, has always been this. Let the same principles be applied to all cases. The best thing, it has consistently declared, would be to have joint electorates pure and simple, without any reservation of seats and without any weightage. But if that is not accepted and if there is to be a reservation of seats

with or without weightage, then the Hindus of the Panjab should be treated exactly as Muslim minorities in other provinces are treated. Is there anything in this position which in Pandit Jawaharlal's opinion is a departure from the principle of nationalism ?

As regards the Hindus in Bengal, they were and still are in favour of joint electorates pure and simple without any reservation of seats and without any weightage. But if electorates and elections are not to be joint but separate and if Muslims are to have the number of seats reserved for them in the White Paper scheme, even then Bengal Hindus do not want any weightage—they want simply the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the basis of their numerical strength. Far from having any weightage, which Muslims have got in all Muslim minority provinces, they have been given less seats than even their numerical strength would warrant. They want seats in proportion to their population, *not by reducing the number of seats assigned to the Muslims*, but by reduction of the very excessive number given to the Europeans. Bengal Hindus asked their Muslim fellow-citizens to join them in the endeavour to reduce the seats given to the Europeans. But the Muslims did not agree. If under these circumstances, any section of Bengal Hindus have demanded weightage (of which we are not aware), neither that section nor the entire Hindu community of Bengal should be stigmatized as anti-national. It is not our conviction that Nationalism consists in absolute acquiescence in Muslim claims and utter passivity in the face of grave menace to nationalism from these claims.

We have stated the Hindus' position in Bengal. If the Hindu Mahasabha has ever claimed for Bengal Hindus anything different from what we have stated—of this we are not aware, the Mahasabha alone is responsible for it, not the Bengal Hindus.

### \* *Cities—Organic Expressions of Culture*

To the ninth anniversary number of *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, which is as fine a publication as its previous anniversary number, Rabindranath Tagore has contributed the following message :

Cities are organic expressions of culture. Up till today our cities have grown up, as much

of our exterior life has, chaotically. They have been imitations of Europe and their lives have flowed in channels which have been sometimes at tangent, sometimes parallel to our own. Now that India is slowly coming into her own, our towns should mirror our national culture and artistic sensibility. I look forward to a Calcutta which will reflect this ideal.

May it be hoped that this message will receive the serious attention, not only of the municipal authorities of Calcutta, but of its citizens also ?

To the same number of the same journal Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has contributed a short article on "Cosmopolitan Calcutta" in the course of which he says :

Human civilization is manysided, and every country, province and region can contribute something to make the ideal of human civilization comprehensive. Hence, the more cosmopolitan a city is, the larger its practical idealism may become, if only all its permanent, semi-permanent and floating population think of it as their home for the time being to which they owe a duty, instead of thinking of it only as a place to make money in or as a pleasure-resort. But it does not strike most of those who make most money in Calcutta that they owe a duty to this city. Had they thought of their duty to it and done that duty, this city would have been a far better place for juveniles to grow up in and adults to live in as civilized and cultured human beings than it is.

**"Abolition of the 'Suttee'," an unknown Tract of Rammohun Roy**

The tract to be reproduced in our next issue, written by Raja Rammohun Roy and published by him in England, has not so far been found in any edition of his collected works and has, therefore, remained practically unknown.

It was found, along with some other pamphlets, bound in a volume containing the Raja's (1) *Translation of several principal passages and Texts of the Veds* etc. Allen & Purbury, (2) *Essay on the Rights of Hindoos* etc. Smith, Elder & Co., (3) *Exposition of the Practical Operations of Judicial and Revenue Systems* etc. Smith, Elder & Co., and (4) *Translation of the Creed maintained by the Ancient Brahmins* etc. Nichols & Sons. It appears from an inscription on the title-page of one of these books that they were presented by the Raja himself to Sir

Alexander Johnstone, who was a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society. This volume was in the possession of Sir Valentine Chirol, who bequeathed his library to Mr. Lionel Curtis, from whom Dr. S. K. Datta, Principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, procured the books on Indian subjects for his college library. And among these was the volume of Rammohun's works. We are very thankful to Prof. U. N. Ball of Dyal Singh College, Lahore, and Mr. Satish Chandra Chakravarti, Joint Secretary, Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee, through whose courtesy it has been possible to secure this pamphlet for inclusion in the collected works of Rammohun Roy, shortly to be published by the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Academy of Bengali Literature), of which the prospectus will be found among the advertisements in this issue of *The Modern Review*.

The tract bears the title of "Some Remarks in vindication of the Resolution passed by the Government of Bengal in 1829 abolishing the Practice of Female Sacrifices in India." (Demy octavo 8 pages with an "Appendix containing the names of the supporters and opponents of the measure." (Demy octavo, 4 pages.)

The tract bears on its cover an inscription, in Rammohun's hand-writing, presenting it to Lady Johnstone. The inscription is as follows :

Rajah Rammohun Roy  
presents his Compliments to  
Lady Johnstone, and begs  
permission to present to her  
virtually on behalf of the people  
of India, the accompanying tract  
and Appendix, as an offering  
to the Temple community of England  
and he will only add that he

*the former have not had an equal opportunity of mental improvement, they are nevertheless happily acknowledged to be partakers of the nature and capacity of that blessed sex.*

*48 Bedford square*  
*April 13th 1832*

Rajah Rammohun Roy presents his compliments to Lady Johnstone, and begs permission to present to her, virtually on behalf of the females of India, the accompanying small Tract and appendix, as an appeal to the female community of England, and he will only add that, although the former have not had an equal opportunity of mental improvement, they are nevertheless happily acknowledged to be partakers of the nature and capacity of that blessed sex.

48, Bedford Square,  
 April 13th, 1832.

There is another pamphlet in the volume, which also should be mentioned. It is entitled "Appeal to the British Nation against a violation of common justice and a breach of public Faith by the Supreme Government of India with the Native inhabitants." This has been republished in India, in the English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy, under the title of "Petition to Government against Regulation III of 1828 for the Resumption of *Lakhery Lands*." But the London pamphlet is prefaced by a summary which has not been collected in any edition of the Raja's Works published here. It also publishes some correspondence between the writer of the petition and the Government of Bengal and the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, which has so far not been included in any edition of the Raja's Works. All these will now be included in the edition to be published by the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat*.

### *Sir Malcolm Hailey, Doctor of Laws*

The Allahabad University has conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

But of what kind of laws ?

### *Sir M. Hailey's "Services to Education"*

The Vice-chancellor of the Allahabad University in conferring this degree on Sir Malcolm Hailey referred to the services rendered by the Governor-Chancellor to the cause of education. These services must be both direct and indirect. The indirect services were perhaps unconsciously and unintentionally rendered through the efforts made to uphold the majesty of law and order. As for the direct services, would it be fair to measure them by the extent of literacy in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh which include the region known in ancient times as *Aryavarta*, the home of Aryan culture ?

The following table taken from the Census of India, 1931, vol. I, part I, page 339, tells its own tale :

Province	Number per mille who are literate
Ajmer-Merwara	125
Andamans & Nicobars	170
Assam	93
Bengal	111
Bihar & Orissa	53
Bombay Presidency	108
Burma	368
Central Provinces and Berar	66
Coorg	176
Delhi	163
Madras	108
North-West Frontier Province	49
Panjab	63
United Provinces of Agra & Oudh	55

The Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh may be satisfied with the fact that of all provinces they contain the largest number of universities, and so may their intelligentsia. But can the mass of the people of the U. P. and the real leaders thereof congratulate themselves on their place in the table given above ?

### *Outcome of Mr. Nehru's Attack on Hindu Mahasabha*

One result of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's attack on the Hindu Mahasabha has been that he and some other Congressmen have been compelled, for the sake of decency at least, to condemn Muslim communalists also, which they had hitherto avoided doing entirely or as much as possible—though it was the Muslims who started the communalist game. To castigate the mild Hindu with excessive and undeserved severity was easy enough; let us see how the dynamic Muslim is handled.

Some Bombay Congresswallas, with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at their head, have issued the following statement :

It has long been a painfully obvious fact to all dispassionate observers that those organizations which claim to protect the separate interests of communities divided by religion serve only the self-interest of small coteries of exploiters of the religious sentiments of their fellowmen.

They have in the last few years set up artificial barriers against the attainment of national unity. They have encouraged a narrow sectarianism and intolerance which finds frequent expression in riots, and leaves a continuing trail of hatred and rancour. And they have been attempting to release such anti-social forces as would make any attempt at a wider synthesis of human culture ineffective.

It has been our hope that these symptoms are but the passing and irrelevant phases of a new age struggling to be born. We have remained confident that in spite of the disruptive elements introduced into our body politic, the inherent social affinities cannot long remain obscured from the public mind. And in the expectation of this sanity asserting itself we have been content to remain indifferent to the antics of these communal agitators who strut in the pompous authority of artificially incubated organizations.

But recently there has been a coalescing of reactionary forces, a defining of new and vicious attitudes and the development of fresh and dangerous approaches to communal agitation that compel us to express our open abhorrence of such methods. And we congratulate Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the courageous lead he has given in the matter. We agree with him, that all such as in the name of religion, caste or community hold unholy truck with the enemies of Indian freedom have to be opposed and fought. And we assure Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of our support in his war against the blind and rabid communalists in this country.

### *Mahatma Gandhi on Council Entry*

It has been reported that in the course of a talk which Mahatma Gandhi had with some Congress workers before he left Delhi, he said : "If they thought that Council-entry would benefit the country, they should enter rather than sit idle; for the paralytic stage should soon end." This is not an injunction. Mahatmaji has simply lifted the ban on Council entry, and that perhaps not wholeheartedly but rather reluctantly. Still the fact is welcome that he considers council entry better than idleness. What Mahatmaji insists upon is that the paralytic stage should soon end. We think that, though, "harijan" work and khadi work are good in their way, congressmen should do some direct political work, too.

Of course, the time for Council entry has yet to come. But those who are inclined to do political work in the Councils and have greater aptitude for such political work rather than for political work of other descriptions, should prepare themselves to enter the legislatures.

### *Mahatmaji's Hold on the Country*

British imperialists and perhaps some Indians, too, had been imagining that Mahatmaji's hold on the country has diminished. But the vast crowds who gather to see and hear him wherever he goes tell a different story. The combined role of the saint and the socio-political deliverer cannot but appeal irresistibly to the Indian mass-mind.

### *Soviet Russia's Preparations Against Possible Japanese Offensive?*

According to a Free Press Cable, dated Moscow, December 12, 1933 :

Apparently with the purpose of promoting migration eastwards and thus strengthening the Soviet's Far Eastern maritime province against any possible future Japanese attack, a striking decree, which is to come into operation from January 1, 1934, has been issued over the signatures of M. Stalin and M. Molotov.

#### 50 P. C. INCREASE TO SOLDIERS

The decree authorizes, in the Far Eastern province, an increase of 50 per cent in pay to soldiers and to workers in coal industry, a 20 per cent increase to workers in other

industries and 10 per cent in the case of white collar workers.

#### EXEMPTION FROM GOVT. DUES

The decree exempts provinces and collective farms from delivery of quotas of grain to Government for 10 years and individual peasants for five years.

Also, except in regard to certain points, compulsory deliveries to Government of meat, potatoes, butter, milk, hemp, oilseeds and wool have been reduced by 50 per cent. Simultaneously the price paid for fish from collective farms on this Eastern sea-board will be raised by 20 per cent.

#### *Mussolini Versus Kipling*

According to Reuter, six hundred representatives from China, Japan, India, Persia, Afghanistan, Siam and Egypt attended the Congress of Asiatic students in Rome, inaugurated in the presence of Signor Mussolini, who, in welcoming the delegates, said that the statement (made by the British jingo poet Rudyard Kipling) that "East and West will never meet" had been proved untrue by history. Twice already during crises the world had been saved by the collaboration of Rome and the East.

And he might have added that in times gone by there was no such sharp division between East and West as exists today as the result of Occidental sense of superiority.

#### *Mahatma Gandhi and Women's Jewellery*

According to old style Hindu saints, like Paramahansa Ramakrishna for example, *kamini* (woman) and *Kanchan* (gold) were both to be shunned, if one wanted liberation. But Mahatma Gandhi wants all the gold that he can get—not, of course, for his own personal use, but formerly it was for the Tilak Swarajya Fund, then for Khadi, and now for "harijan" service.

With reference to women's jewellery, he writes in a recent number of *Harijan* :

"I have seen a paragraph in a newspaper adversely criticizing my appeal to the women for gifts of jewellery and my auctioning things received as donations. Indeed, I would like the thousands of sisters who attend my meetings to give me most if not all of the jewellery they wear. In this country of semi-starvation of a million and insufficient nutrition of practically eighty per cent of the

people the wearing of jewellery is an offence to the eye. A woman in India has rarely any cash which she can call her own. But the jewellery she wears does belong to her, though even that she will not, dare not, give away, without the consent of her lord and master. It ennobles her to part with for a good cause something she calls her own. Moreover most of this jewelley has no pretension to art, some of it is positively ugly and a harbinger of dirt. Such are anklets, heavy necklaces, clasps worn not for adjusting the hair, but purely as a decoration for unkempt unwashed and often evil-smelling hair, or row upon row of bangles from wrist to elbow. In my opinion the wearing of expensive jewellery is a distinct loss to the country. It is so much capital locked up or worse still allowed to wear away. And in this movement of self-purification the surrender of jewellery by women or men I hold to be a distinct benefit to society. Those who give do so gladly. My invariable condition is that on no account should the jewellery donated be replaced. Indeed, women have blessed me for inducing them to part with things which had enslaved them. And in not a few cases men have thanked me for being an instrument for bringing simplicity into their homes."

#### *Some Evidence re Steel Industry Before Tariff Board*

The Tata Iron and Steel Company's works at Jamshedpur are undoubtedly a national asset. They must be preserved and developed even if the Indian taxpayer and consumer may have to pay directly or indirectly for that purpose for some length of time. But the burden which they are required to bear should not be more than can be proved to be strictly necessary for the continued existence and development of the works, nor should the taxpayer and consumer be taxed longer than is necessary. Hence, when the Tariff Board has been considering the desirability of a further extension of protection to the Tatas, the question should be threshed out from all points of view.

#### *The Consumer's Point of View*

Pandit Nilakantha Das of Orissa, in the memorandum submitted to the Tariff Board and in his oral evidence claimed to represent the interests of the consumers of iron and steel products. His oral evidence has been thus summed up in *The Statesman*.

The Pandit urged that giving protection by means of a tariff was 'detrimental to the

interests of the consumer and if protection must be given, it should be given by means of a bounty.

In his memorandum Pandit Nilakantha Das maintained that the policy of protection by means of tariffs tended to serve three distinct interests—the Government of India who wanted more revenue, the capitalists and the promoters of Imperial or “British” preference—but it militated against the interests of the consumer. If preference was thought necessary, it should be provided by conventions of quota purchases or purchases of particular articles even at a loss. “That kind of direct dealing would be free, healthy and manly. But a planned preference to be worked automatically under a system of protective tariffs should be stopped at once in the interests not only of the consumer but of national economy and national morality.”

The Pandit concluded :—

“I am not a free trader. I yield to few in my anxiety for giving all reasonable help to our national industry, and the general taxpayer of the land must not refuse to do so. But we must not imitate the methods of other countries, nor be carried away by theoretical arguments of interested parties. Temporary help should be provided for our basic iron and steel industry if by facts and figures it is convincingly and conclusively proved that an extension of the present help is necessary in the interests of the real economic future of the country. But any help necessary must take the form of bounties to particular firms and industries.”

In the course of his examination by the President, the witness admitted that he was not competent to deal with technical questions and that the Tariff Board were the competent body to do that. What he was chiefly concerned with was that there should be an expansion of the steel industry, that nothing should be done which would turn the industry into a monopoly of one concern only, in which case the poor consumers would be the sufferers.

Pandit Nilakantha Das has supplemented the brief report of his evidence in *The Statesman* in the following paragraphs for our use :

“Tatas are the only basic steel producing concern in India, and therefore all protection is contemplated for the Tata Company alone. The maximum annual production of steel of the Tata Company is estimated at 600,000 tons. The normal annual consumption of steel in India is more than double of this quantity. Thus Tatas at best can supply less than half the Indian market. In such a case, evidently, bounty is the only solution ; for why should the consumer be made to

pay to the state on more than half the quantity which India is not expected to produce in future ? At present, galvanized-sheets are protected with a tariff of Rs. 83 per ton, and it sells at Rs. 236 per ton. With all this duty Tatas' production has reached up to only one-third of the Indian consumption. Still the Government goes on taxing the consumer to this enormous extent for no benefit to him. The consumer is thus being ruined, and that in these dire days of depression,

“Tatas have submitted a representation to the Tariff Board. They have not said a word as to how they have directed their activities towards expanding steel industry in India, how they have fostered subsidiary industries, like foundries, rolling or sheet mills, engineering works, etc., or how they have worked for the promotion of village artisans by putting their own scrap and other suitable materials in the Indian market. On the contrary, they have been exporting basic materials, like pig iron, billets, etc., as also scrap at a much cheaper rate to foreign countries. For instance, pig-iron is sold to foreign countries at Rs. 19 per ton. The Indian consumer gets it at not less than Rs. 75 (now reduced to Rs. 55) per ton. Scrap is sold to Japan only through Japanese firms here at Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per ton. It is never sold to any Indian consumer though that also contains the article the village artisan badly requires. The result is that foreigners get cheap raw materials to compete in our market and Tatas want more and more protection. In the sales policy there are combines with competing firms here and also there is discrimination in the sale of raw materials.”

“Freight concession which is a part of this protection is used for the same end. All this results in a pernicious monopoly and corruption deadly detrimental to the development and expansion of Indian steel industry. In short, all small industries are killed to eliminate internal competition. But under Indian circumstances these defects are rather inherent in a system of indefinite protection by tariff duty. Therefore if protection is thought necessary it should take the definite form of bounty, in which there may be no waste of taxpayer's or consumer's money nor may there be corruption in the industry. The giver of it will know exactly where he stands and the receiver of it will feel responsible and directly answerable.”

### *The Indian Mining Federation's Point of View*

Rai Bahadur A. C. Banerjee and others gave evidence before the Tariff Board on behalf of the Indian Mining Federation in relation to the Tatas' application for a further

term of protection to the iron and steel industry. In their memorandum the committee of the Federation observed :

The Indian section of the coal industry had been little benefited by the growth and development of the steel industry in the country for the obvious reason that steel works did not use second class coal. They therefore asked the Board to investigate whether second class coal could be economically and profitably used in steel works and, if so, it should ask the industry to use second class coal as much as possible. The Committee considered that if the use of second class coal was feasible it would not only reduce the works cost but at the same time help the Indian section of the coal trade considerably.

The next point to which the Committee drew attention was the economic utilization and preservation of India's caking coal. They suggested that it was desirable to close down entirely all Tata's collieries and to ask the Company to buy all its requirements from the open market. The immediate result of this would be that the Company would not only get its coal at cheaper rates but would also have a considerable quantity of caking coal in reserve for future contingencies.

The Committee fully believe that for the present industrial development of India discriminatory protection was necessary from time to time, but they were at the same time of opinion that such protection should not be of a permanent nature and be a burden on the consumers, and it should not encourage inefficiency.

### *Confirmation of some Conclusions of Ramaprasad Chanda*

Sir Herbert Risley's *Census of India*, 1901, published in 1903, first drew Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda's attention to anthropology, and he undertook to collect ethnographical data from ancient Indian literature and take measurements of the sub-castes of the Brahmans and the Kayasthas in Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces along lines laid down by Risley. The results of his researches were embodied in a small volume entitled : *"The Indo-Aryan Races, A study of the Origin of Indo-Aryan People and Institutions,"* published in 1916 by the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi. In this work Mr. Chanda endeavoured to establish these propositions :

(1) Risley's Dravidian type erroneously included another distinct physical type called pre-Dravidian of some anthropologists and re-

presented the ancient Nishada stock described in the ancient Sanskrit literature.

(2) The so-called Aryans of the Rigvedic period named by him Vedic Aryans were not physically homogeneous, but included men of two different races, one blonde and the other dark.

(3) The broad-headed elements in Risley's Turko-Iranian, Seytho-Dravidian and Mongoloid Dravidian types (excluding the Mongoloid tribes and castes of the North-Eastern borderland of Bengal) are akin to the Alpine race and probably originated in the Pamir region of Central Asia.

The creeds now popularly known as Hinduism, *viz.* Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism are of non-Vedic and some of them pre-Vedic origin.

The excavations at Harappa in the Panjab and at Mohenjo-daro in Sind by revealing the remains of a highly developed pre-Vedic civilization dating from the beginning of the third millennium B. C., confirmed the anticipations of Mr. Chanda. In 1929 he published *Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley* (as Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 41) wherein he endeavoured to show that in that remote age the pre-Vedic population of the Indus Valley practised Yoga and worshipped images in the pose of Yogi like the images of the Buddha and the Jinas. As pointed out by Sir John Marshall (*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. 54) seals discovered subsequently at Mohenjo-daro confirmed this hypothesis. Sir John Marshall has, with very good reasons, identified a four-head image engraved in a seal seated in the posture of *Yoga* as the prototype of Siva. The recent researches into the racial distribution of the blood groups, as pointed out by Dr. Hutton in his *Census of India, 1931 Report* (pp. 451-452), also indicate Alpine affinities of the population of the middle zone of India extending from Gujarat across the Deccan plateau to Bengal. Among the skeletal remains unearthed at Mohenjo-daro Colonel Sewell and Dr. B. S. Guha recognize a Mediterranean type forming the bulk of the population, a Mongoloid type, and Alpine type, and a Nishada type (called by them proto-Australoid and by others Vedddoid).



### *National Trades Union Federation*

The first session of the National Trades Union Federation, held at Bombay on December 24, 25 and 26, 1933, was presided over by Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose. In the course of his address, he referred to the reasons why the White Paper has given so little to Indian Labour.

No people get more than they deserve. If the White Paper has yielded us workers so little,—it is much less than what has been allowed to the bourgeoisie—we need not pretend to be surprised. This should make us search our hearts. Leaders of the working class movement have been few and the right type of workers fewer. What sacrifice we of the Labour Movement have made, compared to that of the followers of the Indian National Congress? I know the difficulties in the organization of Labour. The lack of education and the dire poverty of the workers are enough difficulties apart from the hostility of the employers and the want of leaders and workers. The followers of the Indian National Congress are the intelligentsia and many of the leaders and workers of the Congress are wealthy men. They can far more easily raise lacs of rupees for organization and propaganda, than we can a few hundreds. Making allowance for all this, we have to confess that we should have been able to do more. I have given most anxious thought for days and nights and for years on the matter. I am convinced that we have got to make a wider appeal for Union workers and make our platform wider than what it is.

Even the Whitley Commission have taken the labour unions to task for their lack of self-reliance. They say :

‘There is already a lack of self-reliance and a tendency to wait too much upon the employers’ attitude. No amount of encouragement from employers or of assistance from the State, can infuse life in the unions which have nothing vital in themselves ; true vigour can only come from within. In those countries where the movement is strong, it owes that strength mainly to its own efforts and perhaps more to the opposition it has confronted than to the support it has received from employers.’

Had the Whitley Commission been a body of Socialists, they could not speak with greater frankness and truth. It gives me great pain to say it but you all know that this is the bare truth, that our Unions have practically degenerated into petition-making bodies and activities of most of our so-called living Unions are confined to writing petitions for individual members dealing with their special and individual grievances.

He proceeds to ask, where to get more workers and the right type of workers? His answers is :

In my opinion, the workers must be found from the vast body of the educated unemployed. My communist comrades may sneer at me and ridicule the idea of getting the assistance of the bourgeoisie to fight for the proletariat. My daily duty brings me in touch with the type of the unemployed of whom I am speaking. Their poverty and misery have brought them down to the level of the proletariat. Within my limited experience, I have come across the finest materials among them quite fit to be soldiers and in time to be leaders of the proletarian movement. What many of them lack is not the temperamental equipment, but the power of initiative. The field for Labour organization is immense. It can support a considerable number of the unemployed if the latter can call into play the resourcefulness to organize unions and have the common honesty to render account of the funds collected by them.

It is the duty of the present leaders of the working class movement to find out and train workers for the movement. I quite agree with the observations of the Whitley Commission on the need of paid officials for the Unions, and the prospects of these officials in the way of emoluments. The Commission observe :

‘What is required is the paid official who has been an actual worker. He must be paid by the Union, since it is impossible to expect that heavy labour involved will be carried on for nothing ; the nexus of payment brings responsibility by making the officials dependent on the Union and its fortunes. We recognize that the present income of many Unions cannot meet such charges ; but the organizing official, if he is even moderately competent, will secure a substantial increase in that income. The few Unions which have such officials have found them profitable investments, and the expense must be faced if a Union is to acquire strength.’

If an ‘actual worker’ who has worked in the industry, is not forthcoming, a non-worker, educated, honest and with spirit of enterprise, must be found.

The speaker rightly condemned communal labour organizations. Said he :

The Labour movement had long been free from the virus of communalism. But we could not possibly expect immunity for all time in view of its pervading influence in the political field. We of the working class movement must do our utmost to shake the movement off this poison and to prevent its

further nroad. There are many ways of doing it, but one I wish to suggest to you. No person connected with the Labour movement should be a member of or countenance in any way the communal organizations, Hindu, Mahomedan or any other. The canker of communalism is a by-product of the scramble of the educated few for loaves and fishes.

### **"All-India Trade Union Congress" at Cawnpore**

It is much to be regretted that there is division in the camp of Indian Labour. Hence we find one organization meeting at Bombay and another at Cawnpore. Of the Cawnpore meeting, the following report has appeared in some dailies :

Cawnpore, Dec. 23.

The All-India Trade Union Congress commenced its session this evening in the Trade Union Congress pandal. That the trade union movement is rapidly gaining in strength in India was evident from the fact that a large number of delegates from the different trade unions all over India attended. After the Chairman, reception committee and the President had read their addresses, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered his speech.

Speaking as Chairman of the Reception Committee Pandit Surya Prasad Awasthi referred at the outset to the loss sustained by the working classes at the death of Pandit Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi whom he characterized as a valiant champion of the poor and the down-trodden.

He regretted the disunity among the rival camps of the Trade Union Associations today when the condition of the working class has become more precarious than it ever was. This disunity was responsible for the reduction of the wages and also retrenchment of the workers in large numbers.

Unfortunately, he said, at this critical hour the Indian working class was not able to present a united front to the capitalist and imperialist offensive. He thought that the condition of the workers can be improved only by strengthening their organization and not petitions and deputations.

The immediate task of the moment, he concluded, was the mobilization of the working classes to give a united front to all vested interests which was making their position from bad to worse.—United Press.

### **Rabindranath Tagore in Bombay**

*The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay writes in its issue of December 2, 1933 :

Rabindranath Tagore has been having a wonderful reception in Bombay. The public

has been moved by the sight of the venerable figure patiently sitting in front of the stage watching the audience as the enchanting world of light and colour and sound and rhythmic movement of his creation, unfolded itself before its enraptured vision. The Excelsior theatre has been crowded from floor to ceiling every day. It is pleasant to know that the Viswabharati's burden would be appreciably lightened by the success of the plays. The poet has been in great demand in other directions also. The students of Bombay have been able to persuade him amidst his incessant engagements to give them an address. The Exhibition of paintings in the Town Hall has called attention to the many-sided activities of the great international institution which the genius of the Poet has raised at Bolpur. About this time last year, Bombay was holding its breath in suspense awaiting the issue of Gandhiji's fast at Yeravda. It has had a veritable feast of the soul in the visions of beauty and the words of profound insight which the Poet has given us in this memorable week.

### **Visva-bharati Rural Reconstruction Work**

[Mr. Rabindra Mohan Datta, M. Sc., of Panihati has sent us the note printed below.]

Mr. Strickland, F. C. S., C. I. E., sometime Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Panjab, in a small book edited by him under the auspices of the Indian Village Welfare Association of England has spoken disparagingly of Rabindranath's attempt at rural reconstruction. Let us see whether he is justified in his remarks or not. We shall give some extracts from the latest official publication on the subject, *viz.*, Annual Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in Bengal for the year ending 30th June 1932.

First with regard to the training of Supervisors, the report says :

New recruits to the rank of Supervisors are given a practical training in their duties and are required to obtain a certificate of competency from the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society. For a variety of reasons, it was not possible for the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society to hold a training class during the year under report. But the annual training camp of the rural reconstruction workers was held by the Rural Reconstruction Department of the Viswabharati with the assistance of the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society. (Para. 9.)

The Government would not have selected Viswabharati as the training centre, if the

method of work there was not of the highest kind available in Bengal.

Secondly, with regard to the Rural Reconstruction Societies, the report says :

The number of these societies increased from 6 to 7. They generally worked well, the foremost among them being the societies organized by the Rural Reconstruction Department of the Visvabharati at Sriniketan. There are ten such societies organized by the Rural Reconstruction Department of the Visvabharati. Six of them are doing useful work, but they have been tabled under the head anti-malarial societies. The Ballabhpur Society has introduced spinning in their idle hours and has got a fly-shuttle handloom for weaving yarn spun in the village. It maintains a free night school. Besides the filling up of *dobas* and the clearing of drains it assists its members to take up kitchen gardening, while it trains the female members of the village in needle work, embroidery, tailoring, etc. The Bandgora Society also works on similar lines and has excavated a tank with a view to removing the scarcity of water in the village. Four other societies have through their Co-operative effort built a two-storied mud house worth Rs. 450 for the purpose of establishing a dispensary and a laboratory for research work on medical problems. The dispensary and the laboratory are now in charge of Mr. H. G. Timbers of the Societies of Friends. (Para. 58).

The Bengal Administration Report for 1931-32 speaks thus of the Poet's work at Visvabharati :

The number of these societies increased from 6 to 7. They generally worked well, the foremost among them being the societies organized by the rural reconstruction department of the Visvabharati at Sriniketan.

This is only one aspect of the Poet's work with regard to rural reconstruction. We wonder why Mr. Strickland was tempted to make such irresponsible remarks against the Poet. We would not have said anything but for the fact that the booklet is distributed free in some quarters.

### *Water Hyacinth Menace in Bengal*

Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta, B. L., writes to us from Panihati :

"The Government of Bengal sometime in 1921 or 1922 wasted some Rs. 30,000 in trying one Mr. Griffith's method of eradicating water-hyacinth by spraying. From time

to time sporadic efforts have been made by the Government to control the menace, but without any results. The life-history of the plant or the technical scientific side has been studied ; but unless it can be demonstrated to the poor cultivator that he can utilize it economically for his field, such purely scientific research is bound to remain barren. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has allotted money to Madras and Bihar, but never to Bengal, though the waterways of Bengal are highly infected with this water-hyacinth menace. We would draw the readers' attention to an article by Mr. P. K. Bose in the *Modern Review* for August, 1933. Will the Imperial Council allot some money to Bengal, or will the Government of Bengal press for some money for practical research as to how best to utilize it economically ?"

### *Steel Required for New Howrah Bridge*

A paragraph recently appeared in the papers informing the public that all the steel required for the construction of the new Howrah bridge would be purchased in India, *except* a certain quantity—and that is a large quantity—of steel of high tensility which was alleged to be unavailable in India. During our recent visit to Jamshedpur we inquired of the steel experts in Tatas' Works, with the extent and usefulness of which we were highly impressed, whether they could not or did not make steel of that particular description. We were told emphatically that the paragraph was quite misleading.

If large orders must be placed with the British iron and steel manufacturers, those who want to do so ought not to have recourse to misleading propaganda ; they should have the frankness to say that they desire to discriminate in favour of Britain and against India.

### *Reviews and Notices of Vernacular Books*

We are glad to inform our readers that, with effect from the present issue of *The Modern Review*, we resume the publication of reviews and notices of books in the principal vernaculars of India.

### *Governor of Bengal on the Terrorist Movement*

Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, said in the course of his speech at the St. Andrews' Day dinner in Calcutta :

There must be many people better qualified than I to give an accurate diagnosis, but most, I think, would agree that it originated in and to a large extent represents today an effort—a desperate effort—on the part of certain elements of the Hindu community to advance the interests of that community.

Whether they genuinely regard the interests of the community as identical with a wider national interest seems to me for this purpose immaterial in face of the significant fact that the movement is essentially a Hindu movement. That does not, of course, mean that the whole Hindu community should be stigmatized. Far from it : there are active terrorists relatively few in number : there are those who sympathize—unfortunately far more numerous, but the Government has every reason to recognize with gratitude the loyal and steadfast service and support given by a vast body of Hindus in public service outside.

Now, why should the movement make so strong an appeal to the limited section of the Hindu community to which I have referred ? It can only be because the general atmosphere is favourable to the propagation of subversive doctrine. And why should this be ? Opinions may differ on the point ; but I, personally, think that part, certainly, of the reason is to be found in the gloomy tinge that the outlook, both political and economic, is apt to assume for the Hindu intelligentsia—the educated middle class, the *bhadralog* youth. I can understand that to some extent at least.

So far, however, as the political outlook is concerned, I would venture to say this. With the development of democratic institutions, in which they avow their faith, the Hindu could not hope as a minority community in Bengal, to maintain intact the privileged position which in the past they have undoubtedly enjoyed under British rule. They gird at the communal award : that is a subject I am debarred from discussing. The award stands, as everyone knows, unless it is either rejected by Parliament or modified by agreement. But one thing can be said with confidence : under the new constitutional arrangements the Hindus will not and cannot be deprived of the opportunity of taking their part and pulling their weight in the public affairs of the country, except in so far as they themselves may spurn that offer. In my judgment, therefore, their

political outlook is not nearly as black as it is sometimes painted.

So, in Sir John Anderson's opinion terrorism is essentially a Hindu and a Bengali movement. But this diagnosis is not correct.

We are not sure what he means by calling it "essentially a Hindu movement." *Ahimsa* (not-killing, non-violence) and toleration are the highest ideals of the Hindu religion and culture. Of course, texts can be quoted from Hindu scriptures in support of war and the use of force, and Hindus have fought and used force as a matter of fact. But these are not characteristic of them and their culture exclusively or to a greater extent than of other religious communities and their culture.

The use of poison gas in war was introduced by the Christian nations of the West. Perhaps its use is still confined to these Christian peoples, for Japan or China or Turkey is not known to have used it in warfare. Even if they have, most of those who have hitherto used it are their discoverers, the Christian peoples. Bombing non-combatant civilian populations from aeroplanes is a similar device discovered originally and for the most part made use of by Christian peoples. Would any one, therefore, be justified in calling these methods of warfare "essentially" Christian methods ? Certainly not.

If by calling the terrorist movement "essentially Hindu"—he does not call it wholly or exclusively Hindu, probably because he knows that there have been and are non-Hindu terrorists also,—Sir John means that Hindu terrorists form the majority of the terrorist party, he is correct. But there is nothing especially noteworthy in that fact. Hindus form the majority of the population of India and of its educated section. Even in the provinces of Bengal as at present constituted, the minority community of Hindus contains the majority of educated persons. So, it is the Hindus who respond more quickly and to a greater extent to external influences of various descriptions than the next largest community in India, *viz.*, the Muslims, who went in for Western education later. For this reason, the Congress and other non-violent movements, which follow Western methods, are also essentially Hindu movements in the sense that the majority of their workers and adherents are

Hindus. Just as non-violent Indian movements have adopted Western methods, so the terrorist movement, which is violent, owes its inception to European ideas and has adopted European methods. As in the case of non-violent movements, so in that of the violent terrorist movement, the majority of workers and adherents are Hindus. There is nothing surprising in that fact.

But even if all terrorists were or are Hindus, an adequate explanation of that fact should strike all political thinkers acquainted with facts as they are in India. Of course, whether our supposition is correct or not, only the leaders of the terrorists, whom we do not know, can say. Let us state what our supposition is. Terrorists are liable to the extreme penalty of the law. Hence it is reasonable to assume that they would admit to their ranks only such persons as they consider worthy of their entire confidence and as are prepared to face death and would not betray them. The evidence produced in many conspiracy and other similar cases has shown that the object of the terrorists is to establish an independent Indian republic owing not even the shadow of allegiance to the British Empire. Hence they would naturally refuse to seek recruits from the ranks of all who are loyal to the British Government, all who are loyalists, all who want only Dominion Status, and all who want the substance of independence within the British Empire. It is perhaps for this reason that Moderates or Indian National Liberal Federationists, Muslim Leaguers and other Musalman communalist loyalists, Dominion-status-seekers and substance-of-independence-seekers have not been found among convicted terrorists or suspected terrorists. There is a particular reason for including Muslims of some descriptions in the list of parties mentioned in the foregoing sentence. The British Government has bestowed the highest praise for loyalty on the Muslim community and the leaders of that community have also declared their loyalty more often and more emphatically than the leaders of any other community.

Sir John Anderson seems to think that the terrorist movement is confined to Bengal, originated in Bengal, and is born of Bengali Hindu despair due to quite recent political

events, possibilities, and proposals such, for instance, as those contained in the White Paper. But the facts are quite different. Terrorism did not originate in Bengal, and it was not and is not confined to Bengal—though Bengali terrorists appear to have undergone more training and acquired more experience. Owing to more persistent and longer disturbed conditions and repression in Bengal than elsewhere, terrorism has been longer and more prominently in evidence in Bengal than elsewhere.

Having been in India for a comparatively brief period, Sir John Anderson does not know, but his advisers ought to have told him, that terrorism appeared in India and Bengal before the publication of the White Paper proposals, before the sessions of the Pseudo-Round Table Conference, before the peregrinations of the Simon Commission, before the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, nay, before even the Morley-Minto reforms, when the gloomy outlook for Bengali Hindus foreshadowed in the White Paper scheme was non-existent. The terrorist movement is not a child of Sir John Anderson's regime, not of the present lustrum, nor even of the present decade. It is a Frankenstein of the British period of Indian history older than the present generation of youthful Indian political suspects. Therefore, it did *not* originate in, nor does it at all represent "an effort on the part of certain elements of the Hindu community to advance the interests of that community." Sir John's diagnosis is utterly wrong.

The terrorists kill Hindus and non-Hindus alike. So far as Indians are concerned, they have killed more Hindus than non-Hindus. And so far as we are aware or can recollect, almost all, if not all, the non-official householders whom they have robbed, wounded, maimed or killed, are Hindus—though there are in existence well-to-do and rich non-Hindus also. Is that even the criminals' way to advance the interests of the Hindu community? A queer way indeed!

The terrorists may be the very incarnations of Satan. But Satan was not a fool, nor are the terrorists fools. They, like the rest of their countrymen who are non-violent, find that the Muslims are being given a really "privileged position" by the British

Government, because they declare their loyalty and do not join the ranks of the agitators in considerable numbers. If the terrorists wanted to preserve for the Bengali Hindu community its so-called "privileged position," they should have become loud loyalists instead of being detested terrorists.

Sir John Anderson obviously had serious doubts regarding the correctness of his diagnosis that the terrorist movement was a Hindu communal movement for the promotion of Hindu interests alone; for he indirectly suggests the question "whether they [the terrorists] genuinely regard the interests of the [Hindu] community as identical with a wider national interest," but refuses to discuss it on the question-begging plea that it seems immaterial because "the movement is essentially a Hindu movement." But to prove that the movement is essentially a Hindu movement, it would be necessary to prove (1) that it has its roots deep in Hindu religion, culture and character, and specially in them, which is not true, (2) that all terrorists past and present have been and are Hindus, which is not true, (3) that terrorists have robbed, wounded, maimed or killed only, or at least mostly, non-Hindu officials and non-officials, which is not true, and (4) that the confessions, and secret correspondence and other documents of terrorists seized up to date filed as exhibits in cases tried in law-courts, have shown that they are a Hindu communalist organization for the attainment of communal objects, which is not a fact.

In Morley's *Recollections* there are a good many references to terrorism and terrorists, but none which lends the least support to Sir John's diagnosis. There are similar references in Buchan's *Lord Minto*, but none which Sir John can quote for his purpose. He cannot find anything in Sir Valentine Chirol's writings to support his conclusions. Dr. Zacharias's recent book on *Renascent India* mentions and describes terrorism in at least fifteen different places, but no passage in it would serve to keep Sir John's diagnosis in countenance. The Government of India's publication *India in 1931-32*, published a few weeks ago, devotes about nine pages in three different parts of the book to an account of

terrorism, and the Government of Bengal's *Report on the Administration of Bengal 1931-32*, received about a month ago, devotes about 8 pages in two different parts, to an account of terrorism and the measures taken to eradicate it. But those official publications also leave the Bengal Governor's assumptions severely alone.

So he can certainly claim originality.

He calls the Hindus' position in Bengal a "privileged position." But the position which the Hindus have acquired was not the gift of the British Government or of anybody else. They acquired it by their ability and industry. Hence to speak of it as a privileged position is misleading. Government is giving the Muslims a privileged position, no doubt.

His Excellency appears to have a peculiar idea of democratic institutions. Democratic institutions exist in his own country. Is there any division of seats in Parliament there according to religious communities? Has any deliberate effort been made there to pull down any class or community by statute from the position which they have acquired by their education, ability, and public spirit to a position of inferiority and impotence? Is there any law in Great Britain which prevents a minority community from winning any number of seats in Parliament which they can by their ability and public spirit? Is there any law which compels a minority community or class there to be content with less seats in Parliament than even its numbers would entitle it to, even though it were the best educated, the ablest and the most public-spirited, and contributed by far the largest portion of the revenue to the public treasury?

His Excellency has avoided discussing the so-called communal "award." But, if he could have defended it, we are sure he would have done so. For, no law or rule or convention stands in the way of an officer of the British Government supporting and applauding its policy and proposals. Let that pass, however.

Sir John Anderson says, "the Hindus will not and cannot be deprived of the opportunity of taking their part and pulling their weight in the public affairs of the country, . . ." So far as non-official public affairs of the country are concerned, this is true. Perhaps, when the new constitution begins to operate, the

Hindus will have to be more active than ever, in order to establish a constitution of a far different kind. But so far as those public affairs are concerned which are in any way controlled by Government, the White Paper proposals have seen to it that the Hindus may not pull their weight. Those proposals or some arrangements worse than those which they foreshadow, are likely to come into effect. Let us assume, however, that nothing worse than the White Paper Scheme is in store for us. Now, many things are meant by "weight," such as numerical strength, character, intelligence, education, ability, public spirit, enterprise, wealth, etc. The Hindus have not been given even the number of seats which even their numbers would entitle them to. Whatever character, intelligence, public spirit, taxability, etc., they may develop, these will not help them in a legislature in which they are to be in a hopeless inexpandible and fixed minority. How, then, can they pull their weight?

So far as the Hindus' political outlook depends on the sense of justice of the present human rulers of India, it is black, though it may not be "nearly as black as it is sometimes painted," whatever that may mean. But so far as their future is in their own hands, it need not be black. It may be very bright, if they are men.

Many British politicians have tried to make the world believe that, not to speak of other non-communal and non-violent organizations, even the greatest of Indian non-violent non-communal political organizations, the Congress, is a Hindu organization for attaining Hindu objects. These British politicians seem to hold the opinion that in India men can work only for the selfish ends of the community in which they were born: a Hindu cannot work for the welfare of non-Hindus, a Muslim cannot work for the welfare of non-Muslims, and so on. It is only Englishmen who can work here for Indians, who are not their kith and kin. Hence, if in the opinion of numerous high-placed Englishmen even the greatest Indian Congress leaders, enjoying the respect of Indians and non-British non-Indians, are not to be credited with having laboured for national welfare but only for selfish communal

interests, no wonder that Sir John Anderson should believe that terrorists, who have no reputation, no fame, no name, and who are condemned by all their articulate countrymen and foreigners in India, can work to promote the supposed interests of only a particular community. But we are unable to understand how their acts and methods can advance the communal interests of that particular community.

### *Dr. B. C. Roy's Presidential Address*

In his presidential address at the 26th annual conference of the All-India Medical Licentiate's Association held last month at Bombay, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy stated that the status of Medical Licentiate's had remained what it was a century ago and referred to the supercilious attitude of the European members of the I. M. S. towards Indian medical practitioners. He formulated a plan for establishing a single brotherhood of medical men and for a uniform standard of education. In his opinion the India Medical Council Act contained an unsatisfactory scheme of reciprocity. He dealt with the vital question of the supply and manufacture of drugs in India and dwelt upon the need of encouraging the industry under the control of trained medical men and not of capitalists. He also pointed out that there ought to be an adequate supply of properly trained and equipped pharmacists, compounders, nurses and midwives. He concluded by calling attention to the financial distress of the medical profession and suggesting remedies. Said he:

While the Association rightly concerns itself with various problems which are of interest to the profession, nothing can concern its members more intimately than the provision of their bread and butter. On account of the present financial depression this problem has become more serious. The people cannot pay for professional services and a large number of them now resort to Charitable Institutions for advice and treatment. I am intimately associated with one such Institution in Calcutta, the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan and I admit that the demands made upon it leave no room for doubt that even making allowances for those who are able to pay and yet resort to hospital, there are yet an increasing number who come there because they find it difficult

to pay for treatment at home. These institutions, I am afraid, will in future go on multiplying and I have no doubt that they will surely affect the income from private practice. What are we to do then? Are we to discourage this tendency to make such charitable endowments? Shall we refuse to work in these institutions, particularly when most of them demand from us honorary services? Self-interest will give an affirmative answer to both questions. We are however proud to belong to a profession, which is not only dubbed "noble" but which is founded on self-restraint and self-abnegation. It is the medical man who discovers methods of preventing diseases, it is the medical man who lays down the laws of healthy living. And in doing so, he sacrifices his own income. And yet he has to live, he has to meet the ordinary demands of life.

He proceeded to state what is done in the West and suggested what may be done in India.

In the West, Panel system, Club system, have been introduced to meet this difficulty. In some States of America, every medical man is paid from the State and they treat patients free. In England Municipal Corporations in urban areas and the County Councils in rural areas have established dispensaries on co-operative system. It is difficult to say which plan will suit us best. I feel strongly that our hospitals, while making ample provisions for the poor, should charge those who are able to pay, on a graded scale. Such payments are to be demanded not on the basis of additional comforts provided to them but on their capacity to pay. Out of such proceeds a certain proportion may be paid to the doctors, the amount received by each individual will depend on his ability to attract patients for treatment and reduce the general incidence of taxation. I think it is prudent to take a middle course and have a certain number of free beds and the rest paying.

### *"Sympathy with Terrorists"*

Mr. S. C. Mitra, M. L. A., occasionally asks questions relating to prisoners in the Andamans, detenues at Deoli, detenues in the Mianwali Jail, etc. One day, Sir Harry Haig, the Home Member, when answering one of such questions last month, took exception to so many questions being asked relating to the details of the health of detenues. His view was that "the continued publication of these allegations conveyed a mischievous effect in

Bengal, as it served to keep alive sympathy with the terrorists as individuals and in that way stimulated some sympathy with the movement with which they were connected."

The detenues have not been found guilty after any kind of trial—they have had no trial at all. They have been deprived of their liberty on mere suspicion. It cannot be said that, though there is convincing proof of the guilt of these suspects, they cannot be brought to trial because of the risk which witnesses must run; for persons accused of political murder or attempted murder, of conspiracy, of possession of bombs, and similar offences, are being frequently tried without any witnesses being threatened or murdered. Hence, the very fact that the detenues have not been brought to trial is proof presumptive of their innocence, in the opinion of the public. Therefore, when Sir Harry Haig calls them terrorists, he simply begs the question. Moreover, even convicted murderers are entitled to humane treatment, and if there be any suspicion in the public mind that they are not getting such treatment, it is the duty of the members of councils to ask questions relating to their treatment. As there is a suspicion in the public mind about the treatment received by detenues, who are not convicted prisoners, and as they appear to be subjected to greater restrictions as to interviews and correspondence than criminals imprisoned after regular trial, there is every justification for asking questions about their health, etc. Such men cannot be treated by the public as if dead and gone and buried in oblivion.

Even in the case of convicted criminals, if there be suspicion that they are not treated as they ought to be, sympathy with them as ill-treated persons is not necessarily sympathy with their crime.

If Government want to put a stop to questions relating to detenues, the Indian constitution should be so changed as to put an end to terrorism. And then there will be neither real terrorists, nor persons deprived of freedom on the suspicion of their being terrorists.

### *"Devaluation" of the Rupee*

The question whether the Rupee should bear an official relation with the pound sterling



as measured by Re. 1 : sh 1-6d or Re. 1 : sh 1-4d has raised a tremendous controversy all over India. People of every shade of opinion and every grade of scholarship and learning have joined in it and added to the general misunderstanding of this complex subject. It is, of course, now a *fait accompli*, on account of the verdict of the Legislative Assembly, that the Rupee is to be officially equal to sh 1-6 ; and one might think it waste of labour to expatiate on the Rupee-sterling ratio at the present moment. Still, as Indian Finance is fickle as a deltaic river, in that it changes its course often and suddenly, it may not be entirely idle to try to understand its possibilities for future reference. Greater minds than ours have, no doubt, tried to throw clear light on the subject ; but owing to their having thought *unlike*, the man in the street has been more confused than enlightened by the controversy. So that there is still room for the lesser men to attempt to make it less abstruse to the general public.

The word devaluation has been used in this connection by all the participants in the debate. This would have been correct if the Rupee really had any fixed gold value ; for the pound-sterling itself having lost connection with gold has no fixed value and the Rupee being merely an artificial attachment of the pound-sterling is equally non-valuable. Most of the currencies of the world these days adjust their values according to the exigencies of international or internal trade. Thus when any country wishes to increase exports, its currency is manipulated to assume a lower international value. Example Japan. When again, a country wishes to increase internal prices, it inflates its currency as a means to stimulate internal trade. Example the United States of America. When, on the other hand, a country (or its rulers), wish to force up the purchasing power of its currency artificially it contracts the issue of paper-money, thus creating a shortage and a fall in the general price level. Example India and its 1 sh 6d. Rupee, which cut both ways, because the English buyers of the Rupee gained more than what they lost by being able to buy more raw materials in India than with one Rupee than they could buy before that with eighteen annas. So that increasing or lowering the

international or internal value or purchasing power of a currency in these days has no sentimental meaning, any more than free trade and protection have. What should concern practical minds is whether by a certain measure of increase or decrease in the international or internal purchasing power of a currency a nation is going to gain or lose general prosperity and to what extent. Attempts at calculating the *real value* of a currency by means of worthless index numbers appear to us only ridiculous, although such attempts have an appearance of learning. "Quis accurate loquitur nisi qui vult putide loqui ?" (Seneca). If the Rupee had been fixed to the pound-sterling at a ratio of sh 1-4d. it would have very likely increased our exports to the degree, more or less, as it would increase if our exportable commodities were just now sold at a price about 10 to 12 per cent below present prices. If along with this "devaluation" in the worlds market, the Government had also done a little inflation as would have become necessary to help the increased commerce, the internal trade would also have gained a little strength owing to the tendency to increasing prices, as this measure would have no doubt brought about. This "devaluation" would also have reduced our foreign imports and helped Swadeshi manufacturers and would have created a strong balance of trade in our favour. As all interested people know, the tremendous export of gold from India was very largely due to the attempt of the Government to keep up the 1 sh-6d. ratio. The Government of India were very keen on keeping up this ratio as a 1 sh-4d. Rupee would have cut down English exports to India substantially. As a matter of fact all the arguments in favour of the 1 sh-4d. Rupee could be easily found in the governmental attitude. What the foreign traders desire strongly has been usually found to be our bane.

Arguments against having a 1 sh 4d. Rupee are not wanting. The most forceful one to many, and many a word of selfless wisdom has

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\* "For who studies to speak too accurately, that does not at the same time design to perplex his auditory ?"

been uttered under its stimulus, is that it would increase the price of foreign imports. It would, for instance, increase the cost of all projected industrial plants, of imported paper, textiles, yarn for cloth or hosiery, metals, alloys etc. If there is loss of imports there is loss in Customs revenues and the burden of balancing the budget would rest elsewhere. It would make it easier for foreign capital to creep into India. But against these it may be said that such increased prices will help the growth of the Indian machine making industry and other industries although it may inconvenience temporarily some Swadeshi industrialists who depend largely upon foreign plant and imported raw, and half-manufactured materials and, often, on foreign ingredients which they merely mix or just pack up for sale.

Then again in the case of loss of revenue the demand for raising more money out of the country directly will arise. But every intelligent person understands that these indirect taxes are ultimately paid by the buyers of foreign goods. If they do not any more buy these goods, a surplus of unspent wealth will be left with the people and they will be better off to pay further taxes. If a group of Swadeshi manufacturers grow up to replace the imports, they will also pay taxes. In any case no country should be worse off to pay taxes because they do not spend on foreign goods. The question of Home charges is also important. We shall have to spend more in Rupees to meet these charges. Will this mean so much loss as would counterbalance all our gains? We do not think so. Lastly if foreign capital flows our way we should protect our interests in other ways than by refusing it admission.

The ideal currency for India should be independent of all artificial links. If we could have a Gold Standard (assuming that the other great trading nations will also get back to the Gold Standard sooner or later) that would be the best. If on the other hand we have a managed currency, we should manage it for our own benefit and not for that of any other country. Now that the 1s. 6d. Rupee has obtained a fresh lease of life, we should consider these matters seriously. For who

knows how soon England will find it profitable to change the value of the Rupee?

A. C.

### *British Trade in Arms and Ammunition*

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, took exception in a speech of his in the House of Commons to a statement made by Mr. George Lansbury to the effect that England supplied about one-third of the total world export trade in arms. But the *American Foreign Policy Reports*, dated August 16, 1933, gives the following table compiled from the League of Nations Statistical Year-Book covering the trade of 59 countries and 49 colonies.

The distribution of world trade in arms among these countries is shown in the following table:

	Per cent of total exports in 1930
Great Britain	30.8
France	12.9
United States	11.7
Czechoslovakia	9.6
Sweden	7.8
Italy	6.8
The Netherlands	5.4
Belgium	4.4
Denmark	1.9
Japan	1.9

It will be noted that 55 per cent of the total world exports in 1930 came from three countries—Great Britain, France and the United States. The private arms industries of these three countries, moreover, have been the source of approximately 75 per cent—more than \$459,000,000—of all the war materials exported since 1920.

### *President Roosevelt Wants Criticism of His Programme*

President Roosevelt *perhaps* possesses as much power and intelligence as our Anglo-Indian (old style) bureaucrats. But he does not consider himself or his government infallible. His national industrial recovery programme having been enthusiastically welcomed in his country he, addressing some journalists who visited White House, said that "he was dumb-founded by the almost unanimous support given to his programme

by the American press." He went on to ask :

Where is your criticism? You know the Government can make mistakes, and this programme is too vast an undertaking for any one man or set of men to be sure of. We are certain to make blunders. I rely on you newspaper men to check us. If you see us going wrong, for goodness sake, sing out about it. There is no kindness in flattering a wrong cause. I want your criticism as well as your support. It is the best kind of backing, and the only request I make is that you be prompt about it.

### *Reviews and Notices of Vernacular Books*

We are glad to be able to state that, with the help of our friends, we have resumed the publication of reviews and notices of books in the principal vernaculars of India with effect from the present issue. Authors and publishers will kindly bear in mind that we do not notice periodicals, pamphlets, booklets, reprints of magazine articles, school-books, and the like, nor can we guarantee that every book sent to us will be reviewed.

### *The Muhammadan Uprising in Chinese Turkistan*

Indian readers of newspapers have not forgotten the news relating to the Muhammadan rebellion in Chinese Turkistan which appeared sometime ago in the dailies sporadically. It was felt that China was being weakened on the one hand by Japan and on the other by this uprising. And Hindu India was much agitated by the news of the rebels' attack on Hindu merchants. According to a paragraph in an article in the last October number of *Current History* of America there has been 'peaceful' penetration in China on the part of France, too. Mr. Wilbar Burton, the author of the article, writes :

Yunnan, according to authoritative sources, has become virtually a part of French Indo-China. The British-trained army of Tibet has been encroaching on Szechuan for the past eighteen months. A recent Mahomedan uprising in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkistan) which, according to Chinese and Soviet accounts, was financed and directed by the British, has set

up an allegedly autonomous government there with the apparent resulting loss of the territory to China."

It is the duty of the British Government to contradict the statement contained in the last few lines quoted above.

### *Reciprocity and Retaliation*

According to Sir Samuel Hoare's memorandum no British subject, whether British by birth or otherwise, should be disabled from holding offices or practising any trade, profession or calling in British India only by reason of his religion, descent, caste, colour or place of birth, and that this principle would be applicable in the case of all British subjects including those of the British Dominions. Indian settlers in South Africa are practically treated as pariahs, do not enjoy the same civic status as the Whites and are subjected to many galling restrictions and disabilities. But India must not discriminate against the South African Whites in the same way, because Queen Victoria's Proclamation gave British subjects equal rights! But this Proclamation gave assurances to Indians in India, not to South African Whites in South Africa. In fact, most Whites in South Africa had not become British subject in 1858, when the Proclamation was issued. Many solemn pledges given to Indians, including those contained in the Proclamation, are treated as mere scraps of paper, or, at the best, as "declarations of intention;" but an assurance wrongly assumed to have been given to South African Whites, for example, when they had not become British subjects, must be respected. Of course, this is very unjust and galling to self-respect of Indians. But who cares for the self-respect of people who are not free, or, rather, who is bound to assume that such people have any self-respect?

Another matter in which India may be deprived of the right to insist on reciprocity relates to British medical men practising in India and Indian medical men practising in Great Britain. When the Legislative Assembly voted for the passage of the India Medical Council Bill, in the form in which it came out of the hands of the Select Committee, it was on the understanding that the provisions of the Bill relating to the right of retaliation

and other important rights would not be tampered with by the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee or other authorities who would draft the Indian Constitution Bill. But from an answer given by Mr. Bajpai to a question in the Assembly it appears that the Joint Select Committee would be free to do what they thought proper !

### *Indianization in the Army*

So *Indianization in the Indian Army* is only an experiment ! There is much grim, though unintended, humour in the letters i n d i a n in the expressions Indianization and Indian army.

Sir Philip Chetwode, addressing the Indian Military Academy cadets, has said :

We have had only a year in which to judge your progress, but from what I hear and what I see I feel confident that I may tell His Excellency the Viceroy and his Government that the experiment is justifying itself.

Experiment indeed ! As if in the long history of India, there were never any Indian military leaders of consummate ability !

### *"British Troops the Cement of India"*

Recently Major-General Sir Alfred Knox delivered a lecture on "British troops the Cement of India" at a gathering of Conservatives at Manchester. Said he ;

If you take that cement away, then India will dissolve into warring atoms.

During India's long past history, there have not been more internecine warfare than such warfare during the same period in Europe, which, *minus* Russia, is equal to India. But, though there are no foreign armies of occupation in European countries, they have not dissolved into warring atoms in modern times. There is, therefore, no reason *why in modern times* India should dissolve into warring atoms in the absence of a foreign army of occupation. Besides, when during the last great war there were only 15,000 white soldiers in India, the country neither dissolved into warring atoms nor showed a tendency to do so.

### *The Late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel's Bequest*

It was quite characteristic of the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel that he should have left more than a lakh of rupees for political work for India, particularly with reference to publicity work intended to place India's case before the civilized world outside India.

### *Kausambi*

It is a welcome piece of news that Mr. Brijnarain Vyas, the cultured, energetic and public-spirited Executive Officer of the Allahabad Municipality has moved the Archaeological Department to excavate the ruins of Kausambi, which was in Buddhist times a great capital city.

### *Allahabad*

*The Statesman* has published the open secret that the piecemeal removal of the capital of the U. P. from Allahabad is intended as a punishment for the political sins of that city.

### *The Award of the Capitation Charges Tribunal*

Though the Capitation Charges Tribunal derives its name from only one of the questions referred to it, its decision covers the whole field of the financial relations between the India Government and the War Office, London. The terms of reference of this Tribunal covered four main points :

- (a) Whether, and if so, on what basis, capitation payments should continue, namely, the contribution paid from Indian revenues towards the expenses borne by the War Office and the Air Ministry in recruiting officers, soldiers and airmen in England and training them for service in India ;
- (b) India's claim that a contribution should be made from Imperial revenues towards military expenditure from Indian revenues ;
- (c) The claim of the War Office and the Air Ministry that India should pay a direct contribution towards the cost of the Imperial reserves ; and

(d) Whether the sea transport contribution paid by the War Office to India should be continued.

On these heads of military expenditure in dispute between the Government of India and the War Office, the decisions of the Tribunal as accepted by the respective Governments are as follows :

(a) The capitation charges in respect of the Army is reduced by £200,000 and the same charges are increased by £93,000 in respect of the Air forces, the net reduction in favour of India being thus £107,000 per annum.

(b) The Imperial contribution to Indian defence expenditure is fixed at £1,500,000. This sum would, however, include £130,000 representing the sea transport costs. The net gain in favour of India in respect of defence expenditure will thus be £1,370,000 a year.

(c) India will not have to pay any contribution towards the maintenance of Imperial reserves.

(d) The War Office will have to pay the sea transport cost, but the contribution will be included in the general contribution of the British Government towards Indian defence expenditure.

It will thus be seen that financially, the India Government has gained more or less on all the points, and the total gain in India's favour has been calculated to be £1,417,000 per annum, the Imperial contribution to Indian defence alone relieving the Indian tax-payer of the cost of about ten British battalions. This will no doubt mean some relief to the Finance Department, but whether the Indian tax-payer will also be benefited depends upon the use that will be made of the saving effected. Will there be a reduction of approximately two crores in taxation? Will the sum be utilized for fostering education and the industries of the country? Or will the sum be appropriated to the salaries of the Police and the Civil Service?

Descending now from the general to the particular, one finds that the decisions of the Capitation Tribunal and of His Majesty's Government raise important questions of principle. Of these we shall take up only the question of the so-called capitation charges here. For more than a hundred years India has been paying the War Office a regular annual contribution for raising and training in England the British soldiers and officers

required in India. The argument is that since India is incapable of defending herself and since Great Britain has to supply her with a contingent of British troops for that purpose, India should not only pay for the British troops while they are stationed in India, but also contribute towards the expense of recruiting and training these soldiers in England. Before the war and for some years after it this contribution was paid at an annual *per capita* rate. But in 1926 a provisional settlement was arrived at by which the contribution was fixed at a lump sum of £1,400,000 for the army alone. The fairness of the amount was, however, contested by the India Government, and as a result a tribunal was appointed last year to arbitrate between the War Office and the India Government.

Now, Indian opinion has always objected to this contribution as unfair and burdensome, and its stand on this question has always been clear and consistent. In contradistinction to the Government of India, it has opposed not only the rate of the charge but the charge itself. It has rightly taken up the stand that since the British garrison in India is needed to uphold British Imperial interests, the talk of any service being rendered to India is more or less disingenuous. The question at issue then is the principle of the capitation charges and not simply their rate. This point should be stressed as seriously as possible, because there is just a chance that the immediate gain of something like two crores of rupees would make us overlook the implications of the position into which we are being led.

It cannot be doubted that by making a concession in the rate the British Government aims to place the capitation charges on a firm juridical basis. As the Prime Minister said in announcing the Government's decision in the House of Commons: "This involves the acceptance by the Government of India of capitation charges calculated in accordance with the Tribunal's suggestion as legitimate charges on Indian revenues." If this be a correct estimate of the position with regard to the capitation charges, then one should say that India has yielded on a fundamental principle in return for a negligible gain in pounds, shillings and pence.

### *The Reichstag Fire : An Example of Nazi Methods*

The belated trial in connexion with the Reichstag fire has just concluded. At the time of writing these lines the text of the judgment is not available in this country. But whatever the contents of that document, it must be admitted fairly generally, that the German Supreme Court has to some extent maintained its reputation by acquitting Herr Torgler, formerly leader of the Communists in the Reichstag, and the Bulgarian Communists, Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff. We say 'to some extent' only, because if the Court possessed the necessary courage and impartiality, it would not have condemned the half-witted twenty-four-year-old Dutch workman Marinus Van der Lubbe (who, of course, admitted the crime) without demanding that before it did so the other accused (*e. g.*, Goering and his Nazi associates) responsible for the fire be brought before it to stand their trial. But the Court, after all, derives its authority from the Nazi State ; and, naturally, it could not go so far without making itself liable for a 'term' in a concentration camp. Perhaps that is why though the Court sentenced to death the Dutch tramp for high treason in conjunction with an act of insurrectionary incendiarism and acquitted his alleged accomplices in the crime, it has not passed an opinion as to who the other culprits may have been in view of the decisive facts (i) that Van der Lubbe was closely in touch with the Nazis for some time before the fire and actually spent the whole of 27th February in the company of some Nazis, and (ii) that the fire could not have been brought about by one man.

Van der Lubbe, if at all guilty (his conduct during the trial was suspicious), was no more than an instrument of the Nazi party, whose ends the fire most admirably served. The acquittal of Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff, and Taneff takes the bottom out of the Nazi case, whatever the story of the planned Communist insurrection was worth (as, indeed, informed opinion was from the very first inclined to discount it). The Court has only repeated the verdict passed by the International Legal Commission of Inquiry which published its findings even

before the official trial began at Leipzig. The coincidence of the International Commission's and the Supreme Court's opinions lends additional interest to what the former had to say, and to all that which supports the Commission's views on the political aspect of the whole affair. The Nazi Government described the International Commission as a body deliberately set up to discredit the Nazis in the eyes of the world. But now that its own court has pronounced opinion not very dissimilar to that of the Commission's as regards the guilt of all the accused except Van der Lubbe it would be interesting to hear what the Nazis have to say in their own defence. The Leipzig judgment makes it imperative that the search for real culprits be made in other directions than the one indicated by the prosecuting indictment of the prisoners. In fact, very material facts came to light even before the commencement of the trial : the trial was merely an eye-wash but as to how far it has succeeded in bluffing political opinion all over the world we entertain grave doubts.

The Reichstag fire was too sensational an episode to be soon forgotten, and the public of all countries will doubtless form some opinion of it, if it has not yet. That being so, it is much to be desired that such an opinion should be framed in the light of certain facts which might be given too little consideration.

In the short space possible to devote here it would be best to state some bare facts only. These are : (i) Such an act of incendiarism on the part of the Communist party would surely have been suicidal to their prospects in the elections of March 5 which were close at hand, as, indeed, a vast section of the electorate succumbed to the Communist scare got up by the Nazis. (ii) Herr Torgler himself predicted such an incident during the fifth session of the Prussian State Council on Feb. 23, 1933. The Communists were warned by the Reichswehr previously that some big "provocation" was planned. And because Torgler was so straightforward as to give out his knowledge before the Prussian State Council on Feb. 23, that day's proceedings were withheld from members. (iii) Though the Government declared that they had discovered plans

for a Communist uprising on the night of Feb. 27-28 the Reichstag building was left sparsely guarded. (iv) The fire was very extensively organized—it was set on from various points with a great deal of fire-raising material. In fact the fire-brigade chief, who got the fire under, testified that “in parts of the Reichstag building which were not destroyed there were great masses of unused incendiary material lying about . . . material which would have completely filled a lorry.” Many men, therefore, must have been employed. How did they get in? And how did they get out? And how was the incendiary material introduced?

The building stands on a detached area. It is strongly watched on every side day and night. No one but a member is admitted and that through an elaborate system of permits and shepherding. How could an incendiary gang get in with over a lorry-load of material in the short space of one-and-half hours which elapsed between the closing of the building and the discovery of the fire? There was one easy way, and no other thinkable one. The building is connected by a subterranean passage with the house of the Reichstag President, who is none else than Goering himself. Obviously, then, this is the only feasible clandestine approach that an early official statement suggested that the Communists “may have been able to escape through.” But seeing that it only led to a hostile fortress garrisoned by 30 storm-troopers, this absurd suggestion was dropped. Thus the people who profitted most by the act were also the people who had any power to do it in the way it was done.

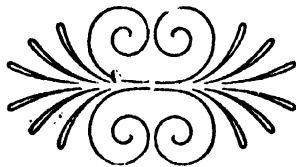
There are numerous other considerations, for example, the Oberfohren Memorandum that originated inside the Cabinet itself, but it is not possible to touch upon them here for want

of space. But one consideration is important: is it really possible that Goering and Van der Lubbe had part in the fire? What sort of character do these men possess? Eight years ago (we are informed in *The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror*) Goering was confined in a lunatic asylum in Sweden, and six months later he was certified by a doctor to be a morphia addict. Facsimiles of documents are given to prove both facts. As for Van der Lubbe, there is no evidence that he had any connexion with any Communist movement after 1931 when he left the Dutch Communist party of which he had been a member for some time. There is evidence according to the Commission that he developed hostility to “all forms of working-class organizations,” and that he even supported Fascist doctrines. From 1927 to 1933 he lived “in a milieu of more or less anarchistic elements and of homo-sexuals.”

The Reichstag fire will in any case go down to history as the one single event that more than any other put the Hitlerites in power.

### *The Eighth Session of the All-India Women's Conference*

The All-India Women's Conference which is a standing organization working throughout the year for the social, political, educational and economic uplift of the women of India is holding a very successful eighth session in Calcutta. Lady Abdul Qadir of Lahore presided over the Conference and read a very able address, which, however, we are debarred from commenting on, as we are going to press earlier than usual.







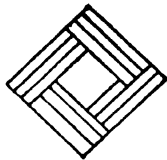


A VILLAGE SCENE  
By Nanda Lal Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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## THE LAST LETTER

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Being the last of a series of historical letters written in gaol to his daughter Indira by Jawaharlal Nehru.

[Jawaharlal Nehru wrote a series of elementary letters to his daughter six years ago. These were published in book form. During his stay in prison in 1931, 1932 and 1933 he continued this series, which was in the form of glimpses of world history. He completed the series, bringing it up to date, in August 1933, a little before his discharge from prison. We understand that arrangements are being made for the publication of the full series in English, Hindi, Urdu, and Gujarati. We give below the last letter of the series.—ED., *M. R.*]

**W**E have finished, my dear ; the long story has ended. I need write no more, but the desire to end off with a kind of flourish induces me to write another letter—the Last Letter !

It was time I finished, for the end of my two year term draws near. In three and thirty days from today I should be discharged, if indeed I am not released sooner, as the jailor sometimes threatens to do. The full two years are not over yet, but I have received three and a half months' remission of my sentence, as all well-behaved prisoners do. For I am supposed to be a well-behaved prisoner, a reputation which I have certainly done nothing to deserve. So ends my sixth sentence and I shall go out again into the wide world, but to what purpose ? *A quoi bon ?* When most of my friends and comrades lie in jail and the whole country seems a vast prison.

What a mountain of letters I have written ! And what a lot of good *swadeshi* ink I have spread out on *swadeshi* paper. Was it worth-

while, I wonder ? Will all this paper and ink convey any message to you that will interest you ? You will say, 'Yes, of course,' for you will feel that any other answer might hurt me, and you are too partial to me to take such a risk. But whether you care for them or not, you cannot grudge me the joy of having written them, day after day, during these two long years. It was winter when I came. Winter gave place to our brief spring, slain all too soon by the summer heat ; and then when the ground was parched and dry and men and beasts panted for breath, came the monsoon with its bountiful supply of fresh and cool rain water. Autumn followed, and the sky was wonderfully clear and blue and the afternoons were pleasant. The year's cycle was over, and again it began : winter and spring and summer and the rainy season. I have sat here, writing to you and thinking of you, and watched the seasons go by, and listened to the pitapat of the rain on my barrack roof—

"O doux bruit de la pluie,  
Par terre et sur les toits !  
Pour un cœur qui s'ennuie,  
Oh ! le chant de la pluie !"

"O the sweet sound of the rain,  
On the ground and on the roofs !  
For a heart that is weary,  
Oh ! the song of the rain."

Benjamin Disraeli, the great English statesman of the nineteenth century, has written that

"Other men condemned to exile and captivity, if they survive, despair; the man of letters may reckon those days as the sweetest of his life." He was writing about Hugo Grotius, a famous Dutch jurist and philosopher of the seventeenth century, who was condemned to imprisonment for life but managed to escape after two years. He spent these two years in prison in philosophic and literary work. There have been many famous literary gaol-birds, the two best known perhaps being the Spaniard, Cervantes, who wrote *Don Quixote*, and the Englishman, John Bunyan, the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

I am not a man of letters and I am not prepared to say that the many years I have spent in jail have been the sweetest in my life, but I must say that reading and writing have helped me wonderfully to get through them. I am not a literary man, and I am not a historian; what indeed am I? I find it difficult to answer that question. I have been a dabbler in many things; I began with science at college and then took to the law and, after developing various other interests in life, finally adopted the popular and widely-practised profession of jail-going in India!

You must not take what I have written in these letters as the final authority on any subject. A politician wants to have a say on every subject, and he always pretends to know much more than he actually does. He has to be watched carefully! These letters of mine are but superficial sketches joined together by a thin thread. I have rambled on, skipping centuries and many important happenings, and then pitching my tent for quite a long time on some event which interested me. As you will notice, my likes and dislikes are pretty obvious, and so also sometimes are my moods in jail. I do not want you to take all this for granted; there may indeed be many errors in my accounts. A prison, with no libraries or reference books at hand, is not the most suitable place to write on historical subjects. I have had to rely very largely on the many note books which I have accumulated since I began my visits to jail twelve years ago. Many books have also come to me here; they have come and gone, for I could not collect a library here. I have shamelessly taken from these

books facts and ideas; there is nothing original in what I have written. Perhaps occasionally you may find my letters difficult to follow; skip those parts, do not mind them. The grown-up in me got the better of me sometimes and I wrote as I should not have done.

I have given you the barest outline; this is not history; they are just fleeting glimpses of our long past. If history interests you, if you feel some of the fascination of history, you will find your way to many books, which will help you to unravel the threads of past ages. But reading books alone will not help. If you would know the past, you must look upon it with sympathy and with understanding. To understand a person who lived long ago, you will have to understand his environment, the conditions under which he lived, the ideas that filled his mind. It is absurd for us to judge of past people as if they lived now and thought as we do. There is no one to defend slavery today, and yet the great Plato held that slavery was essential. Within recent times scores of thousands of lives were given in an effort to retain slavery in the United States. We cannot judge the past from the standards of the present. Everyone will willingly admit this. But everyone will not admit the equally absurd habit of judging the present by the standards of the past. The various religions have especially helped in petrifying old beliefs and faiths and customs, which may have had some use in the age and country of their birth, but which are singularly unsuitable in our present age.

If, then, you look upon past history with the eye of sympathy, the dry bones will fill up with flesh and blood, and you will see a mighty procession of living men and women and children in every age and every clime, different from us and yet very like us, with much the same human virtues and human failings. History is not a magic show, but there is plenty of magic in it for those who have eyes to see.

Innumerable pictures from the gallery of history crowd our minds: Egypt—Babylon—Nineveh—the old Indian civilizations—the coming of the Aryans to India and their spreading out over Europe and Asia—the wonderful record of Chinese culture—Knossos and Greece

Imperial Rome and Byzantium—the triumphant march of the Arabs across two continents—the renaissance of Indian culture and its decay—the little known Maya and Aztec civilizations of America—the vast conquests of the Mongols—the Middle Ages in Europe with their wonderful Gothic cathedrals—the coming of Islam to India and the Mughal Empire—the Renaissance of learning and art in Western Europe—the discovery of America and the sea-routes to the East—the beginnings of Western aggression in the East—the coming of the big machine and the development of capitalism—the spread of industrialism and European domination and imperialism—and the wonders of science in the modern world.

Great empires have risen and fallen and been forgotten by man for thousands of years, till their remains were dug up again by patient explorers from under the sands that covered them. And yet many an idea, many a fancy has survived and proved stronger and more persistent than the empire.

"Egypt's might is tumbled down  
Down a-down the deeps of thought ;  
Greece is fallen and Troy town,  
Glorious Rome hath lost her crown,  
Venice' pride is nought.

But the dreams their children dreamed  
Fleeting, unsubstantial, vain,  
Shadowy as the shadows seemed,  
Airy nothings, as they deemed,  
These remain."

So sings Mary Coleridge.

The past brings us many gifts ; indeed all that we have today of culture, civilization, science or knowledge of some aspects of the truth, is a gift of the distant or recent past to us. It is right that we acknowledge our obligation to the past. But the past does not exhaust our duty or obligation. We owe a duty to the future also and perhaps that obligation is even greater than the one we owe to the past. For the past is past and done with, we cannot change it ; the future is yet to come and perhaps we may be able to shape it a little. If the past has given us some part of the truth, the future also hides many aspects of the truth and invites us to search for it. But often the past is jealous of the future and holds us in a terrible grip, and we have to struggle with it to get free to face and advance towards the future.

History, it is said, has many lessons to teach us ; and there is another saying that history never repeats itself. Both are true, for we cannot learn anything from it by slavishly trying to copy it, or by expecting it to repeat itself or remain stagnant ; but we can learn something from it by prying behind it and trying to discover the forces that move it. Even so what we get is seldom a straight answer. "History," says Karl Marx, "has no other way of answering old questions than by putting new ones."

The old days were days of faith, blind, unquestioning faith. The wonderful temples and mosques and cathedrals of past centuries could never have been built but for the over-powering faith of the architects and builders and people generally. The very stones they reverently put one on top of the other, or carved in beautiful designs, tell us of this faith. The old temple spire, the mosque with its slender minarets, the Gothic cathedral—all of them pointing upward with an amazing intensity of devotion as if, offering a prayer in stone or marble to the sky above—thrill us even now, though we may be lacking in that faith, of old of which they are the embodiments. But the days of that faith are gone, and gone with them is that magic touch in stone. Thousands of temples and mosques and cathedrals continue to be built but they lack the spirit that made them live during the Middle Ages. There is little difference between them and the commercial offices which are so representative of our age.

Our age is a different one ; it is an age of disillusion of doubt and uncertainty and questioning. We can no longer accept many of the ancient beliefs and customs ; we have no more faith in them, in Asia or in Europe or America. So we search for new ways, new aspects—the truth more in harmony with our environment. And we question each other and debate and quarrel and evolve any number of isms and philosophies. As in the days of Socrates, we live in an age of questioning, but that questioning is not confined to a city like Athens ; it is world-wide.

Sometimes the injustice, the unhappiness, the brutality of the world oppresses us and darkens our minds, and we see no way out. With Matthew Arnold, we feel that there is

no hope in this world and all we can do is to be true to one another.

"For the world which seems  
To lie before us, like a land of dreams,  
So various, so beautiful, so new,  
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,  
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain ;  
And we are here, as on a darkling plain  
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,  
Where ignorant armies clash by night."

And yet if we take such a dismal view, we have not learnt aright the lesson of life or of history. For history teaches us of growth and progress and of the possibility of an infinite advance for man. And life is rich and varied, and though it has many swamps and marshes and muddy places, it has also the great sea, and the mountains, and snow, and glaciers, and wonderful star-lit nights (especially in jail !), and the love of family and friends, and the comradeship of workers in a common cause, and music, and books and the empire of ideas. So that each one of us may well say :

"Lord, though I lived on earth, the child of earth,  
Yet was I fathered by the starry sky."

It is easy to admire the beauties of the universe and to live in a world of thought and imagination. But to try to escape in this way from the unhappiness of others, caring little what happens to them, is no sign of courage or fellow-feeling. Thought, in order to justify itself, must lead to action. "Action is the end of thought," says our friend Romain Rolland. "All thought which does not look towards action is an abortion and a treachery. If then we are the servants of thought, we must be the servants of action."

People avoid action often because they are afraid of the consequences, for action means risk and danger. Danger seems terrible from a distance ; it is not so bad if you have a close look at it. And often it is a pleasant companion, adding to the zest and delight of life. The ordinary course of life becomes

dull at times and we take too many things for granted and have no joy in them. And yet how we appreciate these common things of life when we have lived without them for a while ! Many people go up high mountains and risk life and limb for the joy of the climb and the exhilaration that comes from a difficulty surmounted, a danger overcome ; and because of the danger that hovers all around them, their perceptions get keener, their joy of the life which hangs by a thread, the more intense.

All of us have their choice of living in the valleys below with their unhealthy mists and fogs but giving a measure of bodily security ; or of climbing the high mountains, with risk and danger for companions, to breathe the pure air above, and take joy in the distant views, and welcome the rising sun.

I have given you many quotations and extracts from poets and others in this letter. I shall finish up with one more. It is from the *Gitanjali* ; it is a poem, or prayer, by Rabindranath Tagore :

"Where the mind is without fear and the head  
is held high ;  
Where knowledge is free ;  
Where the world has not been broken up into  
fragments by narrow domestic walls ;  
Where words come out from the depth of truth ;  
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards  
perfection ;  
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its  
way into the dreary desert sand of dead  
habit ;  
Where the mind is led forward by thee into  
ever-widening thought and action -  
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my  
country awake.

We have finished, carissima, and this last letter ends. The last letter ! Certainly not ! I shall write you many more. But this series ends, and so

Tamam Shud !

Dehra Dun Jail  
August 9th, 1933



## OUR PROTECTION POLICY

By NILAKANTHA DAS

**T**HE Indian Tariff Board is sitting on enquiring to recommend, if necessary, an extension of protection to the Indian Steel Industry, that is, mainly, if not entirely, to the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur. About ten years India has been passing through a period of giving protection to industries, and for over three years industrial countries like England have been, so to say, mad after protecting their own industries. Depression in trade leads to protection and protection ends in further depression. Thus the world's commerce is moving in a vicious circle. India that has no voice to be called her own finds herself in the midst not only of a vicious circle but of a dangerous whirlpool. Many a tariff board has come and gone. Practically they have taken evidence from capitalists interested in industries and other similar interested parties. The consumer and the tax-payer who bear the burden of protection, are hardly taken into any serious account, though every thing is formally done in their name. The reason is that the mass of the population are not alive to the effects of measures like protection. Nor are they made to feel the effects, as all protection is given by tariffs on imported articles—*i.e.* by indirect taxes.

A nation gives protection to its own industries when any industry cannot compete with foreign imported products in price, but is expected to compete in course of time as a result of the protection. This protection is of two forms—one is Bounty, and the other is Duty.

(1) *Bounty*—In a system of Bounty Government directly gives money to the industry to make up its difference in price with the same kind of imported articles. For instance, say, if the fair selling price of galvanized sheets made by the Tata Company is found to be not less than Rs. 236 per ton and the imported article sells at Rs. 153 per ton, then the Government may give a direct

help of Rs. 83 per ton to the Tata Company to enable it to sell its galvanized sheets in competition with imported articles. This is called Bounty and it is met from the Government revenues, that is, by the general tax-payer of the country.

(2) *Duty*—Similar help can also be given by taxing the imported articles. This tax is called Duty. In the above instance the Government instead may levy a duty of Rs. 83 per ton on imported galvanized sheets, which they are actually doing today. Tariff is a list of these Statutory duties and we therefore generally say protection by tariffs, that is, duties on several imported articles.

In all protection the nation pays on the calculated assurance that the industry protected will in course of time stand on its own legs, *i.e.*, face competition without protection. Protection which does not end in gradual progress and expansion of the industry is useless and is a waste of national wealth. Hence in a system of protection a careful application of the money with a watchful vigilance to ensure growth of national wealth and economy is essential.

Bounty is a definite grant. Its administration may be a little more difficult, but it makes the giver always watchful and the receiver careful. It is based on direct tax—which is the main stay of progressive taxation. Direct tax may be unpalatable, but it is always directed to classes of people who can pay, and its progressive character readily contributes to an increase of national wealth. It affects neither the consumer nor the poorer class of the tax-payer. But as Governments generally have to deal with the organized opposition of richer classes in the country, the unintelligent and unorganized mass of the population, *i.e.*, the poorer tax-payer and the general consumer are more easily made to bear the main burden of the State, without knowing that they bear it. Hence Governments generally shrink from levying direct taxes, and this is very often responsible for

preferring tariffs to bounties in the matter of protection.

Duty is always an indirect taxation. We are paying indirect taxes on many of our articles of use, such as, cloth, matches, kerosene, salt, etc., etc. This indirect tax not only makes prices of imported articles higher, for these imported articles pay the tax directly to the Government; but all prices adapt themselves up to the price of those imported articles and the living becomes dearer in consequence. In the above instance suppose for some reason the fair selling price of the Tatas' Galvanized Sheets could be reduced, but so long as the duty remains unreduced Tatas will never think of reducing their prices. Thus, this indefinite protection by tariff, given by an indirect unconscious payment by the people, affords a bad sense of security to the industry protected, which consequently becomes careless about the money it receives. Hence a system of indirect taxation is always regressive in its effect and is bad for national economy. To a certain extent it can only be adopted in countries where the standard of living is so high that a little indirect increase on account of taxation will not palpably affect the economic condition of the people.

Protection by tariff, moreover, is fatal to national economy where the normal production, in the country, of the particular articles protected is a small part, say less than half, of the normal consumption of the same article in the country. For instance, Tatas' maximum production of steel is calculated under best of conditions to be six hundred thousand tons. The normal Indian consumption of steel is twelve hundred thousand to fifteen hundred thousand tons. So with all the necessary protection the country never expects to supply half the market in steel. But the consumer under the tariff system is being made to pay to the Government on more than half the articles consumed. Another glaring instance is that of the galvanized sheets to protect which the consumer pays more than Rs. 83 per ton. This protection began when Tatas could supply only 12 % of the Indian consumption. In spite of all this artificial prop the present supply of the Tatas has not gone beyond 32 % (last year's account).

Thus considering the general principles of protection the present Indian tariff system is not *prima facie* suitable to the present industrial and economic circumstances prevailing in India. Well-considered bounty should have been the only course followed; for bounty is definite both in the amount of money spent as well as the effect produced. In a system of bounty there can be no waste of tax-payers' money, and today the ordinary tax-payer and the consumer has no extra pie to spare for the luxury of protection.

Now let us consider the particular conditions prevailing in India in relation to the world's trade, and their bearing on our policy of protection.

After the world war prospects of industries all over the world looked up. India's steel and iron wares were a great help to the British nation during the war. During this period as well as in the period of boom that followed Indian iron and steel brought money beyond all expectation. The reaction began in 1922. All over the country the capitalist industrialists raised a clamour for protection to our industries; for all other industries more or less had followed the same course as that of steel and iron.

In this cry for protection some salient points need be remembered. World's industry in different countries has developed different ideals and different methods of progress. During the course of the war Russia developed communism, *i. e.*, Russia wanted to nationalize all industries and developed methods of industrial progress in which the old world capitalist was of no use. The United States of America did not give up capitalism but it sought to nationalize industry and to base it as far as possible on human expectations. It developed methods of giving higher pay for better profit in which the labourer became gradually conscious that he had a definite share. The barrier of aristocracy between capital and labour began gradually to break down. Recently Japan has attempted a new method, and perhaps successfully. This is an amalgam, so to say, or a synthesis of the Russian and the American methods. There are capitalists who finance industries and at

the same time all industry is the property of the nation as it were. The profit as well as the labour is the concern of the State. All these three countries, particularly Russia, are vast agricultural countries and conditions prevailing there approach those in India except that in India the people have practically nothing to do with the policy of the State.

In industrial countries like England where the system is very old the methods are so to say antiquated. Capital and Labour stand apart and an age-long aristocratic mentality stands practically like a stone wall between them. The idea underlying this method is that Labour must be fleeced so that capital may flourish and the strength of money is considered the real strength of the State. India in her industrial outlook is a creature of England. For various reasons, which may or may not bear mention here, she has got to follow in the footsteps of England, and even in matters of detail where freedom could, to a certain extent, be exercised she does not think or act freely. So whatever is done in England or say dominions like Canada, must be followed in India. In our policy of protection this mentality, it will be explained, has already been responsible for a good deal of mischief, and the interests of the nation will suffer if we do not think and act freely in our industrial policy even now.

Without giving any detailed explanation in this connection it may be mentioned that on the 16th February, 1923, when the policy of protection first came up for discussion in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. C. A. Innes (now Sir Charles Innes), the then Commerce Member, said as follows on behalf of the Government of India :

"Our policy of protection must increase the level of price for the consumer generally and particularly for the agricultural and middle classes. There is no getting away from this fact. By discrimination we may mitigate the rise. But the fact remains, and it is so certain that I do not propose to argue it, that a policy of protection must mean an increase of prices in India. Now, I am well aware that many countries have gone in boldly for a policy of protection in spite of this disadvantage. But we are considering the case of India. We are not considering the case of countries with a high standard of living like the United States of America and like dominions such as Canada and Australia. People of countries like that can no doubt pay the inevitable price that protection demands. But in India we have a

country of 300 millions. Two thirds of that population are agriculturists. Most of them are poor, and the standard of comfort is low. One thing I think is certain. If the agricultural classes were able fully to bring their influence to bear upon this Assembly, I doubt very much whether this Assembly today would accept my amendment. I doubt indeed whether I should be putting that amendment (*i.e.*, in favour of discriminating protection) forward. The agricultural classes in every country in the world, I think, I may say this with confidence, stand to gain the least and lose the most by a policy of protection. But even if we leave the agricultural classes out of consideration, is there any one in this house who can view without alarm, having regard to the conditions of India, the prospect of a substantial rise of prices following upon the development of a policy of protection? It is easy to say that India must be prepared for a sacrifice. But surely the experience of the last few years has demonstrated even to the most unobservant, the effect of high prices not only upon the public finances of India but also upon the political, social and economic conditions throughout the country."

The general consumer of industrial products—the general tax-payer as well as the poor agriculturist, is practically one and the same man in India and according to the above sentiments expressed by the Government, a policy of protection and that by tariffs, cannot be conducive to the interest of the Indian masses. It may, however, be asked, why the Government after expressing these sentiments consented to a policy of protection. The Government amendment on the same occasion, *i.e.*, on the 16th February, 1923, included the following clause :

(b) That in the application of the above principle of protection regard must be had to the financial needs of the country and to the present dependence of the Government of India on Import and Export and Excise duties for a large part of its revenues."

Thus it is clear that the Government has developed a vested interest in this policy of protection by tariff and an examination of the Indian Budget year after year will bear out how the customs revenue rose year after year on account of the protective tariff on industrial products. If the Government want money they may tax the people and take the consequences, if any. But to balance their budget they should not take shelter under a policy of protection and thus trade upon the patriotic sentiment of the people on the one hand, and the self-interest of the capitalist on the other.

The significance of the above clause in the Government amendment has been of late



sought to be explained away in some interested quarters by the assertion that high protective tariffs may at once reduce consumption of foreign articles very markedly and Government might lose much of its revenue realized from customs, which is the main stay of Government finances. This plausible explanation was neither meant nor is borne out by the policy since followed by the Government. Ordinarily high duties are responsible for lower consumption and a consequent reduction of revenue. But there is always a minimum normal consumption which cannot be much reduced in ordinary times. The present abnormal fall of revenue, if any, is due to circumstances affecting the quantity and price of world trade and not to purely local conditions.

Again, had that been the intention of the Government, *i.e.*, had the Government been afraid of high prices in the country apprehending an abnormal fall in customs revenue, Government might have taken to a consistent policy of protecting our industries by a system of giving bounties. Bounty would mean a direct taxation. But that taxation, as I have said, could be well directed to people who could pay taxes like super-tax on income, death duty etc. It would affect neither the general tax-payer nor the consumer of the industrial products who is ordinarily poor, or, the Government might contract a loan of a few crores for the purpose of protecting our industries. The tax-payer would pay the interest of this productive loan for a few years and then the industry would pay it. A furtherance of our industrial wealth by this means would ultimately be as much paying, if not more, as our railway debt. But these are means and methods which do not suit the fixed policy of parties interested in ruling over our destinies.

Thus the present policy of protection has a definite plan and a political motive behind it. The poor man, the consumer, is being bled white to fatten only a few industrial magnates in the land. But neither any industry as such is really promoted nor the mass of the nation is benefited in any other way. This *prima facie* may look absurd. Let us indicate the real reason behind this apparent absurdity. The dissatisfied masses of India cannot permanently be depended upon. Sooner or

later they will become alive to their own interests, however much one may try to throw dust in their eyes. A foreign Government must in that case have to depend on some elements of the community of the governed. These elements must be made to remain under obligation to that Government. Zemindars of old were created and protected at a time with this object in view. But for many obvious reasons they may not be now considered an adequate safeguard. Hence another like element of the community is to be sought for, and this is found in the owners of industries. Various measures, again, are being devised to identify their interests with the interests of external capital working in this country. The recent White Paper proposes such an identity of interests in trade and industries; but the ordinary man in the street wonders as to what a proposal like this for equal opportunities of trade and industry does actually signify. The consumer may be alarmed to imagine the state of things--the effects of all his protection--under the Government proposed in the White Paper, when statutory elimination of commercial discrimination will have its full sway in this country. Big competitive English firms will rise up, and the perpetually protection-pampered firms like Tatas, for instance, will either count out their days in supplying cheap basic materials to those firms or will lose their own existence in the midst of those firms. This danger is enough to dispel the lethargic sense of security under a system of protection by tariffs supported by an interested Government and make our industries try at once to stand on their own legs to face all competition successfully.

In this connection the misgivings of the Indian consumer in another like direction must be seriously taken into account. The tariff policy of the Government of India is intimately connected with the policy of Imperial, or more correctly, British preference. Here it may be noted that our protection to industry began only in 1924 in connection with the steel industry, *i.e.*, the Tata Iron and Steel Company of Jamshedpur. The policy was inaugurated mainly in giving bounty to the Tatas on certain articles. The tariff was rather negligible. The same method was repeated in 1925. The Legislative Assembly was made

to sanction this policy which was to be in force for three years. But unfortunately for the Indian consumer and the mass this much-praised Bounty Policy was made a thin end of the wedge for a purely protective tariff policy for the future and the Legislative Assembly was sought to be lulled in the belief that it had been committed to a policy of protection to steel industry, no matter whether it was to be by bounty or by tariff. It may now be clear that this was a deliberate change, a measure adopted as one most suitable for Imperial or British preference. The same Sir Charles Innes, who was then the Member for Commerce and Railways, had to represent India in the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 in London, where he said :

"Large sums have been set aside for the rehabilitation of her (India's) Railways and I hope that we may be able to embark on some new construction. On Railway material alone we spent last year, almost entirely in this country, more than 8½ millions sterling. Other development schemes are in contemplation, and in one way or another the Government estimate that something like 70 millions sterling will be spent on imported stores during *the next five years* for the Railways and other development schemes. As in the past so in the future, I have no doubt that the skill and enterprise of the British manufacturers will see to it that the vast bulk of their (Indians') moneys will be spent in this country."

*The next five years* of the above statement was to end in 1928 and preference to British Steel was enacted in the Indian Legislature in 1927 along with tariff protection to Indian Steel industry. To make the above quotation intelligible it may be further explained here, that in the name of development in India, the Indian Government made a plan for huge Railway construction and they proposed to borrow 30 crores of rupees a year for five

years mostly in England. Much of it was to go to purchase British Steel, though during these five years all the money could not be spent nor the purchased materials fully utilized for new Railway construction. This five year plan nevertheless was to end in 1928 and new ways for supplying market to British Steel were necessary.

But plausible arguments are not wanting in support of preference to British Industry. Treasury Benches in the Indian Legislature may still use them somewhat effectively in the House. But it may be well suggested, if preference is really necessary, the Indian tax-payer should be asked to take to other means, free and straightforward. He may be asked, for instance, to purchase definite quantities by convention. But a preference worked automatically under a system of protective tariff is not only bad economy, but it affects national morality.

Protective tariff under our Indian circumstances should be, therefore, by all means avoided. If it can be proved that protection to any industry is still a real necessity, bounty is the only course to follow. After all this, if a tariff policy is still contemplated, first of all preference should be scrupulously eliminated and secondly the money obtained by Government beyond revenue duty, should be earmarked and set apart for expansion and promotion of industry and other works of nation-building.

An interested Government combined with the interested capitalists ought not to lead the patriotic mass of the consuming public into a policy the disastrous effects of which the latter are never allowed either to comprehend fully or to counteract effectively.



## RUSSIA TODAY

By NITYA NARAYAN BANERJEE

**I**T was 9 o'clock in the morning. For the fine arrangement of central steam heating I had a nice sound sleep. I remember a day in Hamburg, where I stayed in a hotel without central heating: although the whole body was in fur quilt the head with the brain inside seemed to be frozen, callous—the whole room seemed to be a cold storage and myself a cold piece of meat. In England too in most of the hotels and pensions one has to have the same experience, as the English people are too conservative to change their gas fire and their small buildings do not justify a central heating arrangement. But in this hotel the heating arrangement was splendid—there was hot and cold water running in the bath-room. The breakfast was not a palatable one; only I could take the 'Chai' (Tea) and a piece of brown bread.

"Good morning, had a nice sleep?" Said the smiling face of my guide in the dining room.

"Aren't you ready? Oh, what a lazy fellow you are," added she.

Taking my last sip I said, "Yes I am ready—I was just waiting for you."

"Come on; we should not lose any time today."

"Excuse me, I am bringing my overcoat from my room, a minute please," begged I. The lift brought me up; on the way to my room in the corridor I met some children. They were so nice and charming that I could not help stopping a moment near them. One of them—a girl aged about seven, asked in clear English, "Do you speak English?" I was glad indeed to have a chance to talk with these pretty babies. I asked, "Are you Russian? How do you speak such good English." The girl replied, "No, I am American. My father is an Engineer here."

"How long have you been here?"

"About ten months, but you know we are not going to stay here longer. The Russians are very bad people."

I was eager to know why this little baby

was so angry with the Russians. She added "My father had two years' contract here, but they are treating us very badly. You know they are so naughty that so long they need our service they will worship us, but when they themselves understand the job they try to kick us out but as they made contract with us they can not do it straight, that is why they are treating us so badly." It was evident that the other two girls could not understand our talk. I asked them, "Can't speak English?" They laughed and said something which I could not understand. The American girl said, "They can't speak English, they are Russian. But I can speak Russian, German and French too." To test her I asked in German, "How did you learn so many languages?" She began to talk like a machine. "Oh, I had been in Germany for two years and in France a year. My father used to work there." I came to my senses; I had been detaining the guide unnecessarily. They all bent their knees a little and nodded. The American girl enquired, "Will you please come to our music this evening?" I promised to come if I could come back by that time.

The guide advised that it would be convenient to see round the city with a taxi as more things could be seen in a day. I agreed to the proposal. So we had to go to the Intourist Office to make arrangements for the taxi. The office was not very far and the temperature was not so terrible; so we walked.

Not a single shop with the fine continental art of display came to my notice. Motor buses were very rare but the Russians hope to have plenty of them very soon, when their own motor factories will begin to produce them. Now as Russia has no credit in the world market she has to buy every thing by gold, by selling their food or timber. There are a few hackney carriages, mostly for carrying loads, some with pneumatic tyres. These are still private property. Now Russia has allowed private trade provided no one is

exploited by that. There are laws which prohibit employment of any person by any individual trader except on some special condition. Even the farmers are not allowed to hire labour except in illness or under some such conditions. The revolutionaries have changed their laws regarding private enterprise but not the aim. Now all sorts of private trade can be carried on in Russia by law. But for the heavy taxes, supertaxes and apathy of the State, it is practically impossible to carry on any business on a large scale. The potter may produce his goods and sell them in the open market—the weaver, carpenter, blacksmith or such other individual traders can carry on their trade individually and sell their goods publicly, provided they do not hire any labourers, that is, exploit others' labour, but all private traders are defranchised, taxed and that heavily and noticed with a suspicious look. To forfeit one's property is the most common punishment in Russian Court in case of a private trader. A private trader's son will have the last chance in school, hospital, club and army, his children will have to pay more for their education, food, clothing and lodging. From every side the State is eager to take as much as possible from a private trader, it is their main object to strike the death blow to individual trading, as that is their greatest enemy. There is no private shopkeeper in Leningrad, no private taxi, house, no immovable personal property: every thing is owned by the state. If any one incurs the wrath of the State he is sure to starve, as there is none to employ him; if he has money it will be soon exhausted by the heavy prices of goods which a non-labourer must pay. If anyone does the work of a middleman, *i.e.*, buys goods from villages at cheaper rates and sells in towns at higher rates thereby having some profit for himself, he is prosecuted and sentenced heavily.

On the way I saw a boy begging on the foot-path. I jokingly asked the guide, "Well, is it a fact that you have no unemployment and no beggar?"

"Yes it is so—have you any doubt about it?"

Pointing to the boy I said, "He speaks against your statement."

"Ah, those are naughty boys. They are

often taken to nurseries by the police—but they are habitual beggars, they fly away from the nursery and begin to beg. They are lazy by blood, they prefer begging to work. But fortunately they are very few," said she. I asked, "Surely these poor boys are not treated well there. Had they got better and loving treatment, why would they leave the nursery and beg in this cold?"

"You see, by blood they are so idle that they don't like the discipline and work of the nurseries. You understand?"



A Picture in Hermitage, Leningrad

"Yes, but why are your people so poor in general. Everyone is insufficiently clothed and probably not well fed. What have you gained by the revolution, by so much bloodshed?" asked I.

She replied, "True it is that we have not got enough clothing to clothe the whole population and not even enough food for the whole nation but in pre-revolutionary days all the people of the nation could not get food even daily, while some of the upper classes

used to eat in gold dishes and throw them away—now though we don't get good quality of food, all of us get sufficient food to satisfy hunger, and in our Second Five Year Plan we will have more light industries, *i.e.*, food and cloth; our standard of living will be raised."

We came before the Intourist office, pushed the revolving glass door and went inside. It was "Pramila Kingdom," where there are only women. Not a single male clerk came to my notice, all were ladies. I asked my guide, "Well, have you driven out the other sex from office works?"



The first residence of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Leningrad. From the arrow-marked balcony Lenin delivered his first lecture after his return from foreign land.

She replied, "Yes, they have to do heavier works. — Factories have absorbed all male labour, so we have to do all these light works."

"So you are the bourgeoisie now and males are the proletariat," smiled I.

"But we never fear heavier works. There are female tractor and locomotive drivers, soldiers and even envoys. Owing to 'our physical difficulty we may not do some works but we never fear any work,' protested she.

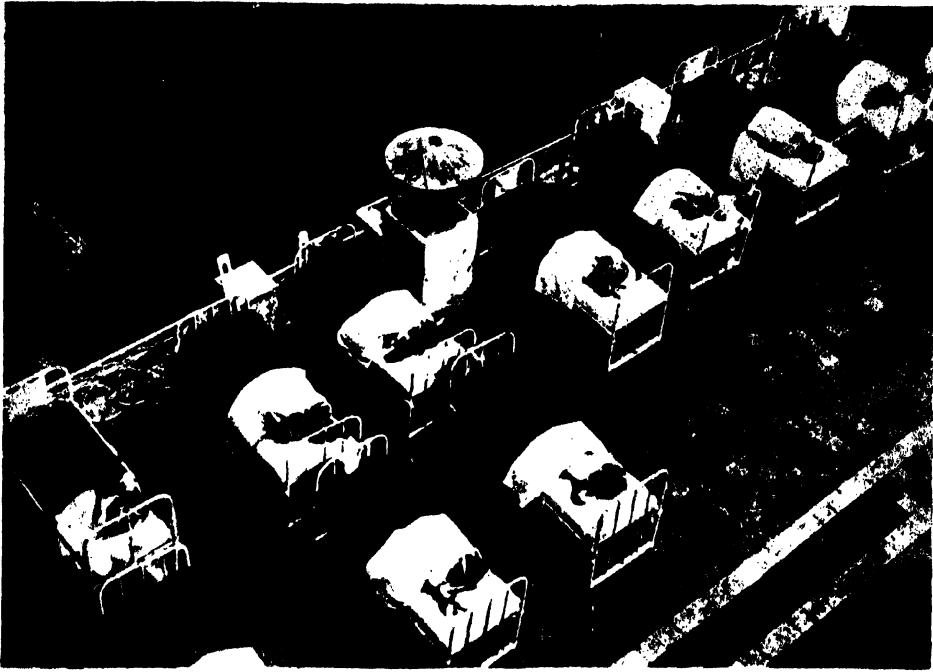
This is true. Even the tram drivers and conductors were females. But what a horror is a Russian tram; they are always packed to the inch—about five to seven passengers always hang on the footboard holding the iron

handle. At the stoppage it stops for a while never cares whether the passengers could get in or get out. One has to force his way into the trams but first of all he should make a little place for his one foot to hang on the footboard—then gradually by outside push and through his effort he can make a room on the platform. There are only two lines of benches inside, each is broad enough to accommodate one person only. Trams are meant for standing. The window glasses are all smeared with hard snow with a small circular gap caused by the fingers of

passengers eager to see their destination. It is impossible to bend down to take anything from the floor. I remember an incident. A passenger before leaving the car cried, "I have lost one shoe—it has just slipped off my foot." Every one bent his head downwards but none dared or could search it because every one is jammed and the poor passenger had to get down with one shoe on. One thing surprised me. The people were so poor, but none was eager to deceive the conductor by not paying the fare; instead, the passengers were

passing their money to the conductor through fellow passengers from one corner to the other corner. It seemed everyone thought it their duty to pay the fare, as they knew the tram cars were their own property. The so-called moralist countries should learn the honesty of the Russian poor. If anybody wanted to get down at a certain stoppage he should try to make his way out before two or three stops from the destination. In winter such rush is to some extent relieving, but God knows what it is in the summer.

We got down near a "Creche" as she told me, the "workers' children Home." We put off our overcoat and over-shoes in the cloak room and went upstairs. My guide asked



Children basking in the sun on the roof a "Creche" (Hospital)

the permission of the in-charge, who was a lady, to see the institution. She smilingly agreed and requested us to put on a long milkwhite apron before we went into the children's rooms.

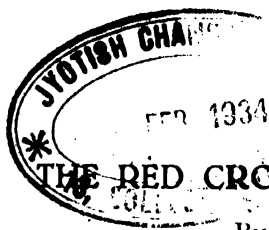
In this Home, children from three months to three years old are brought up. The working mothers get one month's leave before and two months' leave after the delivery with full pay. Dancers and others who have to undergo more physical labour get four months' leave. On the third month after delivery they have to go to work. As Russia is trying and has been successful to a great extent to abolish the family, these children's Homes became necessary to look after the young three month old babies. Russian labourers work in shifts, so that machines can work twenty-four hours. Every mother before going to the factory leaves her child in these Homes where they are carefully looked after and on her way back the mother takes her child home. There are many who say that Russia has no home life; as children are looked after by the State, mothers have

lost their affection towards their children; as there are no strict rules regarding marriage, fathers never care for the children. But surely these allegations are not true. The Children's Homes have freed the mothers from the responsibility of rearing their children and thus enabled them to render their full service to the State. Similarly common kitchen in factories, common laundry, and community houses have freed half the strength of the country which wasted its energy uneconomically. Formerly, in each family women had to spend their energy in rearing children, cooking, washing, cleaning and other household affairs. Now the small family units have been crushed in towns and greater families are made. These families live in community houses, have their food from one kitchen, their dresses cleaned from one laundry, they have one library to read in, one club room to meet. Mother's love can not be washed away by a thousand more such Russian revolutions—it is an inborn instinct—it exists even amongst the birds and beasts, so family life can not go. But true it is that the family life in Russia has taken a different shape from that

in any other country and this is due to the new economic policy of the State. For the whole day the child remains in a Children's Home, the mother gets half an hour's leave every day to feed her child and after the day's work she presses her baby on her breast, showers kisses on it, wraps her in cotton-bed and takes it back home to share the delight with her husband. I have seen many a young and old mother in this home to fondle her baby, to kiss it incessantly and press it on her breast to feel the sweet dreamy touch of the angel of heaven. How can family life go where the family is in the hands of such beloved mothers? In Russia even the conception of motherhood is different from that of any other continental or American countries. The Russian girls think it debauchery to marry with the intention of not having any children: the children are national assets and it is their duty to give the nation more children, healthy and worthy. Of course the State has made abortion legal, teaching birth-control through its doctors; but that is only to check unwanted children and to save the health of the mothers; of course every good thing has its abuses, but that is not to be counted. Before the age of majority the Russian children are barred from doing

any heavy labour and can claim maintenance from the parents. So how can father and mother have no family? But in a Russian family if you want the Hindu or Catholic regard of a son towards parents, probably you will be disappointed. The Russians have no place for sentiments, they are realistic to the backbone. There are a thousand and one examples where a son has denied all connection with a 'Kulok' or (formerly) rich father to have the right of a proletariat.

The Children's Home was spotlessly clean and everything was in order, complete discipline reigned there. First, we were taken into a room having numbered almshouses where the dirty home dresses of the children are taken out and kept according to number. Next, they are taken to a hall having rows of pots to answer nature's call—then they are bathed and cleaned, new clean dresses are put on and they are placed in their numbered beds. They sleep, play and eat together at the same hour. I asked, "How is it that these babies even sleep together. Don't some of them cry and disturb others?" The guide interpreted the attending nurse's answer, "No, if from childhood they are taught to do every thing together, they do it and will do it for life."



## THE RED CROSS AND THE BANNER OF PEACE

By HON. HENRY A. WALLACE

*Secretary of Agriculture, Third International Conference for the Roerich Peace Pact*

November 17, 1933. Washington D. C.

**I**N these days of great discord it is well for those who have faith in our common humanity, regardless of nation or class, to meet together. Those terrible forces unleashed by the World War have too long caused the nations to fight each other with the deadly economic weapons of tariffs, quotas and speculative currencies. This economic warfare has, by throwing men out of work on a world-wide scale, caused more impoverishment than the actual physical warfare from 1914 to 1918. Unfortunately, we have no machinery for declaring an Economic Peace. As we look at the complexities of the tariffs, the quotas, the currencies, and the International debts, we see possibilities for endless strife. Here in

the United States we have bound the world to us by loaning billions and billions of dollars and at the same time have thrust the world away by our tariff policy. Many European nations have striven desperately to keep out American products by tariffs, quotas and currency manipulations. In this way, with everyone to blame or no one to blame as you please, the world has arrived at its greatest stage of heartsickness.

In such a time the opportunities are great for those in position to hold up before the eyes of the world the idea of the Unity of the Human Heart regardless of Nation, in the worship of beauty, of culture, of science, and of education.

Hatred, prejudice, fear and greed have acted as the virus of a dread disease to make the whole world sick, but fortunately the world like the human body builds up resistance. The anti-bodies, the white blood corpuscles which restore health to a sick world have to do with those things which transcend national boundaries. These finer, broader, human aspirations which are so important are often intangible to many people unless materialized by symbols, pacts and organizations.

Many symbols have been used for broadening the human mind. One of the most ancient and useful of these has been the cross, symbolic of infinite sympathy with suffering. A modern adaptation is the Red Cross, conceived and promoted originally by Henri Dunant, a Swiss who witnessed the terrible suffering of the wounded at the Battle of Solferino, Italy, in 1859. Conventions were called in Switzerland and finally in the late sixties most of the European nations had signed the agreement, establishing the Red Cross as the International symbol for the alleviation of physical suffering. For many years Clara Barton and other humanitarians strove to get the United States to adhere to the Convention of Geneva but it was not until sixteen years had elapsed and thirty-one other nations had signed that Clara Barton, by making a direct appeal to President Garfield, was able to cut the red tape which had kept the idealistic heart of the United States from manifesting itself in its true light.

Tonight we are concerned with another symbol strangely like the Red Cross in many ways. The Red Cross is concerned with the healing of wounded physical bodies—the Banner of Peace is concerned with the healing of hurt souls, spiritual bodies wounded by international discord, fear, hatred, greed and ugliness. The cross suggests the Trinity, unity in diversity and finally infinite compassion, however great the misunderstanding. The Banner of Peace with its three dots in a circle tells the same story but here we are dealing with the spirit rather than the body.

The Roerich Peace Pact of which the Banner is the symbol, aims to protect in time of war the cultural body of mankind, the Universities, the Libraries, the Art Galleries, the Cathedrals and other treasures of the spirit. If they are registered as institutions of culture and fly the Banner of Peace, they thereby become recognized as neutral territory by the signatory nations. Would that the nations of old had flown the banner of cultural unity in the midst of national diversity and that we might have preserved the Alexandrian Library to this day. And while we today still retain a considerable amount of our pre-war optimistic confidence in endless progress, there are many who now shudder at the thought that the barbaric, disintegrating, hateful forces may finally reduce some of our most precious treasures to the status of the Alexandrian Library.

It is to the manifold genius of Nicholas Roerich that we owe this plan. For thirty years, since he first pronounced his concern for the preservation of the world's cultural treasures, he has dedicated himself tirelessly to this ideal. And tonight, when the end seems so close of fulfillment, we may send to Nicholas Roerich our tribute as a creator and as an indefatigable leader in the cause of world cultural unity.

The World War wounded and killed millions of physical bodies—the post-war has maimed hundreds of millions of spiritual bodies. We have all seen friends and relatives whose inmost being has been twisted by the hatreds and prejudices of these terrible times. Whole nations, writhing in their pain, have practically gone insane. The terror created by the worldwide depression of the past three years has been almost equal to that of the World War itself. And the end is not yet. The nations are still shrinking fearfully away from each other, erecting barriers against each other, using tariffs and depreciated currencies to harm each other at the expense of the general good.

We in the United States during the past four months have plowed under ten million acres of cotton and slaughtered six million little pigs in a desperate attempt to behave as a creditor nation must behave when it has destroyed the foreign markets for its surplus by high tariffs. As we contemplate further acts of nationalistic contraction, we perceive an infinite number of readjustments and we wonder more and more how far we should travel the path of national self-sufficiency. It is urged that we should recognize that we are a part of the community of nations by reducing our tariffs as a creditor nation sooner or later must and by furnishing leadership to bring order out of the international monetary chaos.

But behind all economic forces and all International Conferences are the simple things which have to do with the attitude of the human heart. The universal appeal of the Red Cross is based on this simple fact. The Banner of Peace comes to the attention of Americans today at a time when it seems all mankind has lost faith in International Conferences and Disarmament Conferences, when it seems that the nations were never more suspicious of each other. I am not one to urge an idealistic symbol, such as the Banner of Peace as a substitute for effective action in the world of hard economic facts. But I do say that it is high time for the idealists who make the reality of tomorrow to rally around an International Flag of Cultural Unity. This is no narrow proletarian Bolshevism that I am preaching but an appeal to that appreciation of beauty, of science, of education which runs across all national boundaries to strengthen all that we hold dear in our own particular governments and customs. If the Cultural Flag, this Banner of Peace, this symbol of International



Unity is lifted up in these dark days by the stronger nations, we may speedily realize the vision of Isaiah when all the nations will come to the mountain of the Lord and Universal Peace will descend.

Strikingly enough the flag of the United States is very similar in its concept to the Banner of Peace. Our flag is a symbol of the unity of 48 diverse states. The Banner of Peace represents diversity by three dots and Unity by the enclosing circle. I trust that the time may come when this symbol will be held dear by all who truly love their own nation and in addition appreciate the unique contributions of other nations and also are prepared to do reverence to that common spiritual enterprise of mankind which draws together in one fellowship all artists, scientists, educators and the truly religious of whatever faith. These men of good will have been scattered and discouraged. Let them lift up their hearts unto the Lord of the Unity of the fundamentally worthwhile things of the spirit and it will not be so long before International Economic and Disarmament Conferences will be a success.

In the world of practical affairs, many of the leaders, whether in business or in politics, tend to lay their emphasis on legislation and the social machinery which is built therefrom. All this is important and I would be the last to decry the work which has been done by the emergency organizations working out from Washington during the past six months. Yet as I have watched these efforts representing literally hundreds of millions of human contacts, I have reached the conclusion that social machinery, no matter how intelligently constructed and sympathetically administered, cannot by itself be enough. I believe wholeheartedly in the New Deal but it is absolutely essential as every responsible person in the nation wrestles with the problems precipitated by the New Deal that all of us become imbued with the concept that our efforts are directed beyond benefit to a particular class or region or even the nation itself. To make us feel truly at home in this universe, all of us are helped by the thought that our efforts are ministering to the long time good of mankind. Such concepts are necessarily vague. They have to do with the emotions of the human heart and cannot be set down in words. But after all is said and done, these things which have to do with the attitude of man toward the universe are the fundamental realities, and the handicraft of man that we see about us is the shadow.

In this connection, I like to think of the concept of Spengler who finds all civilizations

going through spring, summer, fall and winter. In the spring time, he finds the spirits of men bursting with the importance of their attitude toward the universe. At first this attitude has no very tangible method of manifestation but shortly it pushes forth in the region of cathedrals, painting, literature and music. Then finally the intellect comes to triumph over the heart, science brings control over nature, and there comes a period when the abundance of material things first gives man great pride of conquest and finally demonstrates the inadequacies of the purely intellectual approach. Then comes the time of great danger when men tend to lose faith and question whether anything is really worthwhile after all. This in paraphrase is the scheme of civilization as set forth by Spengler, the German philosopher, and Petrie, the great Egyptologist. This outline of the rise and fall of the human spirit is truly suggestive and, in my opinion, only very partially true. Undoubtedly the supremely important thing in all civilization is the faith which animates myriads of human hearts simultaneously by some divine contagion of the spirit.

History repeats itself but always in a new way, and I trust against an ever larger background. This would seem to be especially true at the present time. The extraordinary faith in the sacredness of the individual which has served the world so well for so many centuries is now apparently about to be merged into a larger concept, a striking symbol of which is the Banner of Peace with its crimson circle enclosing three smaller spheres. As this concept more and more pervades the world, we can have the individual person and the individual nation each striving to attain his own unique destiny and his own type of perfection with a simultaneous respect for the strivings of others and a recognition that all such efforts are comprised in the larger whole. This dream which is essentially the same as that of Micah and Isaiah of more than 2,000 years ago can be fulfilled in considerable measure during the next century.

I am here tonight because I believe that it is this dream which gives reality to all our efforts to create material wealth and work out an improved social machinery for distributing that wealth. We must have a unifying principle to which all our hearts can give supreme allegiance while we work out in the sweat of daily effort the millions of difficult details. In this way we can work with faith and joy anticipating the spiritual reality of which the Banner of Peace is the symbol.



## PLAY AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M. A., Ph. D.

**S**INCE Nature has made the child a playing animal, he spends almost all of the energy he develops in motor activity.

His first interests and achievements are almost entirely physical. The child does not play because he is young; he is young in order that he may play and thereby prepare himself for life's activities. Play being in harmony with his nature, he enters into it whole-heartedly, and through unconscious exercise acquires an adequate physical basis for his life. In the course of his play he develops his reflexes, increases his powers of physical control, makes his nervous and digestive organs strong, his blood pure and his heart and lungs sound. In addition, he gains precision in his movements, an accurate knowledge of his environment and enough resistance to throw off the disease germs. In short, through play the child acquires health, strength, endurance, grace and symmetry. But the effects of play are not merely physical. Even the mind of the child gets through play the exercise it requires for proper development. In fact, play develops it more effectively than does the traditional school work. Similarly, play satisfies also the deepest propensities of the child's moral nature.

In view of the fact that play stimulates every phase of the child's growth, educationists and philosophers have emphasized from early times the importance of play in education. "Education" said Plato, "should begin with the right direction of children's sports," and likewise Froebel, the noted educationist, declared that "the plays of childhood are the germinal leaves for all later life." In spite of such trenchant pronouncements from time to time, we have gone on taking the child out of his play and sending him to school regardless of Nature's way of educating him. And what baffles understanding is the fact that even now we have not become fully aware of how hopelessly we have failed to realize not only that there is something more important to the

child's future than the acquisition of information but the vital point that the child's way of educating himself is through his play.

Though the physical and mental effects of play were the first values to be discovered, its social and moral influences were unobserved until some of their necessary consequences became too patent to remain hidden from the view of the sociologist. That some of the world's great teachers have long since discerned the values of play is true, but the popular mind has not followed them and the discovery had to be made anew. Even now the social values of play have not yet been given the consideration they deserve. Hence the writer's purpose in this article is to confine himself to a brief study of play as a factor in social efficiency. Even in the West the place of play and its social meaning in the education of the child have come to receive recognition only recently. Though the Duke of Wellington, when asked to explain his victory at Waterloo, is reported to have replied that it had been won years ago on the playgrounds of Eton, yet we have been very slow in realizing that the playground is the place where the child learns to lead and be led, to live and let live, and play the game in the struggle for existence even if the odds are against him. The child's real world is the world of play, and he thinks and acts in terms of play. Naturally therefore it is in play and playground companionships that he gets nearly all his experiences and forms almost all his habits. In the playground his choices are innumerable; he acts as a free agent and creates his own ideals. It is there that he does what he wants to do and acts from the inner law of his own being. Such actual participation in life and its various responsibilities afford a training for which no other substitute can be found.

The moral and social influences of play produce indelible effects on the child for good or ill, as the case may be, and leave their traces upon his character. No doubt,

unorganized and spontaneous group play often develops the bully or the coward, but well-planned and supervised play minimizes these defects and impresses upon the child's mind the ideals taught by method and co-operation. Few children are instinctively generous; the majority of them being selfish need the companionship of other children to round out their rough corners. And through the medium of the supervised play children soon learn,—though they have no clear idea to begin with of the rights of the individual,—that no group of children can usurp all the privileges, that the right to use a play outfit cannot be monopolized by any one, that all things should be held in common and that every child must be given an equal opportunity. Play thus helps to eliminate from the child's mind the vulgar or street notion that might is right and inculcate in him the idea that others also have rights and they must be respected. In this manner he gradually learns to recognize mutual rights as a principle in co-operative living. Need we point out of what profound significance this development of the notion of mutual rights is for the growth of a healthy citizenship? Our rapidly increasing communal consciousness, social and political expansion and the increasing number of contacts which they involve, demand new limitations of rights and a more ample recognition of the boundaries of the group and the individual. Our short-coming in municipal government and other public activities can be remedied, at least in part, by teaching the young both the extent and limitation of rights. Does not this fact alone, namely, that play gives the child the much-needed training in the recognition of mutual rights, entitle it to be regarded as a most important school for the training of citizens?

Allied to the development of this recognition of mutual rights is the growth of self-control, which is a natural consequence of the former. The social results which follow are expressed in such ethical values as order, obedience, self-denial and discipline. The self-repression or self-control, which develops from the influence of play, makes obedience something more than unwilling subordination. When the child gets the idea on the playground that he should play the game according to its

rules, he carries these same ideas into business and plays the game there according to the rules of the business world. As children, they do not, of course, learn business or financial honesty; the idea of honesty they form is of personal relationships which occur almost entirely in play. Then again, the playground is really a voluntary democratic organization. Here the team elects its own captain and obeys his orders. It is necessary for the members to subordinate themselves and take the position assigned to them whether they like it or not, and yet their implicit obedience to the captain and the rules of the playfield is striking and cheerful. But how different is their attitude towards the rules of the school! The school, they think, is an absolute monarchy where the word of the teacher is law. Not so the playground; to them the playground is a perfect democracy where the rules are of their own making and hence self-imposed. But the rules of the school are imposed upon them from without. What is really worthy of notice here is the fact that the child wants to obey the rules of the playground because they are in harmony with his nature and his needs. The boy, who thus develops the spirit of obedience on the playground, learns, as he grows up, to respect authority and to obey the laws of the State.

But that is not all. Play emphasizes also the importance of the group as against the worth of the individual. The success of the team is soon recognized as more important than the brilliant achievements of a single player. And the necessary concessions to the interests of the group demand certain sacrifices of the interests of the individual. The idea of group life, of "social oneness," an ethical quality of unmistakable value, is thus developed. Is not this idea of the welfare of the group at the apparent, but not real, cost of the individual, which play emphasizes, in direct harmony with our present social need? The most important training given in this direction, we may say, is that of loyalty. Perhaps the greatest need in the civic life of every country is that its citizens shall acquire a community sense, that they shall be able to think in terms larger than those of their own individuality, and be willing to work unselfishly for the organization, the city or the

country to which they belong. The spirit of loyalty is an essential qualification of a true citizen, a selfless patriot. A person who thinks only of himself and his own welfare is a bad citizen, but he who always thinks of himself as a member of a larger whole to which his loyalty is due, is a good citizen. Loyalty, asserts Prof. Royce, is the most fundamental virtue, more elementary even than love in the moral code. How then is the child to cultivate this virtue? Is there any other way by which the child can more easily get the necessary training in this important feature of citizenship?

The easiest way to nurture this community sense in the child, this feeling of loyalty to a body larger than himself, is to encourage the child to participate in team-games. As a member of the team, he is obliged to do many things in its interest,—which in his own personal interest he would rather not do, —in order that the team might be successful. And this spirit of loyalty is spoken of as good citizenship when manifested in his relation to the city, and as patriotism when pressed into the service of the country. It is needless to say that this spirit of selfless devotion to an institution is most necessary for the success of any democratic government. Even the conflicts of the playground are of some service in building up the child's character; in fact, they awaken in the child his first notions of social justice. Further, the child's experiences of the organization and methods of play and the playground help to produce in him a sense of the value and uses of order which is the mainstay of social stability. So also that type of instant decision and execution, which is most valuable in social living, is derivable from games and athletics, inasmuch as all good play involves a discipline in instantaneous judgment and in the immediate execution of that decision with all the power that the child possesses. Whether or not men shall be successful in the management of public affairs depends almost entirely upon their training. Therefore the social values, which games teach, will play no mean part in preparing them for civic and national responsibilities.

Another of the most valuable results of play is the growth of the instinct of co-operation.

Since co-operation is the essence of the democratic movement, the capacity to co-operate on the part of the citizens needs further enlargement. While ability to work together spells ability to excel, the absence of this power means disunion and ultimate chaos. Practice in accomplishing a given task in co-operation with others impresses boys and girls with the immense value of concerted action. Since every child is expected to participate in the activities of the playground, the individual begins to learn that he is necessary for the success of all, and also that without his co-operation neither he nor his associates will be able to enjoy themselves. Thus through practice and sheer necessity, the child increases his capacity for co-operation. The citizen will not function wisely until he learns the value of co-operation and feels himself a part of the government. If his government is only moderately successful, he must feel the disparagement; if it fails he must share in the disgrace; if it succeeds, he may rejoice in the accomplishment as he would if it were entirely his own. Every achievement of the group will inevitably reflect itself in the attitude of the individual if the true spirit of co-operation prevails. The successful adjustment of the individual characteristics to those of the group so as to make the inter-relation possible is a prime task of the playground, and nowhere else can it be effected so satisfactorily.

Play is social in character and naturally therefore another of its positive social values lies in the effectiveness with which it brings together on a common level children of different castes and social standards. Children of all castes and religious groups are alike in their need for play, and the ideals of the playground are more or less the same for all. This common human need and this common mode of its expression furnish a basis on which children of all kinds and conditions can meet. Surely no better opportunities than those furnished by play could be desired for allaying caste prejudices, mitigating social and class differences, and laying the foundation for the recognition of our common humanity. The danger to a wholesome civic life in India lies in the communal conflicts and caste prejudices, in the lack of sympathy and

understanding and in the persistence within our gates of irreconcilable and hostile elements. But the opportunities afforded by organized and supervised recreation for accomplishing this task of unifying the discordant forces are certainly very great.

Play engenders under normal conditions a spirit of friendliness and good fellowship which creates an ideal atmosphere for the development of social graces. Play makes children thoughtful and courteous, and draws out the finer qualities of the spirit. Training in friendliness and companionableness have not been thought of as part of an education. Is there anything we are now giving in the school that means more for either success or happiness than the ability to make friends? The very best discipline the child can have in the art of living together comes not so much from school life as through social play of its childhood. All the great social movements of the present are nothing but expressions of the growing sense of racial solidarity, of human brotherhood. Anything that can help to train the children in this direction will be in line with the spirit of the New Age. If we wish to see more love and sympathy in this world, one of our first efforts must be to provide well-organized play for children and promote the right sort of sociability in them. Does not play, in view of the fact that it is really the most effective teacher of that kind of comradeship, which makes for political unity and racial amity, deserve a more prominent place in our system of education?

Then again, think of the training play gives the boy in sportsmanship. It trains him to play fair; to try to win and work all the harder when the odds are against him; to take defeat with a smiling face and come back to try his luck again; to accept the decisions of the umpire and not to try to avenge himself for his defeat by harming or insulting his opponents; to treat the members of the visiting team as guests and give them the position of advantage. Indeed, no better training than this is needed for civic conduct and social behaviour. No opportunity therefore for discipline in social living is more significant than that afforded by play, and if the school is to strive toward the ideal of social efficiency, it can ill-afford to neglect the play life of

boys and girls. Like all else, play is the soil from which evil as well as good may spring up. Hence if the possibilities for good is to be fully realized, play must be made a subject of serious study and careful direction.

Only recently has there come about a recognition of the opportunity made possible by play and the playground for training in social relationships and for building up in boys and girls the best social ideals. We have already seen how play tends not only to give physical efficiency, a good carriage, a full chest, a stable nervous system, a good digestion, a healthy sex development, strong heart and lungs and robust health but to develop in a rudimentary form the best types of social virtues. Such fine traits of character as loyalty, honesty, truthfulness, social justice, sportsmanship, generosity, respect for law and authority and devotion of one's self to the welfare of the group, emerge, quite naturally and spontaneously, in the life of the playground. Could any nation afford therefore to overlook the importance of play in civic training? Is it not regrettable that we in India have not yet begun to appreciate the great importance of play in building the character of our future citizens? If play is so significant a factor in the education of the child, should not the State spend more money on supervised play and the playground? When it means so much to the child's mental growth, should not play be given at least as much of his time as is devoted to one of his studies? If play develops all phases of a child's life, should not the opportunities afforded by it be used to their limit, to bring about his complete and harmonious development? If our children are to learn team work, imbibe the spirit of sportsmanship, develop the capacity for neighbourliness and form the habit of subordinating selfish to group interests, then they must be enabled to acquire these through experience, and it is play and the playground,—not the text-books,—that provide the necessary opportunities for such moral and social discipline. Therefore, if we want to make the child a social being, to live at peace and harmony with his fellows and to co-operate generally as a good citizen, we cannot afford to ignore much longer this play way of training the child in social virtues.

# THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES IN SOVIET RUSSIA

BY SASADHAR SINHA, B.Sc., ECON., PH.D. ECON. (Lond.)

**T**HE difficulties presented by national conflicts on the wide arena of the world have their counterpart in the problems connected with the various national minorities. Like nationalism, group loyalty, racial, linguistic and cultural, within the national boundaries proves more virile than is commonly supposed. The emotional drive behind it, unless afforded full play, may prove a constant source of trouble, even ultimate danger, to the body-politic. It cannot be suppressed. It has never been suppressed. It grows on conflict. National unity at the expense of the minorities has been attempted again and again. It was tried in Ireland; it has been tried in the case of the Jews in all Western countries; it is being tried in Germany at this very moment, but, in the long run, wherever the minority group is sufficiently large and exists in intimate spatial relation, it has succeeded in keeping itself distinct, ready to leap into resistance at the slightest provocation. It is nationalism in miniature. Like nationalism, the problem of minorities cannot be solved by simply ignoring it. The problem needs more radical solution.

A novel, and by far the boldest, solution of this delicate question comes from Soviet Russia. The Russian solution naturally forms an integral part of Communist philosophy, which in the last resort envisages a world society, but the lessons of this solution are such as to be of universal significance.\*

Russia, like all vast countries, is a conglomerate of racial, linguistic and religious minorities. In 1926, for instance, it was estimated that Soviet Russia contained 185 racial and 147 linguistic groups. On the other hand, besides Christians of many sects,

there live in Russia Muhammadans, Jews and Buddhists. In the pre-War days Russian Imperialism followed the steam-roller method of "Russification," recognized only Russian as the official language and Greek Orthodoxy as the State religion. The Jews and other non-Russians, the *Inorodtzi* (literally, the foreign-born), inhabiting the East, were treated as aliens. They had no civil rights. Thus, although the Russians were in a minority, *i. e.*, 43% of the population, the "official statistics managed to contrive a Russian majority of 63% by counting in the Ukrainians and the White Russians." The Government pursued a steady policy of apotheosizing the Russians over all the other ethnic groups in the Russian Empire. As members of the Imperial race Russians enjoyed privileges everywhere. In Asiatic Russia, for instance, the indigenous populations were deprived of their best lands in order that the Russian colonists might settle on them.\* Everything conspired to keep these people economically and culturally backward. Even in European Russia this policy found its echo. In the zeal for "Russification" the use of Lithuanian, Ukrainian and White Russian languages was forbidden. It was not until after the Russo-Japanese war that books in these languages could be published. Although the claims of the minorities were thus ignored, they were not thereby suppressed.

Indeed, in direct conflict with this centralizing policy, local nationalism had steadily grown throughout the Empire. Among the Western border states, its origin can be traced back to the 19th century, while Pan-Islamism among the Muhammadan populations grew with the resurgence of Muhammadanism in the Near East in the present century. Nationalism among the oppressed minorities and the revolutionary movement among the Russian intelligentsia went on hand in hand,

\* Cf. Dr. Hans Kohn's brilliant book on "Nationalism in the Soviet Union" (Routledge, 1933). This was written after the author's visit to Russia in 1931 on behalf of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Dr. Kohn's "A History of Nationalism in the East" (Routledge, 1929) is probably familiar to many readers of the *Modern Review*.

\* Cf. Tolstoy's parable "How Much Land Does A Man Need?"

one reinforcing the other. This alliance was not always plain-sailing, because the Russian revolutionaries themselves were often patriotically-minded. Nevertheless, so long as open conflict was averted, it was a source of strength to both. It is well known that the abortive reforms of 1905 were won by joint effort.

The assumption of power by the Bolsheviks in 1917 immediately brought them face to face with the national question—the question of minority rights. The collapse of the Tsarist Empire let loose two forces, which were equally important and equally dangerous. The growth of “Pan-Russian chauvinism,” as Lenin called it, among the revolutionary leaders on the one hand, and the growth of separatist movements among the national minorities on the other, boded evil for the future of the revolution. “Pan-Russian chauvinism” thus stood for centralization, breaking down all barriers of race, language and religion, and the creation of a State to all intents and purposes Russian. Behind all this quibbling with words, it was evident that the old imperial ideal was reasserting itself, but only in a different garb this time. The renewed vitality of nationalist sentiments of the racial minorities showed at the same time that the situation called for delicate handling. Slavophilism in any form would set the powder magazine ablaze. Lenin’s analysis of the problem or rather problems presented by these two points of view, diametrically opposed and yet not irreconcilable, was characteristic. At the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (March 19, 1919), Lenin said :

“It seems to me that the Finnish example and that of the Bashkirs show that in the question of nationality it is not possible to proceed from the assumption that economic unity is necessary at any price. Necessary, of course, it is. But we must attain it through propaganda, through agitation, through a voluntary union. The Bashkirs distrust the Russians, because the Russians are at a higher level of civilization and have used their civilization to rob the Bashkirs. Consequently in these remote districts the name Russian means “oppressor” to the Bashkirs. We must take that into account, we must combat it. . . We have only now learnt to manage better, and even that only some of us yet. Thus there are Communists among us who say ‘uniform schools’, and accordingly no instruc-

tion to be given except through the Russian language. In my view a Communist who thinks in this way is a Pan-Russian chauvinist. . .”\*

The solution followed as a matter of course. The Russian Communist Party firmly laid down the principle of self-determination for all peoples and their complete right to secede from the Soviet Union. This was a solution at once bold and constructive. At one fell swoop it took the wind out of the sails of extravagant local patriotism smarting under Russian oppression, supposed or real.

It is only natural that this policy did not meet with the approval of extremists on either side. The so-called “Left” internationalists opposed it on the ground that it went off at a tangent to the growth of international solidarity, while nothing but complete national autonomy would satisfy ultra-nationalists. Lenin set his face against both. To him, as indeed to all true Communists, nationalism is not an absolute ideal—the *summum bonum*. Lenin recognized it, but only as a relative concept, as a stage in the progress towards an international society. He said: “To refuse to recognize the Thing that Is, cannot be permitted: recognition enforces itself.” In the second place, the recognition of national autonomy would have gone against all his teachings. The realization of a supra-national outlook for Russia, which would bind all its units in harmonious co-operation, was for him vital for demonstrating that internationalism was more than an empty cant.

Obviously, the recognition of formal or constitutional equality† between the various

\* Cf. “Nationalism in the Soviet Union,” *op. cit.*, Appendix I.

† The Soviet Union is divided into 42 autonomous units, i.e., 9 federal member states, 15 autonomous republics and 18 autonomous regions. It is a federal constitution with various degrees of devolution. Purely local affairs, like law, public health, welfare organization and education are reposed in the autonomous units themselves. For economic, financial and labour questions, the Union and member states are held jointly responsible. The conduct of foreign policy, defence, transport, etc., lies within the competence of the Union acting through the All-union Central Executive Committee elected by the All-union Soviet Congress, the supreme organ of the Union. In addition to this territorial solution, elaborate “precautions have been taken

racial and linguistic groups (religious or doctrinal differences are not recognized in Soviet Russia) is the beginning, indeed a very minor beginning, towards the effacement of the past which had embittered their mutual relations. The cultural and economic reconstruction of the Union has consequently rivetted the major attention of the Soviet authorities. With a clearness of insight, characteristic of Lenin, he had seen that what differentiates the civilized from the uncivilized lies in the last resort in economic and, therefore, cultural differences. Human nature is the same everywhere. Once this was firmly grasped, the whole approach to the minorities, or, what is the same, nationalities, problem was simplified. The main task lay in the levelling up of the cultural and economic life of the constituents of the Soviet Union. With the removal of the economic, often disguised as the cultural, motive, the minorities problem will solve itself.

Cultural work took the form of what in Soviet terminology is called the liquidation of illiteracy and the emancipation of women. Neither of them was easy. Among the non-Russians, in many cases, there did not even exist a written literature. It was a tremendous task. Nothing daunted, the Faithful set to work. The miracle has happened. National literatures, both literary and scientific, have grown up throughout the Union. Truly national indeed are these, because the key to the Soviet linguistic policy lies, as Dr. Kohn puts it, in "simplicity and popularization." At the beginning of 1931, it is reported, "A reading book for sociology for the first grade schools" was published in the Mari language, a language spoken by one of the Finnish-Ugric tribes living in the extreme north of Russia, who before the war had no written literature of their own. Even in some of the more advanced areas, scientific studies could not, until lately, be carried on except through the medium of Russian. But so great has

to protect minorities, like the Jews, who do not live in any particular area. These minorities have their own schools and are allowed to use their mother-tongue for official purposes. On the other hand, when possible "they have been brought together in administrative units in which their language and their national characteristics have full play."

been the advance that by this year "there are to be sufficient teachers and sufficient lingual preparation to enable all faculties to use the language of the peoples." The task of women's emancipation, especially among the Muhammadan tribes of Central Asia, was fraught with explosive material. Any unnecessary haste would have spelt disaster. Co-education or free social intercourse among the latter would have been unthinkable in the early days. Special schools and special clubs had to be started for these eastern women. "Red Yurts" and "Red Kibitkas" were instituted in the areas inhabited by nomads and semi-nomads—transportable tents with which teacher and doctor and midwife and library went from camp to camp, held courses of instruction in reading and writing, in hygiene and the care of children, and made the women acquainted with their rights, and tried to organize them." All movements for freedom have their martyrs. Many a heroic Muhammadan woman paid with her life for her faith. Contrary to the usual belief, women had shown themselves more eager for their emancipation than their menfolk. Nevertheless, the civilizing influence has made rapid strides. Since 1927 the old caution on the part of the authorities has been found unnecessary. The "unchanging" East has begun to change. Indeed, in areas on a higher level of culture, like the Crimea, as Dr. Kohn points out, "the veil has completely disappeared. Tartar girls are increasingly attending the state schools . . . ; on the Corso in Simferopol they are hardly distinguishable in appearance and manner from Russian girls. . ."

In the economic sphere a similar policy has been pursued. In the pre-War Russia, the sole aim of the Russian industrial policy was Russia's enrichment. The non-Russian territories within the Empire were treated as virtual colonies. The Soviet authorities have completely reversed the process. A policy of decentralization is being deliberately followed with a view firstly, to bring up the economic level of the undeveloped territories to that of the more advanced, thereby strengthening the economic interdependence of the different parts of the country, and secondly, to create a native proletariat, who would be the backbone of the workers' state. The result of this policy is



already reflected in the proportionately larger "tempo" of industrialization in the periphery as compared with the centre of Russia. The exploitation of one part of the country (or of one people) for the benefit of another has ceased. The policy of mechanization of agriculture issues from the same motive. The old antithesis between urban and rural labour, a source of friction and of backwardness in the latter case, must be abolished.

National self-determination, economic and cultural equality among the various units of the Union, however, do not in themselves or even in conjunction ensure a supra-national outlook. Indeed, nationalism often becomes an end in itself, and economic and cultural motives serve to reinforce it. The Soviet authorities themselves are well aware of this danger.\* The building up of a common culture, the Communist culture, thus becomes the corner-stone of Soviet policy. In other words, this culture will be national in form but common in content. "The Communist state can grant entire lingual autonomy and liberty, but it cannot recognize cultural autonomy and liberty." It is in this sense that Party solidarity assumes such seminal importance. The party organization in consequence takes no cognizance of national differences. It is supra-national in character. It is believed, and from the party point of view no doubt rightly, that the ultimate defence against all fissiparous tendencies (as the Indian political jargon has it) must be the Communist Party which cuts across all racial and linguistic barriers and unites the party members in a common purpose. "The government and party machinery had to be 'rooted,' to use the official term, in the

indigenous population, as the Soviet state could only so be assured of the active co-operation of the broad masses among all its peoples."

Paradoxically enough, the cultural backwardness of Russia has not been an unmitigated evil. The Soviet authorities have a clean slate to write upon. For the bulk of the Soviet citizens at any rate the cultural heritage to which they come is the only culture they have. Everything is new to them. The generation that is growing up today, although speaking different tongues (and even that is not strictly correct today)\* is imbued with the same cultural outlook. It is bound to be a source of enormous strength to the new Russian society.

Clearly, any constructive solution of the minorities problem must begin by recognizing the basic facts which constitute the differences between minority groups. Race, language and religion are real enough and often let loose violent passions. Pan-Islamism in Central Asia or the smouldering nationalism in Ukraine or White Russia may yet disrupt the Soviet Union. And yet it may not. The mainspring of discord between national minorities, as between nations, lies elsewhere. Dr. Kohn is probably right in his insistence that the success of the Russian solution of the minorities problem will depend on the success of Communism as a whole. For, as he says, "it cannot be otherwise with Communism, as an ordering of life that takes account of all life, and aims at interpreting its meaning by a universalistic and all-embracing conception of the history and destiny of mankind."

\* Cf. Stalin's speech (July, 1930) in Appendix I, *op. cit.*

\* It is reported that since the removal of the Russian language from its privileged position, it is developing by free consent into a *lingua franca* for the multi-lingual Union.



## A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

**Y**ES, I know you love Narga and she loves you.' And then in reply to the unspoken question in Orlon's eyes I told him briefly how I had been an unwilling and unwitting witness to that evening scene in the wood when the first words of love had been exchanged between him and Narga.

'Have you spoken to Maruchi or any one else about it?'

'No,' I replied, 'I have kept your secret. Narga is her own mistress and except for the fact that she is a high priestess we would all welcome your union.'

'That is the trouble. I have never dreamed of loving Narga clandestinely, but my lips have been sealed on account of Narga's peculiar position. She warned me before and she repeated the warning this evening that if Karos and the other monks were to know that she has broken her vows and fallen in love with one of us our lives would not be worth an hour's purchase. Her power over them would vanish in an instant and although they will not offer her any violence they will certainly put our whole party to death and wreck the machine.'

'What do you propose to do?'

'The decision rests with Narga. During all these months that we have been away her heart has been torn with the struggle between her sense of duty and her own inclinations. I have told her definitely that whatever happens I will not expose any of you to any danger.'

'Tut, tut, danger and we have been bed-fellows far too long for any one of us to be scared by any danger signal. Narga must choose between you and her present position and if she decides to marry you we shall outwit the monks. I know that Maruchi will be pleased, though he is under the impression that Narga's heart is impregnable. You had better take Maruchi into your confidence without delay.'

'Not to-night. You see, Narga has not yet finally decided what to do, and however strong my own feelings I will do nothing to hasten or force her decision.'

'Quite right. But what about the sneak? He would like nothing better than to carry a tale to Karos.'

'I should like to wring his neck.'

'But it cannot be done. You will have to avoid meeting Narga every evening, for if Jomel were to see you together he would at once suspect the truth and then things would begin to happen. It would be safer for you to let me see Narga on your behalf.'

'I agree, but I must meet her at least once.'

'Let me come with you to guard against spying and eavesdropping.'

With this understanding we sought our beds for the night.

### XLI

We were invited the next morning to meet Narga in the room where we had seen her before. Nabor went with us, but Ganimet was mounting guard over the airship. Between him and Nabor it had been arranged that the machine should be watched day and night, either one or both of them being always present where the 'Mundanus' was kept.

Maruchi related our adventures and experiences and sometimes Orlon and myself added a few details. Karos and some others were present and behind Narga sat three or four young women novices, all listening with eager interest to the story we had to tell.

While speaking of what we had seen at Sipri Maruchi produced the instrument which had been presented to him by the scientists and handed it to Narga. She looked into it and exclaimed after a minute that it was wonderful as she could see objects and people at a considerable distance outside the room. The instrument went the round of the whole room and ejaculations of astonishment were heard from every one. When the penetroscope, as we had casually named the instrument for want of a better one, came back to Maruchi I took it from him and peering into it saw Jomel, who had not been asked to join our meeting, hanging about the entrance to the wing in which we were sitting. The sight of him gave me a sudden bright idea. With that instrument in my possession I could play the spy upon him far more successfully than he could upon Orlon or any one else of us and it would not even be necessary for me to follow him. I at once asked Maruchi to let me keep the instrument.'

'Certainly,' said Maruchi and went on with the recital of his story. When he described the Pompos and mentioned how we had captured two of them and afterwards restored them to liberty there were fresh exclamations of astonishment as very little was known about the Pompos and they were supposed to be a most dangerous and savage tribe. The mood of the hearers changed when Maruchi, with a fine and racy humour, described our experiences in the White City and City of the Kings. Narga burst into uncontrollable laughter when Maruchi gave

a vivid picture of the swaggering captain of the guard and the corpulent Governor of the White City and she nodded appreciatively when told of the acute and shrewd wit of Yoko. The account of the people in the City of the Kings not only amused her but set her thinking.

'Fancy a city,' she said musingly, 'peopled entirely by the descendants of kings and queens. And these people, as you say, have a lower order of intelligence than the common people.'

'I would not put it that way. We found them clinging to the memory of the past in a hopeless way and almost incapable of helping themselves. And consequently they had fallen lower and lower and lost all self-respect.'

'Yet you find a man and a woman among them, specially the woman Vanita.'

'Yes, in other times she would have made a great queen. I trust she will play an important part in the new order of things.'

'And you say you have roused them out of their apathy and made them work for their own benefit?'

'It was Orlon who woke them up and he spoke to them with the fire of a prophet.'

Narga cast a swift glance of admiration at Orlon but she would not let her eyes linger long on his face lest they should betray the deeper emotion in her heart.

Orlon said, 'I merely obeyed Maruchi's orders. He gives others credit because he is as modest as he is able.'

Narga said, 'You are all modest and you are all wonderful. Now tell me of your visit to the Master and to Raba.'

Maruchi spoke with deliberation. 'Something we may tell all but there are other things that we are not at liberty to speak about except to you alone, for you are among the initiates.'

Karos interrupted with some impatience, 'Do you suggest that the Master told you, who were utter strangers, secrets which he would not mention to his disciples or to us?'

'That is precisely what we mean,' answered Maruchi, 'and the Master knows that we shall respect even his unspoken wishes and what he was pleased to let us know in confidence is safe with us.'

'What was your claim to the Master's special confidence? I can hardly believe—'

'Peace, Karos,' broke in Narga in a voice of authority while her eyes flashed dangerously, 'you seem to forget yourself strangely. Who has invited your belief or unbelief? Who has constituted you the judge of the Master's discretion as to who are worthy of his confidence? I fully understand what Maruchi means and he is quite right. I think you are jealous, but such a feeling is unworthy of you.'

Karos held his peace. He was crest-fallen, but not quite convinced that he had been rightly reproved.

Maruchi described in glowing language the

physical appearance of the Master. Narga murmured approvingly, 'There is no one like him.' Maruchi spoke of the Master's kindness and how he gave us lavishly of his wisdom. He mentioned our visit to Raba without saying a word about the secret passage and added how the Master had spoken to the pilgrims. He concluded with a few more words.

Narga glanced at him once and then turned to Karos, 'I would now be alone with my honoured visitors.'

Karos and the other monks left the room though we could see they were anything but pleased at their dismissal.

'And now tell me everything,' said Narga with frank eagerness.

When Maruchi mentioned that the Master had taken us to Raba by the secret passage, which he vividly described, and had displayed miraculous powers, and how he had spoken to us every day and at night for hours on the deepest spiritual problems Narga was very much impressed and said, 'You have been greatly favoured and very rightly. But since the Master knew you were coming back here had he no message, no commands, for me, his unworthy pupil?'

'He could hardly send any message through us for we are outsiders and know nothing about your Order. But he certainly spoke about you as we did.'

'Whatever he said must be helpful to me. Tell me what he said.'

Maruchi looked slightly embarrassed and flashed a question at me with his eyes. The question was whatever it would be right to tell Narga what the Master had said about her. And then Maruchi spoke to Narga with some hesitation, 'I am not sure whether the Master wished what he said to be repeated to you.'

With swift intuition Narga turned to me. 'You, Sahir, are my good friend, and I can trust you to tell me all that the Master said. He would not mention to you anything that he would not tell me to my face.'

I felt she was right and I repeated to her what the Master had said about her.

Narga listened with quiet attention and then said, 'The Master must be right. I must have been impatient and I must have foolishly thought that I had no other trial to pass through. Few of us can judge our own selves rightly. The Master refused to say anything about my future?'

'He refused to try to look into it on the ground that the future so far as it is the outcome of the past cannot be altered, and probably he did not wish to disturb his own mind by attempting to read your future, which he would be powerless to turn from its course.'

'I am very grateful to you, Sahir, for what you have told me and although the Master has refused to lift the veil of the future I think I understand what he had in mind. Let me now

think a little, but I hope, I shall have other opportunities of speaking to you.'

We rose for we saw Narga wanted to be alone. As Maruchi and I came out with Nabor, Orlon lingered behind and probably some words passed between Narga and himself which we did not hear. We had proceeded only a few steps when Orlon overtook us. Maruchi was somewhat surprised and asked Orlon, 'You had something to tell Narga?'

'Yes, you will know what it was about in a little while.'

Maruchi asked no other question, but he became thoughtful. We came out. There was no one about. Maruchi and Nabor went straight to the building where the airship was kept. We followed more leisurely. As soon as the other two were out of earshot Orlon said, 'I have asked Narga to meet me this afternoon before sunset in the wood. I have told her that you know all. She was not surprised. She seemed to expect that you knew something from the way you spoke to her just now. She was rather pleased than otherwise for she has very great faith in your friendship. She will meet us both.'

'Good. As regards friend Jomel he will be on the trail whether by daylight or in the dark and we shall not succeed in shaking him off, but I propose to give him a pretty shaking when I catch him with his nose on the scent.'

I told Orlon of my little plan and tapped the instrument in my pocket. He rubbed his hands gleefully and his eyes were full of admiration. He chuckled as he said, 'You would have been a great man in the days when successful detectives were considered the greatest men.'

We found Ganimet at work on the machine and Nabor joined him as soon as he arrived. Looking at the two at work it occurred to me that we should be always in a state of preparedness. In spite of all my vigilance I could not hope to prevent Jomel from doing some serious mischief. Karos had been very much annoyed at being excluded from the latter part of our interview with Narga and although her authority was great who knew what would happen if the monks once took it into their heads that Narga had so far forgotten herself as to look upon one of us with eyes of love? They would naturally come to the conclusion that she had been tempted and had fallen. Her power would at once vanish and the infuriated monks would wreak their vengeance on us. Until, however, the meeting with Narga in the afternoon I could not communicate my fears to Maruchi. I watched Nabor and Ganimet at work and casually inquired how long it would take to make the machine ready for our final flight.

Nabor briskly replied, 'We are quite ready. I thought it would take us some days to overhaul the machine, but we have examined it

thoroughly and have found it in perfect condition. We may leave this moment if you like.'

This was reassuring. If we had not met Jomel at the monastery I would not have felt so anxious. The presence of this man portended danger, whether only to ourselves or to Narga also I could not say. I could only wait for the next turn of events.

When we returned to our rooms we did not meet any one. Perhaps Karos and the other monks were engaged, but even Jomel was not to be seen. I thought Maruchi had a feeling that something was in the air, but he would ask no questions until we volunteered some information. He noted that we had been left to ourselves since our meeting with Narga, but said nothing.

In the afternoon Orlon and I went out. I led him first towards the place where the machine was kept. I told him, 'We must not go straight to the wood. We shall go out as if for a walk and enter the wood from the other end.'

We saw Jomel standing under a tree near the central entrance of the monastery, but he made no attempt to follow us as we turned our steps towards the open fields.

'That man has no interest in us at present,' I said, 'and he cannot follow without being seen. He wants to find out whether there is anything unusual between any one of us and an inmate of the monastery.'

'Do you think he suspects anything about Narga and myself?'

'How can he? He has seen nothing, but he definitely suspects you, because you went out alone last evening and I prevented him from following you. No, I don't think he has any suspicions about Narga, for in spite of her great beauty, she is believed to be above all human weaknesses. My own idea is that Jomel believes you went to meet one of the nuns or novices secretly, for if you had gone to meet a man I would not have stood in that man's way when he tried to follow you. If he can find out anything there will be a terrible hubbub and Jomel will have the time of his life.'

Orlon rapped out, 'My fingers are itching to get round his throat.'

'Leave him to me,' I said, and we proceeded to walk on till we were out of sight and then turned round to enter the wood at a point away from the entrance that led from the monastery. Arriving at the open space where we had first landed on the morning that we had reached Mars I drew Orlon beneath a large tree that stood on one side, took out the instrument from my pocket and looked through it in the direction of the monastery. Presently, I saw Narga coming out and walking in her queenly way towards the wood, looking neither to right nor to left, nor once glancing behind her. And then I saw Jomel lurking in the distance behind her, moving from tree to tree seeking cover and looking behind him to see if he was being followed in his turn.

I handed the glass to Orlon who saw what I had seen and ground his teeth in anger. I said, 'Don't look like that when we meet Narga. Trust me to run Master Reynard Jomel to earth. We shall both meet Narga as if by accident and you must be careful to greet Narga respectfully like myself and not to kindle the love-light in your eyes. Don't let your eyes rove about in search of Jomel and behave as if we are not being shadowed by any one.'

Orlon readily promised implicit compliance with my instructions. Through the glass I saw Narga entering the wood and Jomel, who had drawn nearer to her, flitting from cover to cover like a shadow. Orlon and myself were walking slowly, for I wanted that we should meet Narga at a spot where there was plenty of cover so that the spy could hide himself and overhear the first part of our conversation. Having selected such a place we halted and a moment later Narga appeared, moving towards us with matchless grace, her long robe clinging to her graceful figure. As she approached us we bowed low to her, with deep respect and I opened the conversation.

'This is a delightful surprise and, a great honour, Lady Narga,' I said.

Women are quick-witted but Narga was quicker than most. We had met by appointment but from my words Narga understood that we should behave as if we had met by accident. She replied smilingly, 'I am pleased to meet you. I come here some time of an afternoon.'

I started talking of our visit to the White City and led the way to the open space where no one could follow us unseen and where we were out of earshot of any eavesdropper. Then lowering my voice I told Narga that she had been followed by Jomel who was even then hiding in the shrubbery.

'How do you know?' asked Narga in surprise.

I told her of the instrument I had with me and Orlon added that he also had seen Jomel following her.

'What do you propose doing?' asked Narga.

'I shall catch him now in your presence, but we cannot do him any violence, nor can we prevent him from carrying any tale he pleases to Karos and the others.'

Orlon said, 'The matter rests in your hands now, Narga. We are accustomed to danger, though I do not wish my friends to be exposed to any risk on my account.'

She looked at me, 'Sahir, my friend, what am I to do? You know all. My heart is no longer my own. How am I to choose between the man I love and my place here? I am no longer fit to be the priestess here.'

'Narga,' I spoke with decision, 'you must come with us. Once Jomel gets at Karos and the other monks you will lose all your power over them. They will not only try to kill us but may do you an injury. It is not, however,

on the ground of fear that I appeal to you. Be guided by the inclination of your heart.'

'So be it. But you must keep Jomel's mouth closed for this one night. Tomorrow let him make up any tale he likes, for tomorrow I shall go away with you.'

'Very well. Tonight we shall take care of Jomel. We shall put the fear of instant death into him if he dares to speak so much as a word against you or any one of us. You put your clothes and other things together so that we may leave early tomorrow morning.'

'I shall be ready,' said Narga and then she and Orlon exchanged a long, clinging look, and we strolled slowly back to the shaded path in the wood, in the vicinity of which Jomel lay crouched and concealed.

A single glance through the glass showed me where Jomel was hiding behind a bush. I stepped up to the place and caught him by the scruff of the neck. I lifted him to his feet and whispered fiercely in his ear, 'Raise a single cry and you are a dead man.' I shifted my hand from the neck to the throat and squeezed it till he was red in the face and his eyes bulged out. Then I relaxed my hold without withdrawing it while with the other hand I grasped him firmly by the arm and dragged him in front of Narga and Orlon.

Narga looked at him contemptuously but spoke no word. Orlon's eyes blazed in fierce wrath, but he controlled himself and spoke in an even voice, 'Well, my friend, your curiosity is rather unhealthy and may make you ill.'

I propelled Jomel in the direction from which we had entered the wood. A turn in the path hid Narga and Orlon from our eyes, but a few moments later Orlon overtook us with long, swift strides, and asked me, 'What do you propose doing with this viper?'

'We must take great care of him tonight and must not trust him out of our sight for a moment. Tomorrow we shall cease to have any interest in him.'

'Karos and the other fellows may want to take him away with them.'

'No fear. Jomel is too good a friend to leave us.'

I explained to Jomel in a few terse sentences that so long as he obeyed us he would be quite safe. He was going to take his evening meal with us and to keep us company for part of the night after which he would be free. But if he tried to escape or to communicate with the monks we would kill him at once. I twisted his arm to emphasize my statement.

Jomel was livid with fear. He was as limp as a bundle of rags in my hands and as passive. He professed he had meant no harm and he repeatedly promised to obey us implicitly.

When we came near the building in which the airship was kept I let go my hold of Jomel's arm and linked my arm with his as if we were

very intimate friends. Maruchi, Nabor and Ganimet were all there. They stared hard at Jomel, but I briefly explained everything. When I said that Narga and Orlon loved each other and Narga would leave with us the next morning the astonishment and the excitement were unbounded.

Maruchi warmly shook hands with Orlon. 'I dreamed of such a union,' he exclaimed enthusiastically, 'and Sahir told me you loved Narga, but I was doubtful whether there was any place for love in her heart. Praise be to Raba that my dream has materialized! Not all the monks and spies in Mars can keep Narga when she has made up her mind to go with us.'

Orlon shook hands with Nabor and Ganimet. Jomel was bewildered by the sight of all this exuberance of spirits, but when Ganimet with his eyes rolling horribly and his large and unhandsome face distorted with real or feigned passion lurched towards Jomel with his huge hands clawing the air the spy let out a squeal of terror and clung to me, trembling violently.

I laughed and pushed Ganimet away.

'No manhandling,' I said, 'besides, Jomel here is my particular friend,' and I patted the shivering spy reassuringly on the back.

Ganimet made a grimace of disappointment. 'I wish we were back to the good old times when spies were summarily hanged and shot. I feel I could stretch this rascal's neck with my bare hands without the slightest compunction.'

## XLII

We had to be very careful about the man Jomel. If he were to slip through our hands before we were ready to leave it might lead to grave complications and perhaps to a ghastly tragedy. At the same time we could not think of laying violent hands upon him, for apart from our own disinclination to do so there were Karos and the others to be reckoned with and we had to do all we could to avoid a conflict with them. Nothing less than the fear of instant and sudden death would prevent Jomel from attempting treachery and this fear I put into him as we proceeded towards our quarters. Outwardly, we appeared to be great friends, for I walked with Jomel arm in arm while the rest of us had taken up strategic positions which effectively prevented all chances of escape. I was engaged in persuading Jomel that even if any one asked him to leave us that evening he should refuse to do so on the ground that he was very happy with us. My persuasion was punctuated with gentle hints as to what would happen if he were so disobliging as to attempt to part company with us. I looked at him with murderous eyes as I said, 'Make the slightest movement and the next moment you will be dead before any one can stir a finger to save you. And you must laugh and look quite happy while you are with us. You

must not look like a frightened rabbit. Laugh now and let us see how you do it.'

Jomel laughed. It was a horrid cackle while his lips and face formed into a hideous grin.

Orlon clapped him on the back so vigorously that he winced and wilted. 'Never mind about laughing,' cried Orlon, 'you wear the winsome smile.'

And Jomel smiled. It was nearly as bright as the laugh.

In our own rooms we made a careful disposition of our forces. We made Jomel sit with his back to the wall while we sat close to him in a semi-circle so that we could easily reach him by putting forth our hands. When a man came in with our food we told him to bring Jomel's share also and he did so at once.

We had just begun to take our food when Karos and another monk came in. Karos looked surprised and said, 'Jomel, where have you been all the evening? I thought you were coming to take your meal with us.'

Jomel looked at us and we looked at him. Our looks were not at all menacing but they were very eloquent. Jomel said, 'I have been with your distinguished guests here. They have been very kind to me.'

Maruchi said, 'Our friend here has travelled a great deal and we find his conversation very entertaining. Let him spend this evening with us since we sha' be leaving very soon.'

'You heard what the Lady Narga said,' rejoined Karos. 'She holds confidential conversations with you and she will detain you here.'

'We have been away from our own world for quite a long time and we hope to have Lady Narga's permission to depart. If it has pleased her to converse with us in confidence on high subjects we feel very highly honoured. The great Master Ashan favoured us with his confidence and what he told us was intended for the Lady Narga's ears alone.'

'You are very fortunate. Even the Lady Narga takes your part against us.'

It was no part of our plot to precipitate a misunderstanding or a quarrel with the monks. Maruchi spoke with the adroit tact that never failed him. 'Hardly that, Karos. The Lady Narga had to be careful like ourselves. You are wise and we have been fortunate in meeting you and the other holy men here.'

This soft answer had the desired effect and Karos and his companion withdrew.

We sat up late that night talking over our plans for the next morning. We did not mind Jomel's presence as he could not understand our language and we avoided mentioning Narga by name. Orlon went out for a short while and when he returned Nabor and Ganimet went to the place where the airship was kept. They had instructions to take out the machine towards the end of the night and to be ready to leave the instant Narga and we boarded the ship.

About midnight Orlon and myself took Jomel to his room and tied and gagged him securely so that he could neither move nor cry out. We did not want him to witness our departure or to know when we left. We closed the door of his room from outside. Returning to our own rooms we put on our own clothes and laid aside those that the monks had given us. Some of these clothes were on board the airship. We had nothing to carry for Nabor and Ganimet had taken away everything belonging to us. Orlon told us that he had gone out to take from Narga a large bag containing her clothes, and he had put it away in a locker in our airship. She had also told him that she would come out very early before any one else was up and that we should await her half way between the monastery and the airship.

For Orlon there was no sleep that night. Maruchi slept a little while I had a few short snatches of uneasy sleep. Half an hour before dawn Orlon awoke Maruchi and myself by touching us gently, and we came out of our rooms and listened for any sound from Jomel's room or any other part of the building. There was stillness everywhere and we silently passed out into the open. Orlon ran swiftly with noiseless feet to assure himself that Nabor and Ganimet were ready at their post, and he returned and whispered that everything was right. We then looked anxiously towards the door that led to the apartments of Narga.

There was a cool breath of the coming morning in the air. The light of the stars was paling and not many were visible. Our own planet was fading in the growing light and in the east the grey of the dawn was dispelling the blackness of the night.

As we strained our eyes in the direction from which we expected Narga to appear we heard a frightful uproar near the rooms we had occupied and knew at once that Jomel had been discovered

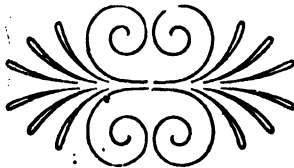
and his tale had been told. The next instant two doors in two parts of the building were flung open. From the first issued Narga with a startled look in her eyes, and from the other emerged the monks with Karos at their head and Jomel well behind the rest. Narga cast one glance at them and then she ran like the wind, urging us with her right hand to hurry back to the airship. The monks were furious and were shouting death to us all. Their object was to get between us and the ship and prevent us from boarding it. But they were not young, they were big and heavy men and they were too close to one another to be able to run fast.

Orlon made a movement of going towards Narga but Maruchi seized him firmly and as we ran to the ship he said, 'The monks could kill us by merely holding us. Narga herself wants us to reach the machine. She is quite safe.'

The monks were still at some distance when we ran up to the machine. Maruchi and I clambered in at once but Orlon insisted on waiting for Narga.

Seeing that we had given them the slip the monks turned to intercept Narga. They spread out with the intention of barring her way to the airship, though they merely thought that she wanted to save us from their fury and had no suspicion that she intended to join our flight. They might as well have tried to catch a bird flying through the air. Narga was out through them like a flash and the moment she was within reach Orlon caught her in his outspread arms and swung her on to the machine and sprang in after her. There came a horrified gasp and a smothered yell from the monks. Nabor turned on the switch charging the protecting wires round the machine with the electric current and Karos and the monks who tried to lay hold of the machine were thrown back staggering and reeling, the machine ran a short distance and rose swiftly into the air.

(To be continued.)



# THE PROBLEM OF PSYCHO-PHYSICS IN WESTERN AND EASTERN THINKING

BY KURT F. LEIDECKER

THE relation of the psychical to the physical has been one of the vexing problems in Western philosophy and, like every problem in metaphysics, has not been settled. The reason is very patent. The solution of philosophical questions depends entirely upon the attitude which a person assumes. No consensus of opinion, however, would be possible were it not for the fact that the great variety of attitudes which people take towards life, can be reduced to a few types which are very clear-cut and distinct from each other. Conclusions follow logically from certain assumptions, and, likewise, a person's behaviour and habit of thinking flows logically from his attitude.

It is possible to take two fundamental attitudes toward the problem of psycho-physical relationships. One is to acknowledge its reality, the other is to deny it. In the first case it is a matter of inclination whether we believe merely in a parallelism between the psychical and the physical, or in the existence of a definite influence of the physical on the psychical or *vice versa*. Belief in the impossibility of any relationship whatever by no means implies disbelief in the spiritual. It may indicate that the person has no faith in the existence of the spiritual, everything being physical and material; but it also may mean that the person interprets nature spiritually only. Each of these views—and there are many gradations arising from the greater or lesser power one is willing to allow either the physical or the psychical—may be defended rationally and to complete satisfaction. The only question is whether we are willing to accept the premises.

Let us see briefly which views the West has favoured on a whole, before we discuss the Eastern view on the subject. The exponents of a strict parallelism really fail to see the problem. They keep the physical—by which we understand here always the material

and the purely physiological and biological—absolutely in isolation, as they do the psychical—by which we here understand the spiritual, the mental and the conscious in general. There can be as little relation or communication between the two as there can be between a thing and its image in the mirror, provided we do not invoke the aid of a miracle which, though permissible, is yet neither scientific nor philosophic. We characterize this doctrine as dualism in its uncompromising form. In its milder form, dualism accepts physical and psychical reality in their distinctive qualities, but endows them with properties producing reactions in the other. Sometimes it is the physical which stimulates and encroaches on the psychical, at other times the psychical determines changes in the physical. Such a view is tenable but has to face many difficulties which monism attempts to correct. If both the physical and the psychical are capable of interacting, then both must share certain qualities and their nature cannot differ very much. Thus, why not allow only the physical or the psychical? The various manifestations may then be considered modes of one being. A religious person, or one believing in the supremacy of the spiritual, would, in taking this step, fear to be thrown together with rank materialists. Scientists, on the other hand, are apt to reduce spiritual to physical reality, and should they not be willing to do so they would lay themselves bare to the charge of inconsistency.

In the treatment of the psycho-physical problem it has always been the tendency of Western thinkers not only to accept certain traditional views, but to make the constitution of the individual the writ large of the universe. To talk of body-mind or mind-body does not alter the situation very much; it simply evades the issue. Philosophic thought in the East, whose cradle has been India, approaches the question under consideration differently. The



general premise of all Western speculators about the psycho-physical is that thought is completely other than the reality about us. They artificially separate the contents of consciousness and hypostatize certain elements. Mind and soul is known only from what they are about, yet they are set up as separate entities in a complex world. Likewise, tangible matter is known only in those qualities which affect our mental and psychological apparatus, yet it is treated as a foreign substance. The correctness of these premises as we hinted in the beginning depends on our attitude. Strictly, they can neither be proven nor disproven. All we can say is that they lead us on to conclusions which are not wholly acceptable either to the scientist or a religious consciousness.

Let us see in what light the psycho-physical problem appears in Hindu philosophy. As we cannot go into a detailed discussion of intricacies of language and thought we must rest content with a summary picture and an abstract, as it were, from the Hindu outlook on life.

When we reflect on life and the universe we make use of what the Germans call a certain *Einstellung*, that is, we turn away from our habits of doing, the ordinary routine of everyday existence, that is, as we commonly say, we stop and think. This is a most significant act, for immediately the world assumes a novel aspect. We become aware that this world in which we acted and were acted upon a while ago is, to speak with Schopenhauer, our idea. It is all content of our consciousness. Mind and the "psychical" are the necessary conditions of our experience and whatever is is merely our experience. The importance of this insight for the mind-body problem consists in that we cannot talk about a physical *influencing* a psychical or a psychical *influencing* a physical, but that the psychical is to the physical like the tree to the leaf. The existence of the tree is the necessary condition of a particular leaf. The existence of the tree does not cause the leaf, but is necessarily, or from principle, or *a priori* contained in the concept of the leaf. And thus the whole universe in Hindu thinking is not an interaction of physical and psychical reality, but one mighty manifestation of consciousness.

What practical consequences arise from such a view and how are the phenomena which are explained on the basis of a psycho-physical relationship to be evaluated in this theory?

In the first place we must rid ourselves of the generally accepted, though somewhat antiquated, idea of a pantheism underlying the Hindu world image. That any particular thing or any collection of things is God is at best very unphilosophical and Hindu speculation cannot be charged with that. The most daring step which ancient Indian philosophers took was to identify the essence of the human with that of the universe in the famous Upanishad phrase *tat tvamasi*, That art thou. Not this limited complex of feeling qualities called the body, nor that complex of thoughts and ideas called the mind is supposed to be identical with the world; but the self of man, *atman*, is the same as the Self or Soul of the universe. In other words, the necessary, *a priori* background of this my individual experience is the same as that which forms the logical substratum of the universe, call it God if you like. Not, as some mystics have said, that the human soul is a spark of the divine; the self within each man coincides, as it were, with the fond and font of the All.

This identity has, indeed, been discovered also by idealists in the West in their theories of knowledge. But the East has never been satisfied with this intellectual discovery. It went farther than that and asserted that this identity must be made an object of experience. The only way is full realization of the import of this metaphysical truth. Herein lies the happiness and bliss, *ananda*, which every Hindu sage wishes to attain. It also supplies the basis of all morality. Not only is a truly happy person good by nature, but the realization of oneness with all can lead to no evil deed or thought.

Although, generally, Hindu philosophers defined the ultimate reality in impersonal terms as *That, It, This, this world all*, and the like as an object of reverence and wonder, a personal relation was bound to be uppermost in the minds of devotees. Religious enthusiasm and inspiration are always more fervid if the object of piety is conceived as having some characters that are akin to mankind. In prayer too, it is in the nature of

language to lapse into a personal attitude. But it must be said that the Hindus generally do not pray in the sense of asking a favour or making a petition. Their prayer is rather a meditation, a collecting oneself, which has the significance of putting oneself in closer touch with the metaphysical world-ground.

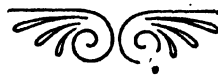
If we enquire finally what benefits are to be derived from this particular Hindu attitude, we get a different picture from that usually drawn of Hindus. Pessimism is in order for those only, who see no escape from the round of rebirths, *samsara*. Salvation lies in the vital realization of the unity of all, as described above. Since, however, not all are philosophers, they cannot fully comprehend the meaning of the metaphysical solution and their unhappiness has always been taken as typical of Hindu life and religion. The Vedantin, on the contrary, presents the picture of contentment, for he ever keeps the object of his realization in view. He need not, like the Yogin, take recourse to physical means in order to get in touch with the highest reality, as he carries it deep within himself.

And here we should point out the implications which the theories of re-incarnation and *karman* have as far as the problem of the psycho-physical organism is concerned. The logicalness of the Hindu who is unafraid to draw the ultimate conclusion and to accept it at its full value becomes apparent when we take into account the following.

Those who consider the round of rebirths, *samsara*, as practically stopping only at the world end to begin again in the next *Kalpa*, submit to their fate quietly and without complaint. To uphold their belief they must postulate a soul-entity—the psychical mechanism

of the Western world—and a corporeal entity which is the body, with this difference that in the Hindu concept of body is included a finally assorted mass of material elements, starting with the tangible elements constituting the body proper and ending with an ethereal substance representing the mind-stuff. The same laws which govern the physical world hold good in all classes of "matter." Action and reaction, cause and effect, stimulus and response are inviolable behaviours in these realms, and the totality of such forces is called *karman*, i.e., action. This action may be good or evil, leading to a pleasant or an unpleasant future life. It is to be noted that thought falls under the same category, producing good or evil *karman*. In as much as it is the nature of living bodies to react and to act spontaneously, *karman* is inevitably accumulated, and the only hope of a person consists in diminishing his pile of evil *karman* and building up more and more good *karman* around the nucleus of his self or *atman*.

This is a consistent doctrine. It avoids all those dangerous rocks before which the Western thinkers halted, faltered or turned back. It is ruthless in its consistency, but at the same time, or, rather, because of its relentlessness, it is blind. Hence that mightiest of all human struggles—equalled by the medieval cry for salvation from original sin—the struggle to get out of the round of rebirths, to be released and to attain peace and everlasting happiness. And India *did* find the solution in the sublimest of all truths that the individual self is identical with the All, that *atman* equals *brahman*, and that in knowledge or realization, *vidya*, salvation is to be found.



## A TRILOGY OF PARADOXES

By FRANK C. BANCROFT, JR.

**A**MONG Europeans who have become "seasoned" by a considerable residence in this country, the common assumption is that Indian temperament is at bottom paradoxical and therefore beyond ordinary human comprehension. If the personal reference may be pardoned, this is a matter of considerable interest to myself, for in it lies the influence which has kept me here much longer than I had originally intended and which largely occupies my attention as I make ready to depart. This matter of paradox deserves attention, for it is more complicated than we generally assume. Often what we regard as paradoxes are mere superficial disparities which tend to dissolve themselves as we learn more of the real meaning below. Again, more significantly, sometimes the so-called paradox is a *bona fide* conflict, *i. e.*, apparently paradoxical conduct results from the fact that an individual-in-society is a complex affair and that the forces which impinge upon him at one time lead him to feel, think, speak and act in one way, and later in a different. However much experience and patient analysis correct understanding of such a situation may demand of us, there is nothing mysterious or occult about it; once we realize the nature, the intensity, the complexity and frequency of these currents, the conduct becomes natural enough. Indeed, in this sense human nature is paradoxical in varying degrees the world over.

But there is a set of facts which tend to make Indian temperament perhaps a shade more paradoxical than most. After a brief examination of them, we shall proceed to the task of attempting to unravel three of the paradoxes which most commonly confuse the minds of those foreigners who are interested in understanding the people among whom they live. Even in settled conditions of culture there is always a certain amount of perennial conflict between the desires and interests of the individual and folkways and inhibitions of his group. Indeed it is these which

have provided the skeletons of ninety-five per cent of European novels and dramas from the origins of those literary forms to the present day. It is always interesting to watch the reactions of people who have been told that they may not have something which they very much want, or that they must accept something for which they have slight inclination.

This normal conflict is drastically accentuated in India today by two principal facts. In the first place her entire national life, beginning at the top and percolating down to the very bottom, is coerced by a political, a cultural, an economic, a religious and a social pressure from without. In other words, that very agency which usually represents stability elsewhere—that is to say, the largest corporate entity, society—here is a source of conflict of the most violent nature. It is but natural that when the stabilizer itself runs on a loose pulley its component parts will not tend to manifest a high degree of stability. It requires a stretch of the imagination to grasp the second fact, for it is so stridently at variance with this one. It is simply this: That Indian society is, by nature, extremely conservative. Now we are coming somewhat closer to the central source of all this paradox. Do you not see that if a characteristically close-knit and static social organism is called upon to live in continuous change and in continuous conflict with another of an entirely disparate order, that it is bound, in the very nature of the case, to produce paradoxical individuals? If the centripetal and the centrifugal forces always operated with the same intensity, a remarkable stability would of course be produced. But they do not. Let us take an instance. The centrifugal forces begin to operate in a mature Indian girl undergraduate. She has been reading Keats, Shelley, Swinburne and Browning. She has visited an occasional Occidental cinema. She has met one or two sophisticated companions of her brothers.

Circumstances so conspire that she thinks and says a number of things which are considerably eccentric to the customarily prescribed behaviour of her sex, caste and class. As long as these forces have relatively free play, she is a tolerably unified individual. But suddenly the centripetal ones begin to function. Perhaps they come in the shape of conscience (*i. e.*, social memory); perhaps in that of a severe fraternal or paternal reprimand; perhaps in that of fear of detection and social boycott. Inwardly and outwardly she changes. But there is nothing particularly paradoxical about it. Ordinary human beings, Indians or otherwise, men or women, placed in similar circumstances, react in this fashion. Thus to an examination of several general classes of confusing conduct in India.

## I

## ORGANIZING ABILITY

Europeans (and not infrequently Indians themselves) are often taken aback by the fact that the latter exhibit a lamentable lack of organizing power. Among all peoples, they say, those of this country should excel in this respect, for their family and social life is perhaps the best disciplined in the world. In an Indian household there is not the slightest doubt about who wields supreme authority nor about the exact relationship which exists between every member and all the others. Each has his duties and prerogatives and is quickly called back into line if he transgresses or falls short. So in the larger social groups; each caste, each class, each profession is strictly docketed and the machine runs like clockwork. Such a condition would seem to provide the ideal background for the efficient functioning of voluntary organizations, such as the Congress, agencies of social service, municipal bodies, educational institutions, etc. All that is necessary is that the members transfer to the leaders and to their colleagues the same attitudes and the same sense of authority and discipline which they habitually exhibit in regard to their parents, wives, husbands, sisters and brothers. But what do we see? Hardly a voluntary organization of any kind in India which is not perpetually

split asunder by schisms, factions and disintegrations. Whence the paradox?

There are two principal sources, one external and one internal and both comparable to the fact that an unused member tends to atrophy. Ordinary Indians have not had the opportunity to order their own corporate affairs literally for centuries. From the feudal stage (which was a world-phenomenon and which produced the general irresponsibility which forms the principal problem of democracy to this day) they passed under first, the Muslim domination and then the British. It has become part of their very nature to look up for orders rather than in and out for corporate plans. That particular function of the human personality which enters into voluntary and sustained corporate enterprise has lain dormant so long that it can scarcely be awakened in a trice. Collateral with this is the internal fact. The traditional Hindu family is a benevolent despotism in which each member performs certain duties but in which he seldom has to exercise the disciplined initiative which is the heart of voluntary corporate enterprise. During his youth he does what he is told; in his maturity he does the telling and others obey. Between these two periods there is nothing.

The educated young man who is expected to share in voluntary enterprise today is egregiously badly prepared for it. During his boyhood and young manhood he has alternated between two despotic milieux; that of his paternistically geared home and that of his bureaucratic school and college. I cannot quite express the surprise which came to me when I became aware of the juvenile disciplines under which college students live in Calcutta. Two agencies and not one are responsible for it. On the one hand, Government does not trust these young men because they are potential terrorists and trouble-makers; and on the other hand, their parents and guardians do not trust them, because they may fall into evil ways. Between the two the youth has not the ghost of a chance of developing into the kind of man who can corporately bear responsibilities with equals and who can make a disciplined inferior and a reasonable superior. Human nature is like a jack-in-the-box. Once the overhead pressure has been removed, we see before us

the very embodiment of self-asserting arrogance—or a supine willingness once more to be “squashed” down into the little compartment.

## II

### REGARDING THE PHYSICAL

Before coming to India it was my impression that the tendency to separate the spiritual and the physical into sharp dichotomy is a Hebrew trick and that in India, I would find a more penetrating realization of their interrelation. Certainly the expectation cannot be considered entirely without foundation. It has become a truism to remark that India's traditional and characteristic contribution to the world of thought is that all things are One. The final word of India in the metaphysical realm is monism, pure or qualified. And that of the Hebrew-Christian tradition is dualism, sharp or mystically softened. The latter had failed to satisfy me and I hoped to find a vital interpretation of the former in the life of contemporary India. How pitifully naive—to expect unity of life in the India whom history, internal and external, has torn to bits! At any rate, such was my hope; but what did I find? I have never known any people in whose minds and actions there exists a more categorical disjunction of spiritual and physical than my Indian friends of the moment. The very word “physical” has become an accepted adjective of contempt and aspersion and everything pertaining to the physical life of man is regarded as inimical to his spiritual development. And yet, when this troubled life of psycho-physical conflict is terminated, the corpse is escorted to the burning-ghat by the cry “Hari Om.”

How is it that India has so conspicuously relinquished her birthright? Have I fallen into some grave error of insight when I presume that the fruits of monism should be not asceticism, but a sacramental attitude which conceives the physical as a medium of expression for spiritual values? It cannot fairly be answered that such a spirit as I describe pertains to the India of a century ago, but not to today. Is not the ascetic Mahatmaji still m.c. to the liking of the people than the Greek Rabindranath?

Insuperably great as he is as a political and social prophet, when it comes to the inner psyche and the normal life of the individual, Gandhiji is of the flesh-and-bone of Simeon Stylites and Savanarola. Such a disposition is what is commonly accepted as “holy” in the India of today. Before the turtle-soul can find light, it must pull in the head and limbs, representing the five senses. The senses are not servants helping the individual in his pilgrimage, but traitors leading him inevitably into the nether abyss.

This paradox is considerably more difficult to resolve than the previous one; indeed, it is something of a real paradox. But we must attempt to scale its battlements.

In the first place, it must be remembered that in all lands the philosophy of the enlightened ones and the psychology of the common people do not at all points coincide. It is extremely doubtful that the ordinary run of Indian men and women ever understood, let alone vitally adopted, any form of monism. Early they came to realize that undisciplined sense expression led to a deterioration of spiritual life, so they broke their world up into two inimical halves and called the one heaven and the other hell. In the realm of sex, hell became permissible only after marriage, when it somehow got itself transmuted into a kind of heaven. This was a little hard to understand, but the priests said it was so, so it must be. It is a temptingly easy solution of the moral problem to hang the placard “bad” over the physical and “good” over the so-called spiritual and let it go at that. Everyone can perceive the difference (or thinks he can).

But even among the thoughtful monists themselves, there was at work a dialectic which was inevitably tending toward asceticism. True it is, they said, that all things are at bottom spiritual, and that, *rightly understood and properly controlled* the physical becomes the medium of the spiritual. But what usually inhibits us from a full understanding and enjoyment of this fact? It is improper and undisciplined sense-expression. Therefore the senses have to be *converted* to their proper use and this can be done only through a rigorous and prolonged course of control. Therefore in their naïve and raw condition,

the senses are inimical to spiritual realization. Hence *yoga* and asceticism.

Unfortunately, human beings usually forget the point during the process and somewhere along the line apotheosize the subsidiary technique, losing sight of the goal. This is probably what happened in India. Undoubtedly the early conception of holiness was wholeness, a unified life in which the physical, mental and spiritual worked spontaneously and organically. To this end, discipline was necessary. But, on the way, holiness was transferred to the discipline itself and the "holy man" became the one who lashed, starved, and lacerated his body into subservience. Alas! While "brother ass" was being whipped into harness the sweet meaning of life had scampered off into the woods of oblivion.

But the worst has not been said. If Indians as a whole had been willing and able scrupulously to follow the implications of this philosophy—*i.e.*, if the people had turned wholesale into one hundred per cent ascetics, *yogis*, *sannyasis* and *brahmacharis*, there would have soon been a wholesome reaction which would have blown the lid sky-high. But they were not so easily to be trapped. They evolved a professional clique of scapegoats (at Benares and elsewhere) and commended themselves to a permanent blame-complex. These, they said, were the ideals of human life. They were "holy men." But, for themselves, it was necessary, for the work of the world, that there should be "worldly men." Thus, no doubt unconsciously, the problem of the good life was flubbed. And the paradox of India's present attitude toward the physical life is that she still groans under this unhappy legacy.

### III

#### PRECARIOUS ROMANCE

Lastly, let us look at an interesting and allied paradox, *i.e.*, the condition of romance in India today. This also considerably confused me in my early residence here. I went to live with college students and, as far as I could perceive, their lives were entirely devoid of this element which plays so important a part in that of their contemporaries in Europe and America. Theirs, in

short, was a womanless existence, a situation with which I quickly came to sympathize! As usual, my first reaction was naive. Had I not been told that East and West were poles asunder? Here it seemed, were young men who were not young men in the sense I had previously understood—beings peculiarly interested in young women. No doubt their studies, athletics, pecuniary worries, and politics completely filled their minds and spirits. In the beginning, from time to time, I vaguely wondered whether it was not India which I had always considered a country of romance, but at length I began to conclude that this had no doubt been false testimony of the order of "Mother India," "Uncle Sham," etc. I stoically resolved to adjust my thinking to the facts.

But then, gradually, I began to detect in my companions a suspicious proclivity to read lyric poetry and to creep clandestinely into the more erotic Western films. Furthermore, when the formality wore off, I became aware that at times their conversation sought levels different from those of metaphysics and politics. Again, the pictures in their rooms were not all of Bhagat Singh (I was in Lahore) and the Taj. Most inconsiderate of them—to force me into another mental adjustment. Then I began to inquire whether romance had really always been contraband in India. Had the moon, the fields, and the rivers always been of purely astronomical, botanical and geological interest? Little by little I was acquainted with the fact that in North India there was to this day a predilection for the more erotic of the Persian poets and that in Bengal there had been certain Vaishnav versifiers of similar stamp. And then I received primary introduction into the metaphysics of Radha and Krishna. Tagore, of course, was to be interpreted purely metaphysically. I wondered. . . .

Now, I am sorry to say, the cat is out of the bag. It happens to be a fact that not only are Indian young men young men, but Indian young women bear close resemblance to young women! The only difference is that they have more difficulty in actualizing it. Such is social obedience in India that the older generation is not even aware of what is going on inside the hearts and minds of their sons and

daughters today. With the exception of a slowly increasing number of clandestine departures, external relations go on today much as before. But the tide is rising and one day, not in the very distant future, romance will once more come into its own in India. It is in the mind and blood of the people and murder will out. It is already "outing" more than nine-tenths of the population realize. But the price is often cruel and the percentage of broken hearts is sadistically high. There is some consolation in the fact, however, that this curve will decrease as its cause increases. This is the positive side of the law of diminishing returns.

Thus this paradox resolves itself comparatively simply. Superficially one wonders how it can be possible that a people uniquely rich in romantic imagination can be almost completely starved of it in experiment. In the first place, the repression itself is no doubt responsible for much of the lyrical exuberance, as is the case in all times and countries. "The sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought." Keep a romantic young man severely solitary at ten o'clock on a full-moon night and the odds are that he will write a poem—though not so good a one as if he had done a little preliminary laboratory work. Much of what remains of the paradox is further resolved by realization of the fact that the present constricted social order is not an immemorial one in India. Time was when young men and young women had considerably more prenubial freedom than today. Numerous invasions, and particularly the Mussalman invasion, did much to tighten things up. Sudden and unaccustomed congested living in a place like Calcutta has in recent times

increased the difficulty, by making contact more inevitable and more dangerous. It is really not a paradox. It is a socio-historical complex.

#### AN ATTITUDE

No claim is advanced that these "solutions" adequately or even correctly get to the bottom of the three paradoxes dealt with. No doubt continued living and thought in India would produce newer and deeper insights into the nature of them. And even if these three were satisfactory, there remain dozens of others which baffle us foreigners. My only hope is that the assumption and the method are correct. The assumption is that Indian nature is human nature and that the laws which affect it are those which affect the rest of us, however different the particular contemporary and historical facts may be. The method is that of sympathetic effort to understand and suspended judgment. The former presumes a certain social attitude toward one's fellow-men as a whole, and the latter a rather difficult and always bothersome condition of the judgment—i.e., that of stable disequilibrium. Our judgment always wishes to rush into port and to settle down in the haven of accepted attitudes and neat formulae. This permits us to make speeches and write articles, but it does not permit us to go ahead in the vital process of growing in understanding. For what it is worth, I offer this as a fruitful spirit in which foreigners may enter into rapport with Indian people. Of course those who come only to tour, to rule, to convert, or to exploit, will not be interested. Fortunately, these by no means constitute the entire European constituency in India today.



# PRINTING IN INDIA TODAY—ITS NATIONAL ASPECT

I. By C. F. ANDREWS

I have kept in my writing case now for nearly a year a remarkable paper which I received from Nitindranath, the grandson of Rabindra Nath Tagore. Before he died, he told me very much about his own ideals and I have embodied these conversations in this paper.

Germany is today in the throes of a great revolution which represents a tremendous reaction on the part of the younger generation against the cruelty and falsehood of Versailles. At the time that this Peace was forcibly imposed upon Germany, I wrote an article in *The Modern Review* (August, 1919) called 'A Peace that is No Peace,' condemning the dishonourable way in which that peace had been made. At the end of that article, which was actually finished on July 9th, shortly after the signing of the peace, I wrote as follows:

"Just as from every corner of the world the cry went up before against the inhumanity of the war methods employed by Germany, which shocked the conscience of mankind, so now from every corner of the world the cry will go up against the inhumanity of these 'peace' methods of the Allies, which, as soon as they are fully known and understood, will shock the conscience of mankind. Inevitably this will come to pass, and the voice of thoughtful men everywhere will be clear and strong."

Unfortunately, the latter part of this sentence did not come true, for very little protest was made at the time, and I was bitterly attacked for writing this article. But very slowly since then the tide has turned and the treachery of the Allies has become more and more openly recognized.

The aftermath of the War told on the German people far more severely than on any other portion of Europe; for in that land, the suffering that had succeeded the War was almost greater in its physical misery than that which occurred during the war itself. We must remember this when we judge the things that are now happening before our eyes in Germany today.

Since the year 1919, I have visited Germany five times in all, and while on each occasion my admiration for the German people has steadily grown greater, there has been mingled with it an ever-increasing sense of a weight of sorrow lying heavily on the land which nothing seems able to remove.

On the last two occasions, my errand has been itself a sad one. This has naturally added to the gloom of the picture which I drew in my own mind. For Nitindranath, the grandson

of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, had gone to Germany, with high hopes, only a little more than a year ago in order to carry through a great object for his own country whereon he had already set his heart and soul. He was determined to create in India an artistic school of printing, not inferior in any respect to the finest art printing schools in Europe and America.

I have with me a pamphlet beautifully set up in type, which he published in Germany a short time ago.\* In this, he explains his whole idea of national printing in India. He tells us how in the year 1561 A. D., the Portuguese missionaries brought with them the message of John Gutenberg to the shores of India. His article will, I hope, be published in *The Modern Review* where readers may get for themselves his point of view. Here I only wish to tell, in the simplest way possible, something about this young author and printer, whose last days were passed in Germany which he had learnt to love as his own home. He had suffered quite unexpectedly for some months from a very rapid form of illness which brought to an untimely end his brilliant career.

During the last days of the illness he spoke to me often about the plan he had been preparing for carrying forward more rapidly the handicraft of his own country in this direction. His longing was that the great skill in craftsmanship, which had been inherited in India for more than a hundred generations, should be revived and employed for art printing. Especially he desired that the vernacular scripts of India should have their own fully acknowledged place as works of beauty in the Printer's Art.

A very brief sketch of his career may here be given. After he had gone through his preliminary education at a modern school, called St. Christopher, at Letchworth, near London, the choice was offered him of either continuing his studies in some university, with a literary end in view, or else of taking up some technical course, such as art-printing. He preferred the latter, and after trying various forms of technical work he became more and more enthusiastic about this printing course he had originally chosen.

At first he was sent as an apprentice to the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, in order to study from beginning to end the entire process of the production of Indian books in the different vernaculars. This Press is famous for the variety of its different language types. The Rev. H. Knight helped him greatly in this preliminary

\* Reprinted along with this article.



work and had a great affection for him. From this work in Calcutta he went on at last to Bombay and through the influence of Sir Stanley Reed was admitted to the Times of India Press. Here he was able to study some of the special colour processes which had been developed in that press in connection with its illustrations.

During this time in Bombay the idea began to take possession of him that he should make a life study of this subject and win for his own country a high place in the artistic printing of the world. After some hesitation, he decided to go to Germany where the best modern art printing work is to be found. He went first of all from Bombay to Berlin, where he had many friends both Indian and European. He stayed at the house of Dr. and Mrs. Mendel, where the Poet, his grandfather, had always been a thrice welcome guest. They are related to the world-famous Dr. Albert Einstein, who used constantly to visit their house.

The greater part of the bitter winter weather was passed in Berlin itself, and it would seem that it was here in this bleak, wintry climate that he contracted a serious weakness in the lungs which led on to his final illness. Before the illness became acute, for the sake of his own printing work he went on from Berlin to Leipzig; for in that city the greatest publishers in Germany are to be found. In Leipzig, the chest trouble which he had contracted in Berlin rapidly developed. In the end, on March 14th he was stricken down by a very serious illness, which made him take to his bed and from which he never recovered. As soon as ever he was able to be removed, he was taken to a sanatorium called the Neue Heilanstalt, in the Black Forest, at Schomberg, where he received every possible care and attention; but the disease had already gone too far and after great suffering he passed away on August 7, 1932, at the age of twenty.

While he was in Leipzig, he had taken the greatest interest, even from his bed of sickness, in an international club for foreign students. This occupied every spare moment of his time, and his unselfish service for his fellow-students won their deep regard. They would come to see him all day long, in his illness, and this was his greatest satisfaction and comfort.

In the closing days of his life it was quite remarkable to watch how the idea of the development of fine art printing in India had taken possession of him. Even in his illness, he still looked forward eagerly to its accomplishment. His whole heart was in the cause. There was no thought in his mind of any likelihood of his own early death. Indeed, his one wish was to get

well as quickly as possible, in order to carry out the idea on which he had set his heart. During the very last days of his life, he continued to speak of it.

When the end came at last very suddenly, and his earthly life was over, it was deeply touching to those who had watched by his bedside to witness the sympathy of all those who had been with him in his illness. Nurses and doctors alike, as well as the humblest servants, had felt a deep affection for him. He had been so patient and gentle and unselfish in his own suffering, that everyone who came in contact with him realized the noble spirit which inhabited so frail a body. He had a kindly word for each of those who visited him; and even when he was suffering great pain, he had a smile to cheer those who nursed him. The German people, who have gone through such deep sorrows themselves, had a place in their hearts for him.

The beautiful spot where he was laid to rest was on the brow of a hill overlooking a broad open valley with a pine-forest rising above it. In the far distance of the other side of the valley the pine-forest again stretched out for many miles. It is called in German "Schwarzwald," the "Black Forest". This is a part of Germany most deeply loved by the German people for its beauty and romance. The songs and the legends of the German people are centred in it.

Here in the heart of the "Black Forest" Nitindranath Ganguly was laid to rest. White flowers have been planted over his grave and the wind sweeping through the pine-trees perpetually whispers peace. No more peaceful spot could be imagined and its beauty did much to take away the bitterness of sorrow.

The remarkable project of the grandson of the Poet now remains unaccomplished. It is true that we have already fine art printing in India, but it has not yet reached that superlative excellence which would make it able to compete on equal terms with the finest art-printing in the West.

Skill of hand in designing is probably superior in India to anything which the West can offer. But the extraordinary technical facilities of the West, with its infinite mechanical fertility, have placed Europe in an almost unassailable position. It remains to be seen, whether some other young Indian craftsman is able to take up the task which Nitindranath tried to accomplish. His very death, with its pathetic story, may possibly inspire someone or other of his compere to undertake this adventure.

I have obtained a copy of his paper, which was published in German as well as English and give for the readers of *The Modern Review* the English translation below.

## II. By NITINDRANATH GANGULY

**I**N 1561 A.D., the Portuguese Missionaries brought with them the message of John Gutenberg of Mainz, to the shores of Portuguese India.

History tells us that they were the first to introduce printing from "movable types" into India—and that Gaspar de Leao, the Archbishop of

tion, printed the first book in that country by this new method in the same year. It is not known yet whether printing from such types existed earlier than 1561, or in other words whether it came from China and the Far East, where printing by means of wooden blocks and "moveable types" were in existence "prior to their appearance or discovery in Europe." However, necessary details are lacking to support this vague theory. These are the meagre historical data.

In India there are two distinct divisions of printing, firstly, the English printing presses under English or European management, and secondly, the Indian presses under Indian management. And it is my object here to deal with the latter, with particular attention to its national aspect.

The printing art originated in Germany, and from there it spread gradually to other European countries, where it soon took the form of a national art. But in India this has not been the case, it is still foreign. The distinctive styles developed by those countries have become so characteristic and representative, that it is even possible for the layman to recognize them at a glance. For instance, "the sober and somewhat formal English and the free bold American styles," and many other features, such as the general get-up and binding which gives to the book a "national expression." The question immediately arises, how can this "national expression" be brought about?

In the Western countries, facilities are given for obtaining practical training in printing and its allied arts, in schools specially devoted for these purposes, whereas in India there are no such schools where it is possible to undergo the necessary training and course of instructions.

The greatest of all problems which face us today is the want of qualified men and schools of printing where suitable training, both practical and theoretical could be imparted to the poor Indian student of print, under expert supervision and guidance. Until and unless we find the solution to this problem, there can be no progress made and the aspiration of a national printing art or industry will merely be a long distant dream.

It is not possible for the would-be Gutenberg to come to Europe for training as he cannot afford it. There are some who have come to Europe at their own expense—some are Government scholarship holders. It will be doing injustice to the young printer to deny him the opportunity of training himself, by placing a financial obstacle before him. Therefore, by establishing local schools of printing in India this difficulty will be overcome.

The government of India, has founded a scholarship for the study of printing in England. But there are certain conditions which make it inaccessible, as it is awarded to those who know

English and have completed a period of apprenticeship in a government printing press.

The object of this scholarship is to give qualified Indians the posts held by Englishmen, such as managers, superintendents and departmental heads.

There is no doubt that many have been attracted by this tempting offer and I am of opinion, that it will be a great pity if trained Indians, instead of helping to build up a national printing art, seek posts in the government printing offices.

The birth of a national printing art can never be expected from the government printing offices, where the work produced, such as official reports, etc. are no typographical masterpieces. Besides the English style is strictly adhered to.

To sum up I can do no better than to quote Warren who says "Men are wanted who will take an interest in printing for its own sake and study it as a means of national self-expression."

There are very few good Indian presses and the best work is only a copy or "as is usually the case, a miserable out-of-date imitation." Here again the question of training arises. The creative mind of the printer can only express itself when he is acquainted with the elementary principles of typography and knows the different styles. This will strengthen his imagination and lead him to create a distinctive style.

Our own ancient art will be a source of inspiration to the future printer and will supply us with new ideas which through the process of "modification" and "elimination" will clothe the future Indian book in a national and in beautiful typographical garment.

In the province of Bengal I have seen some books, neatly printed the pages rich with ornaments, decorations, and bound in an Indian *motif* altogether a beautiful production, which has proved how the artist can help the printer and how important it is to co-operate with each other. This indeed is a very hopeful sign.

It is, therefore, evident that the main problem is the want of technically qualified men and schools of printing in India today. Amongst other problems mainly are, firstly, the general want of education. Some know English and can read and write it and others the vernacular only. Instructions in future schools of printing could then be in the vernacular. Secondly, the want of money in most Indian presses which sometimes hampers their progress, and lastly the absence of interest in the average worker and the indifferent and unfriendly attitude existing between the employer and the employee, which must change.

The owners and managers can do a great deal for the welfare of their employees by arranging demonstrations, lantern-lectures and activities of this kind which will help to create an interest in the worker in his particular work.

In conclusion, I may point out that it requires hard work and sacrifice to build up a national art which India in time to come, will justly be proud of, as she is of her ancient art and literature.

# THE SANATORIUM UNIVERSITAIRE AND THE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY SANATORIUM, LEYSIN, SWITZERLAND

By A. K. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

"I slept and dreamt that life was Beauty,  
I woke and found that life was Duty."

**T**O be with the young is to be young, and to work for the amelioration of the suffering of the sick is to ennoble one's own soul. This two-fold truth is brought home to everyone who visits the great "Sanatorium Universitaire" at Leysin, a small but flourishing village in the Swiss Canton of Vaud, and who spends some time with the young inmates of this institution.



Dr. L. C. Vauthier, M.D.,  
Director, Sanatorium Universitaire Suisse and  
Secretary-General, International University  
Sanatorium Committee, Leysin (Suisse).

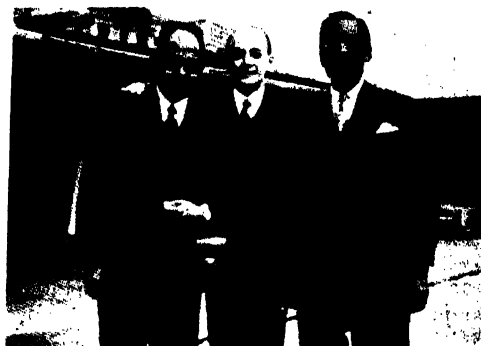
On invitation from Dr. L. C. Vauthier, M.D., the Warden and Direktor of the Sanatorium, my friend Dr. R. K. Kacker

Superintendent, King Edward Sanatorium of Bhowali, India, and I visited the Sanatorium Universitaire at Leysin-Village on the afternoon of October 12, 1933. We were kindly received by Dr. and Mrs. Vauthier, and were a few minutes later introduced to Miss Agnes Lindahl, a girl student of the University of Copenhagen who speaks German, French and English fluently. She showed us round, explained to us the life of the students residing there, and acted as our interpreter. Since then I have visited the institution many times, passed many happy hours with the University students of Europe here, shared their activities and discussed at great length with Dr. Vauthier the great problems connected with this Sanatorium. It is a unique institution in the world, and therefore deserves to be brought prominently to the notice of the thousands of students who are studying at our Indian Universities, of their parents and of the University authorities in India.

"The Sanatorium Universitaire Suisse," as it is generally called is beautifully situated in the midst of pine forests at an altitude of 4,500 feet above the sea-level. It commands a charming view of the superb Rhone Valley and the snowy faces of the majestic Alps—the Mont Blanc and the Dents du Midi. It is primarily intended for such Swiss University students and teachers of both sexes as are suffering from tuberculosis, whether pulmonary or surgical. The idea of such a sanatorium originated with Dr. Vauthier, who saw that tubercular students residing in Sanatoria, clinics and pensions all over Switzerland, were not in ideal environments. The hospital atmosphere at most of these places damped their youthful energies and cramped their buoyant spirits. This young doctor's sympathetic nature discovered that the opposite evils surrounded the tubercular patient in those ordinary places of cure, namely "helpless loneliness on the one hand, and

the deadening weight of unwanted society on the other." Therefore with a view to providing healthy surroundings, an educational atmosphere, facilities for quiet literary and scientific studies, a mixture of freedom and association of young men and women of about the same age, combined with up-to-date medical arrangements to ensure proper treatment, care and rest Dr. and Mrs. Vauthier tried their best to popularize the scheme of a University Sanatorium, and to carry on an extensive propaganda. In every University town special meetings and fêtes were held to explain the idea and collect funds. This was done under the patronage of the Swiss Federal Council, the Red Cross Society and the League of the Prevention of Tuberculosis. The Swiss press strongly supported the project. A Swiss manufacturer gave a handsome donation of 25,000 francs, and the collections at special meetings amounted to about 60,000 francs. The Swiss students all over the little country responded to the appeal splendidly and the scheme was approved by the seven Swiss Universities, the federal School of Technology and the National Union of Students. They gave practical proofs of their sympathy by making it obligatory on all Swiss University professors and students to contribute at the rate of 20 francs and 10 francs a year per head respectively. The University contributions for one term before the actual opening of the Sanatorium brought in about 40,000 francs. The house already standing on the site was rented for a year and some money was spent on its equipment. Afterwards the house was acquired, and additions and alterations were made to make it a suitable sanatorium. The present value of the building is about 400,000 francs. Thus in October 1, 1922, the Sanatorium Universitaire Suisse was opened at Leysin, which had unanimously been chosen by the Committee for the seat of this sanatorium, with 45 beds. While half of the number of beds is reserved for the Swiss University students and professors, it extends its helping hand to the students of all foreign universities, without distinction of colour, caste, creed or nationality. Several Indian students studying in Europe and stricken with tuberculosis have been hospitably received and treated here, for

example, Messrs. Reddi, Ahmed and Bekka, whose photographs have been shown to me by Dr. Vauthier. The cost has been kept as low as possible. In consideration of the regular contributions which were made by the professors and students in "health times"—which by the way are of the nature of premia for insurance against sickness (Tuberculosis)—the professors and students of Swiss universities (even if of foreign nationality) are, during their residence here, required to pay 6.50 francs a day or about 2.16 s. a week each and students and professors coming from other countries have to pay 12 francs a day each. When we remember that this charge includes board, lodging, service, treatment, medicine, X-Ray, and all university facilities, we realize how cheap the arrangement is in an expensive country like Switzerland. Indeed, we are told that the charge is actually below cost.



Dr. R. K. Kacker, Dr. Vauthier and  
Mr. A. K. Majumdar

This sanatorium is now provided with a modern X-Ray apparatus, a pneumo-thorax apparatus, a dispensing room, a laboratory, an excellent library of 10,000 volumes, a reading hall with more than one hundred and sixty newspapers and magazines of different countries of the world—alas! our country has not so far thought it fit to send any, while Egypt is represented here—old numbers being nicely bound and well arranged, a radio, a microphone, a cinema-projector, an epidiascope, a camera with an enlarging apparatus and a properly equipped "dark room," a lecture hall, a well-furnished small room for tutorial classes,

a spacious SOLARIUM for the Sun Cure, and wireless installations at each bedside and on each balcony for transmitting lectures, concerts, etc. to those staying in their rooms upstairs under medical advice.\*

Dr. Vauthier was entrusted with the medical, academic and social direction of this Sanatorium. For ten years he worked indefatigably as its physician, surgeon, superintendent, manager, etc. In fact, he was and continues to be the soul of this institution. But the work was too much for one man; therefore he has been relieved of the medical side of the work by the appointment of a resident, qualified doctor, and a part-time head doctor who visits the house twice a week. The expenditure is kept within the income, and effort is made by the managing committee to pay the interest and part of the loan from savings.

The arrangements for the medical examination of the students and for their treatment and care are excellent. Complete records of cases on prescribed forms with X-Ray photographs, results of X-Ray screenings, blood and sputum tests, etc. are maintained in decent covers. The social contact of the students makes them cheerful. The authorities of the institution do not aim at running a university for tubercular students on the top of a mountain; but within the limitations everything possible is done to introduce an academic atmosphere here. At this institution we do not hear talks of a bone operation, of a cavity on the lung, of an unsuccessful pneumothorax operation on account of adhesions, of alcoholization, of phrenic excision, of the dreaded thoracoplasty and of a thousand and one talks in the same vein so common at the ordinary sanatoria, clinics and pensions for tubercular patients. We call this institution a sanatorium, but nobody here talks of sickness. The students enjoy radio music and lectures; they laugh and play and study. Students pursuing the same courses of studies help one another,—for example, one dictates notes and another works on the typewriter.

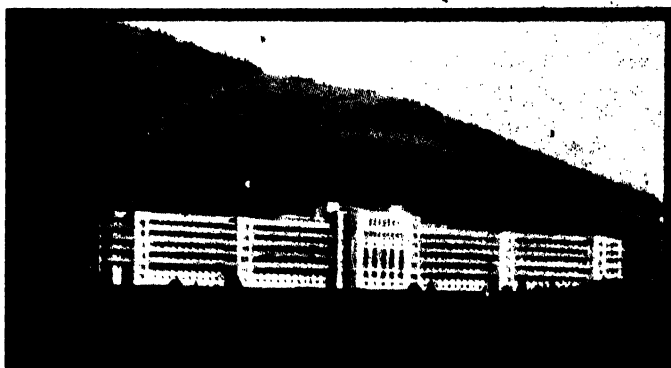
They photograph together and develop films together. Sometimes one of them lectures, and those interested in the subject listen and afterwards discuss. While there are no "complete cycle of University faculties" and regular courses, the work of each student is supervised by a tutor chosen from among his professors. Distinguished Swiss, French and other professors give them guidance and advice in research work. A young man who is a medical student is collecting material for a thesis on "Constitution and Tuberculosis," and a girl student is writing a thesis on "Teeth and Tuberculosis" the object being to trace the connection between Caries and Tuberculosis. A young male student of Zurich, who has tuberculosis of the hip-joint, is the proud possessor of a huge postage stamp album. The collection he has already made is very creditable. And what is the attitude of the universities? It is most sympathetic. All the Swiss universities count the terms spent by their students at this Sanatorium, and I know it for a fact that many of the inmates of this institution, who were able to continue their studies here, took their examinations in the plains and obtained university degrees. Medical students get excellent clinical practice at the various sanatoria and clinics of Leysin. The valuable and growing library of the Sanatorium owes its existence to the gifts of charitably disposed publishers, private bodies and individuals. The section of newspapers and magazines is remarkably rich and, in this respect, can easily beat some of the University libraries in India. The students can keep well informed on all the literary, scientific, political, economic and social progress of the world. Besides, they have the use of the Swiss University libraries, and of those of the "Société de la Station Climatérique" and Société de Médecine de Leysin. Students whose health has sufficiently improved, are introduced to light and interesting handwork, such as book-binding, easy woodwork and metalwork. The special lectures that are arranged by the ever-active Warden, Dr. Vauthier, are interesting and useful. They are delivered by learned professors of Swiss, French and other universities, and by famous artists and public men. These lectures are attended

\* I propose to deal, in a subsequent article, with the need of an Indian University Sanatorium of this type at a suitable hill-station in India. I am convinced as to its feasibility, but it is not possible for me to discuss that question in this article.

not only by the inmates of the Sanatorium, but also by outsiders. I have had the honour of being invited to more than a dozen of these lectures and I have actually attended five of them.

This will be sufficient to give an idea of the activities of the students of the Sanatorium Universitaire Suisse. Dr. Vautheir is a man of wonderful activity and great power of organization. He works with the energy and enthusiasm of a young man, and is ably assisted by his devoted wife. In the preceding paragraphs I have endeavoured to show what he has done and is doing for the Swiss University students smitten by tuberculosis. But since tuberculosis is a great scourge of civilization, and seizes young men and women in all civilized countries, Dr. Vautheir, the great dreamer and worker as he is, has drawn up a great plan for the establishment of a real International University Sanatorium at Leysin, in which all the great nations of the world will be asked to co-operate by founding a number of beds for such university students and professors of their countries as may in future be seized by this fell disease. The scheme is by way of an insurance against tuberculosis. It is intended to build a large, thoroughly equipped Sanatorium, containing 208 beds at a total cost of £208,000. The Government of each country can have a fixed number of beds reserved at £1000 each. A representative Provisional Organizing Committee has been formed for the purpose with Dr. Vautheir as Secretary-General, and detailed plans and estimates have been prepared. The Swiss Federal Government has been pleased to patronize the proposed scheme by deciding to buy 20 beds, although there are 45 beds for Swiss students and professors at the University Sanatorium Suisse. They have already voted 500,000 gold Swiss francs; the Canton of Vaud has subscribed 50,000 francs Swiss and the Municipality of Leysin has, with equal liberality given, a large, beautiful site absolutely free. Owing to the unfavourable

financial situation in most countries, the Governments of all countries have not yet been approached; but many Governments have already promised their support. It is intended to approach others soon, and the Government of India will also be requested to participate in this international work. It has the support of the League of Nations and later on all the participating Governments of the world will be its patrons. I am concerned with Indian students. They will ask: "What have we to do with the proposals for the establishment of an International University Sanatorium at far-off Leysin



The Plan of the proposed International University Sanatorium, Leysin (Switzerland)

in Switzerland?" Well, the aim is three-fold:

(a) to cure university students and teachers of all countries, who are attacked by tuberculosis;

(b) to enable university students to continue their studies;

(c) to surround them with an atmosphere of university self-help and international co-operation.

There are about 2,000 Indian students studying in Europe and the incidence of tuberculosis among them is believed to be not less than five per year. Such Indian students as during their residence in Europe are attacked by tuberculosis, can easily come to the International University Sanatorium, and stay for cure and private study at a far less expense than at any other modern sanatorium or clinique. The treatment by means of Heliotherapy is not



Sanatorium Universitaire

practised in bone cases in India. Some of the difficult means of treatment of Pulmonary Tuberculosis, such as, cutting of adhesions, alcoholization, thoracoplasty, etc., are practically unknown in India. I can state from personal knowledge that nowhere in India, not even in Kasmir, do we have such excellent climatic conditions—dry cold, freedom from humidity, purity of atmosphere particularly during the six months of snow—as we find in Switzerland. No one need be afraid of the cold, for with modern electric heating arrangements we do not feel it at all. Why should we not then make it possible for a few well-chosen Indian University students suffering from tuberculosis, to take their treatment at the International University Sanatorium under the best and most renowned physicians and surgeons of Europe? How? By purchasing a few beds, say ten, now at that proposed Sanatorium. It is easy for us to say that we should ask the central Government to find money for the purpose;

but I attach very great importance to *self-help*. I have been greatly impressed by the wonderful power of organization shown by the University students of Europe and by their useful activities. I may mention in this connection that the following International Students Organizations are actively participating in the work and are represented on the Committee:

- (i) The International Confederation of Students
- (ii) The International Federation of University Women
- (iii) The International Students Service
- (iv) The International University Federation of the League of Nations
- (v) Pax Romana
- (vi) The World Students' Christian Federation.

(vii) The World Union of Jewish Students.

Let once the students of Indian universities realize the importance, the imperative need of having a few beds reserved at the

International University Sanatorium, and I am sure the accomplishment of the object will be only a question of months. If under the auspices of the university union at each Indian University centre and under the guidance of the Vice-Chancellor, meetings be held by the students and professors to explain the project of the I. U. S. and if the Indian students resolve to participate in the establishment of this international institution for their own good and that of their successors, let them subscribe, once for all, a paltry sum of eight annas per head, and the sum realized will be sufficient to meet the cost of one bed. When the scheme is supported by all the Vice-Chancellors and the provincial Ministers of Education, the Indian Education Member of the Government of India will, I am sure, be only too glad to patronize the International institution by reserving at least ten beds for Indian University students and professors.

Any one who sees the zeal, the enthusiasm, the earnestness with which Dr. Vauthier, the friend and benefactor of the Youth of the World, is working for the great dream of his life, cannot but pray that the day of the realization of his dream may come soon. I believe that all humanitarian work is God's work and that it does not fail for lack of funds. "To labour is to pray"; but the labour which is of one's own free will undertaken, as by the learned Doctor, to relieve suffering humanity, to relieve the young students who are the joys of their families and the hopes of their nations, but touched, alas! by the blasting hand of sickness while in the pursuit of their studies with the goal of life in sight—is one of the purest forms of prayer. Will such prayer go unheeded? Will such unselfish labour be in vain?

Let the Indian University Students answer!



#### EUROPE AND INDIA

The original painting has been presented to Indian Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie by the artist, Mr. Sekumar Deuskar, who studied art in Munich. The picture is meant to represent the spirit of the present age, in which a serious attempt is being made by some cultural men of the East and West to know and appreciate each other.



# THE END OF THE NOBLE EXPERIMENT OF "PROHIBITION" IN THE U. S. A.

By P. GOPALA KRISHNAYYA, M.A., M. SC.,  
*Columbia University, New York*

**T**HE era of prohibition is over in the United States. The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution ended one of the most far-reaching social experiments in the history of the world. It lasted nearly fourteen years. Never before had there been such an attempt to regulate the habits and customs of a nation of 120,000,000 persons of such varied national strains by sumptuary legislation. It was the first time the power of the American Federal Government has been exercised to reach into the private lives and moral conduct of the people of the states on any such extensive scale.

National prohibition followed three-quarters of a century in which the States tried to regulate and control the liquor traffic by State and local option laws. At the time the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect State-wide prohibition was already in effect in thirty-three States, in eighteen of which it has been incorporated in the State Constitutions. 90 per cent of the townships and rural precincts, 85 per cent of the countries and 75 per cent of the villages were dry by State legislation. More than two-thirds of the population and 95 per cent of the land area of the United States were under prohibition.

State and local laws and the temperance campaigns that were conducted many years in the wet areas did not satisfy the prohibitionists. They argued that tremendous social and economic advantages would follow national prohibition, that crime and insanity would be reduced, jails and insane asylums closed, workmen's pay diverted to food, clothing, and other goods instead of the saloon; industry, trade and commerce stimulated by the new buying power.

The Anti-Saloon League raised large campaign funds among members of the evangelical churches, who were devoted to the ideal of national prohibition on moral and social grounds, and among large industrialists and other capitalists who were convinced that it would increase the economic efficiency of the nation and of their own corporations. One of the most effective propaganda campaigns in the history of the country was organized.

Beginning in 1911 when the proposal came before the American Congress, national prohibition grew in strength as an issue every year, slowly but surely. It might have taken many years to come to a head had not the world war given it a tremendous impetus through the desire to conserve grain supplies for food instead

of alcohol and to keep liquor from the soldiers. Coming then, when the interest of the nation was concentrated on the war and when millions of men were away in uniform, national prohibition was a sudden surprise and shock to many Americans.

Drafted by senator Sheppard, the Eighteenth Amendment was submitted to the States by a vote of 65 to 20 in the United States Senate on August 1, 1917, and a vote of 282 to 138 in the House of Representatives on December 17, 1917. The first State to ratify was Mississippi, on January 8, 1918. Nebraska became dry on January 16, 1919, the thirty-sixth State to ratify, completing the three-fourths of the forty-eight States necessary to make ratification effective.

In the end, forty-six of the forty-eight States ratified the amendment, only Rhode Island and Connecticut refusing to do so. Ratification was accomplished by vote of the State Legislature in the various States, rather than by popular vote in State Conventions as specified in the twenty-first (or repeal) Amendment. The official figures in the forty-eight State senates were 1810, or 846 per cent for ratification to 237 against; in the House of Representatives 3,782, or 785 per cent for ratification to 1,035 against.

Meanwhile, on November 21, 1918, ten days after the signing of the Armistice, the American Congress enacted the war-time Prohibition Act, which remained in effect until the Eighteenth Amendment became effective, on January 16, 1920, one year after ratification.

The Volstead Act, fixing one-half of 1 per cent by volume as the definition of the alcoholic content of an intoxicating beverage and providing for the enforcement of national prohibition, first as applied to the war-time Prohibition Act and later the Eighteenth Amendment, was adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives on October 8 and 10, respectively, in 1919, vetoed by President Roosevelt on October 27, and passed by the American Congress over his veto the following day.

The constitutionality of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act was challenged, but was sustained in the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on June 1 and 7, 1920. The highest court also held that the "Concurrent power" granted to the States in the Eighteenth Amendment authorized them only to enforce prohibition, not to thwart or defeat it.

From the very beginning countrywide protest

was engendered by the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Not only were houses divided against each other but also churches, political parties, business organizations, social groups, whole communities. Prohibition became the most controversial issue in the United States since the civil war.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, took the lead among the intellectual, and former Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York among the political opponents of the Eighteenth Amendment. Both started early to fight it and carried their opposition consistently to the end, Dr. Butler going so far as to openly advocate revolt against it as utterly contradicting the spirit of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, if it could not be repealed. Governor Smith split the Democratic party temporarily through his unsuccessful fight for the presidential nomination in 1924 and his nomination in 1928, when he took a far more advanced stand against prohibition than other wets in his party were willing to take in those days, and when the party platform remained dry.

During the early years of the great experiment the opposition did not gain much headway. Aside from the extremist prohibition leaders, national prohibition had many supporters among such political leaders as Herbert Hoover and Senator William E. Borah, and such industrialists as Henry Ford, who believed that it was entitled to a fair trial in view of the theoretical advantages which would follow if it could be made to work.

With prosperity so great that taxes were not a burden and with bootlegging, rum-running and speakeasies so widespread that no one really was deprived of his favourite beverages, the general public remained more or less apathetic for several years as the prohibitionists pressed the Federal Government to more drastic enforcement activities and as unwholesome social trends developed in American life in consequence of the growing power of the under world.

Enforcement was most effective in the first two years of prohibition—1920 and 1921—when the country was still under the influence of the wave of dry sentiment that had carried the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution. Forty-seven States, Rhode Island being the only exception, adopted state enforcement laws. New York state adopted the Mullan-Gage Enforcement Act, but repealed it in 1923, the repealer being signed by Governor Smith despite warnings that it would end his political career.

Throughout the past ten years there has been a progressive disintegration of enforcement.

As the years passed it became apparent that national prohibition, instead of bringing great economic benefits to the country, was diverting billions of dollars from legitimate business channels and from governments, sources of tax revenues to criminal syndicates. Instead of creating a new and better social world, it was

obviously bringing the under-world up to a position of such financial and political influence that it would corrupt office-holders and the police on an unprecedentedly broad scale; that it could engage in its private wars, killings, kidnappings, torturings, hijackings and shake-downs, in defiance of constituted authority; that its speakeasies were as bad or worse than the old saloon; that its minor henchmen or hirelings were crowding the courts and jails, and that its openly scandalous conduct was setting a bad example to the youth of the land, not only in excessive drinking, but also in general contempt for law and order.

Treaties with foreign nations enabling the coast guard to search rum-runners flying foreign flags within the twelve-miles limit or one-hour run from the American coast, raids on distilleries and breweries, padlocking of speakeasies, seizures of automobiles and trucks loaded with liquor, pitched battles in which both dry agents and rum-runners were killed, and thousands of arrests, fines and imprisonments, all figured in the unsuccessful effort to enforce national prohibition.

In 1926 General Lincoln C. Andrews, a retired Army Officer, appointed as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to reorganize the enforcement system asserted that the Volstead Act could not be enforced under existing conditions, that the prohibition agents did not seize more than one-tenth of the illicit stills in operation, and that from 12,000 to 15,000 men would be needed to patrol the borders to stop smuggling of liquor. Emory R. Buckner, then United States' Attorney at New York, estimated that "reasonable enforcement" in New York State alone would cost more than \$70,000,000 a year, seven times more than the enforcement appropriation for the whole country that year.

In 1929 and 1930 final efforts were made to solve the problem by more drastic enforcement. The Jones "Five-and-Ten" Act, passed by Congress and signed by President Calvin Coolidge, provided for five years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine for violations of the prohibition law. The theory was that the violators would be frightened into compliance with the law. Greater efficiency in enforcement was expected from transferring the Prohibition Bureau from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice. Both these efforts failed.

As the depression deepened bringing with it a larger tool burden in terms of a reduced national income, the effects of prohibition in the costs of enforcement and the sacrifice of large potential tax and customs revenue from the liquor industry came to the fore in public discussion in every State. Even in the former dry rural sections the demand became strong to legitimize the liquor trade so that taxes upon it might relieve the tax burden upon industry, agriculture and the home, and so that

a new industry might give impetus to business activity and employment.

At the same time the moral argument against prohibition gained weight with the publication of the Wickersham Report in 1931. Of the eleven members of the Wickersham Commission, two favoured repeal, seven revision, and only two retention of the Eighteenth Amendment. Moreover, the Commission's investigation had confirmed the common knowledge of the failure of the prohibition experiment from the standpoint of social reform.

Last year was the crucial one in the fight against prohibition. The Democratic party put a repeal plank in its national platform and made repeal one of the leading issues of the campaign. John D. Rockefeller Jr. and other former supporters of prohibition among the capitalist and industrial leaders publicly reversed their position. The Association against the Prohibition Amendment and the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform conducted nation-wide propaganda campaigns on almost as extensive a scale as the Anti-Saloon League's campaign for prohibition years ago, whereas last year the Anti-Saloon League made only comparatively feeble attempts to stem the tide.

The result of the election made it clear that the new Congress had a mandate from the

people to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. Even the old lame-duck Congress saw the handwriting on the wall, and voted to submit the repeal amendment to the States. The Senate voted 63 to 23 on February 16, 1933, and the House of Representatives 289 to 121 on February 20.

Since then ratification process had gone rapidly in practically every State with an overwhelming majority.

Prohibition is now dead in these United States. The prohibitionists sought to put their cause beyond the reach of public opinion. They have now discovered that they reckoned ill with the resourcefulness and determination of democratic America. The higher and more insurmountable appeared the barriers created around prohibition, the more resolved were the people to break through them and destroy it.

The whole affair is a fresh and overwhelming demonstration of the fact that in this country public opinion rules. In the end it will have its way. This besides the immediate question of getting rid of constitutional prohibition, we have this instructive showing that the American political methods and policies are always subject to control by the deliberate will of the people. In 1920 this looked impossible. By 1933 it has become an established fact.

## RAMMOHUN ROY CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS AT CALCUTTA

THE Calcutta public celebrated the Centenary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy on the 29th, 30th and 31st December, 1933, at the Senate House of the Calcutta University in a manner befitting the great occasion.

The dais, with a specially constructed platform, was beautifully but soberly decorated with flowers, evergreens and festoons. The Raja's full-size portrait in oils, kindly lent by the authorities of the City College, was placed on a table at the end of the Hall, facing the audience. Several loud-speakers were installed in various parts of the Hall and its vestibules.

On the dais were seated the Vice-Presidents and Office-bearers of the Centenary Committee, and those who were to address the meeting. The choir were accommodated near the dais. Numerous volunteers, wearing badges with the words "Rammohun Centenary" and pictures of Rammohun printed on them, were in attendance.

Throughout the three days' proceedings the great Hall was almost always filled to its utmost capacity. Some of the most distinguished sons and daughters of India attended and took part in the functions, among them being Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Madame L. Morin, Dr. (Mrs.) Mahadevshami Reddi, Maharani Suchara Devi, Maharani, Miss Margaret Barr, Rajkumari Kaur, Mrs. S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. S. Natesan, Dr. Dutta, Rao Sahib Dr. Ramkrishna Rao,

Mr. B. B. Keskar, Prof. Sardar Uttam Singh, Swami Adyananda, Pandit Rishi Ram, Mr. Govind Ram, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramatha Nath Tarkabhushan, Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, Sir J. C. Bose, Lady Abala Bose, Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, Lady Nil Ratan Sircar, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, the Hon'ble Sir C. C. Ghose, Sir Bipin Bihari Ghosh, Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Mr. J. N. Basu, Pandit Situnath Tattvabhushan, Dr. Pran Krishna Acharya, Mrs. Pran Krishna Acharya, Maulavi Abdul Karim, M. L. C., Principal Dr. Heramba Chandra Maitra, Principal J. R. Banerjee, Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Dr. P. K. Sen, Prof. Bijay Chandra Majumdar, Mr. Pramatha Choudhuri, Prof. Rajani Kanta Guha, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Dr. B. C. Ghosh, Dr. Nareesh Chandra Sen Gupta, Pandit Kshiti Mohan Sen, Pandit Dharendra Nath Choudhury Vedantavagis, Maulavi Wahed Husain, Dr. Beni Madhava Barua, Dr. D. N. Maitra, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahashai, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, Mr. Amal Home, Prof. Biman Behari Majumdar, Dr. Saroj Kumar Das, Dr. Humayun Kabir, Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Rai Bahadur Jaladhar Sen, Prof. R. K. Sinha, Prof. Hari Charan Ghosh, Mr. Girindra Nath Choudhuri, Mr. Jitendra Mohan Sen, Prof. Nareesh Chandra Ray, Mr. E. A. Arakie, Sja. Hemlata Devi, Sja. Hemlata Sarkar, Sja. Indira Devi, Sja. Sarala Devi Choudhaurani, Mrs. S. R. Das, Mrs. N. C. Sen,

Sja. Sarojini Datta, Sja. Nirupama Devi, Sja. Sarala Bala Sarkar, Mrs. Kumudini Basu, Mrs. Basanti Chakravarti, Mrs. Shamsun Nahar Mahmud, Sja. Sobhana Nandi, Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguli, Sja. Santa Devi, Sja. Sita Devi, Mrs. Purnima Basak, Mrs. Tatini Das, Mrs. Sadhan Chandra Roy, Sja. Sudha Chakravarti, Dr. Sachi Kumar Chatterji, Sja. Bani Devi, Mr. Prafulla Kumar Ray, Mrs. Santwana Ray, Dr. Premankur De, Mrs. Premankur De, Prof. Prasanto C. Mahalanobis, Prof. Charu Chandra Bhattacharyya, Prof. Amiya Kumar Sen, Dr. J. N. Ghosh, Mr. S. C. Ray, Dr. Dickinson, Mr. Ganendra Nath Banerji, Mr. Prabhat Chandra Ganguli, Mr. Satis Chandra Chakravarti, and others.

1st Session, 29th December, 12 noon to 4-30 p.m.

The First Session, which commenced at 12 noon on Friday, the 29th December, comprised the **Presidential Address of Rabindranath Tagore** and the **Convention of Religions**.

Long before the appointed hour distinguished ladies and gentlemen representing different communities and cultures of India gathered at the House to pay their homage to the Maker of Modern India.

On the arrival of the Poet, he was led to the pulpit. With his flowing grey beard and grey locks, sitting in a meditative posture, he recalled the saints of old.

The proceedings opened with the singing of the Vedic hymn *यो देवोऽग्ने* (with a Bengali version by Mr. Kshitindranath Tagore) to the accompaniment of several musical instruments by a large choir composed of both ladies and gentlemen. Rabindranath, seated on the platform, read in solemn and measured cadence his well-known prayer beginning with the words "Where the mind is without fear, and the head is held high." He then delivered his Presidential

Address in Bengali on *भारतवर्षिक राममोहन* which was listened to with rapt attention by the vast audience.

Though on the wrong side of 70, the Poet's voice did not suffer with his growing years. He read out the whole address in his inimitable style which was the envy of young and old alike. Sonorous yet impressive, sweet yet emphatic, the Poet was heard without the help of the loud speaker, from the remotest corner of the Hall. He first tried the loud speaker, but science played a trick, and his voice did not reach all ears. When he put aside the transmitter and produced a clearer natural voice to convey his all-embracing message to every heart, it was a case of science yielding to nature.

Dr. Tagore's address was on *India's Message to the World*. Raja Rammohun Roy was the Ambassador who communicated that message abroad. India's Message is Unity, Universal Brotherhood.

Next, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu delivered an oration in her own inimitable manner, embodying the substance of Rabindranath's Address and eloquently paying her own homage to the great Raja.

Her poetic, flowery language charmed the audience who listened to her with breathless silence. The English rendering did not suffer in the least in comparison with the original. She went on like a flowing river murmuring with the songs of the great Poet.

After Mrs. Naidu's speech Dr. Tagore rose and expressed his inability to conduct the proceedings throughout due to weakness. He invited Mahamahopadhyaya Pramatha Nath Tarkabhushan to adorn the Chair. The Poet accompanied by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then left the Hall.

THE CONVENTION OF RELIGIONS then commenced with an Address in Bengali from the President, Mahamahopadhyaya Pramatha Nath Tarkabhushan, on *Rammohun from a Hindu view-point*.

Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Mayor of Calcutta, in a short speech referred to the numerous messages received on this momentous occasion by the Centenary Committee from various cities in India and abroad. Dr. Kalidas Nag read out, first, a list of these messages, and then a few words from some of them. Messages were received from MAHATMA GANDHI, Ellore, Sir P. C. RAY, C. F. ANDREWS, London, DEVAPRIYA VALISINHA, General Secretary, Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares, the ALL-INDIA BUDDHIST CONFERENCE, Darjeeling, PURAN CHAND NAHAR (on behalf of the Jain community), PANDIT DEVA SHARMA, Principal, Gurukul University, Kangri, The Hon. SARDAR SIR JOGENDRA SINGH, Punjab, S. PARTAP SINGH M. A., LL. B., Advocate, of Lahore, SIR SYED ROSS MASOOD, Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh, Right Rev. BISHOP H. PAKENHAM-WALSH and A. J. APPASAMY of the Bishop's College, FATHER VERNIER ELWIN, Karanjia, Mandla Dist., Rev. W. H. DRUMMOND, Oxford, Bishop GEORGE BOROS of the Unitarian Episcopacy of Cluj-Kolozsvar, Rumania, REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U. S. A., REV. F. C. SOUTHWORTH and ALICE B. SOUTHWORTH, Melrose, Mass., U. S. A., ROBERT C. DEXTER, American Unitarian Association, Boston, U. S. A., DANA McLEAN GREELEY, Young People's Religious Union, Boston, U. S. A., REV. HENRY WILDER FOOTE, Belmont, U. S. A., L. D. WALD, Henry Street Settlement, New York, ALMA L. LISSBERGER, New York, the EAST BENGAL BRAHMO SAMAJ, Dacca, GIRISH CHANDRA NAG of Dacca, the ANDHRA THEISTIC CONFERENCE, Rajahmundry, V. VARADABAJULU NAIDU, Dewan Bahadur HARBILAS SARDI, Ajmere, the ACTING CONSUL-GENERAL for Germany, the CONSUL-GENERAL for Czechoslovakia, NICHOLAS ROEBICH, S. CHARLETT, Rector, University of Paris, Lt.-Col. BONNAUD, French Trade Commissioner for India, Burma, and Ceylon, SIR ATUL C. CHATTERJEE, Weybridge, Surrey, England, and the LONDON CELEBRATION COMMITTEE.

Madame L. Morin, a great admirer of Rammohun Roy, who is collecting materials for writing a biography of the Raja in French, delivered a message on behalf of the French public. Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, who had just returned from Paris, gave an account of the celebrations in France organised by Prof. Sylvain Levi, whose original message in French was read at the meeting and explained.

Maulavi Abdul Karim, M.T.C., then read his paper on *Rammohun as a Religious Reformer*. A second

hymn in chorus (*সুবনবাসী সবে গায়ো*) having been sung, Mahamahopadhyaya Pramatha Nath requested Principal J. R. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., to take the chair. Mr. E. A. Arakie, Honorary Secretary, Elias Meyer Free School and Talmud Torah of Bowbazar, then read his paper on *Rammohun from the view-point of Judaism*. He was followed by Dr. Benimadhava Barua, whose subject was *Rammohun from the Buddhist stand-point*. Next, Miss A. Margaret Barr, who represented the "Order of the Great Companions" of Dublin, read her paper on *Rammohun, the Universalist*. She was followed by Swami Adyananda of the Ramakrishna Mission with his paper on *Rammohun and the Re-awakening of Modern India*; and Pandit Rishi Ram, B. A., of the Arya Samaj, who read a paper on *Rammohun from the standpoint of the Arya Samaj*.

After this Prof. Uttam Singh M.A. of the Khalsa College spoke on *Rammohun and Sikhism*.

Dr. Kalidas Nag then read the substance of Rev. W. S. Urquhart's paper on *A Pilgrimage in Memory from a Christian standpoint*, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's paper on *Rammohun's Monotheism as an aid to Nation-building*, and Mr. D. J. Irani's paper on *Rammohun and the Teachings of Zoroaster*, the writers themselves being unavoidably absent.

The proceedings of the CONVENTION OF RELIGIONS, came to a close at about 4-30 P.M. with the Presidential Address of Principal J. R. Banerjee.

SECOND SESSION, FRIDAY, 29TH DECEMBER,  
6-30 to 8-30 P. M.

#### WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

THE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE was held the same evening at the Senate House. The ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, which was in session in Calcutta, had resolved at its Standing Committee meeting of the 27th December to join this CONFERENCE in celebrating the Centenary of the Raja. In accordance with this Resolution, a large number of Delegates and Members of the All-India Women's Conference also attended the Rammohun Centenary meeting at the Senate House, which was filled to overflowing.

Mrs. Kumbhini Basu in a few well-chosen words paid her tribute to the memory of the Raja, and proposed the Dowager Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mourbhanj as President. Mrs. Basanti Chakravarti seconded the proposal. After Maharani Sucharu Devi had taken the chair, the proceedings commenced

with a hymn of Rammohun Roy (भाव सेइ एके) sung in chorus by ladies.

Maharani Sucharu Devi first offered a prayer in Bengali, and then delivered her presidential address in English. Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi then moved this Resolution:—"This Conference of women pays its respectful homage to Raja Rammohun Roy during his Centenary Celebration for his inestimable and magnificent services to humanity, to his country and to the cause of Indian Womanhood." Rajkumari Amrit Kaur seconded the Resolution. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Cousins, Madame L. Morin, Mrs. Hemalata Sarkar, Mrs. Shamsun Nahar Mahmud, and Sja. Hemlata Devi spoke supporting the Resolution. Speeches and papers by Sjas. Sita Devi, Santa Devi, Nirupama Devi, Mrs. Sarojini Datta, Mrs. Sobhana Nandi, Mrs. Sudha Chakravarti, Mrs. Saralabala Sarkar were held over for want of time.

The proceedings came to a close at about 8-30 P. M. with a hymn (भारत भग्य आकाशे उदिते मेघमुक्त तरङ्ग तपन) specially composed for the occasion by Sja. Hemlata Devi, a great-great-grand-daughter of Rammohun Roy, sung by a choir of students of the Sarojinini Institution.

THIRD SESSION, 30TH DECEMBER, 3 to 6-15 P. M.  
GENERAL CONFERENCE

This day's proceedings began with a hymn (शुभ दिन क्षणे शुभ पर मासे) sung in chorus and a prayer offered by Dr. Heramba Chandra Maitra. Sir Nil Ratan Sircar then rose to propose to the chair Sir J. C. Bose, who was greeted with cheers as soon as he was seen on the Dais. The solemnity of the great occasion, and the emotions that surged in

Sir Nil Ratan's heart at the remembrance of the services rendered to the country and to humanity by Rammohun Roy, and by Sir Jagadish, who was yet present with him in the flesh, so overpowered Sir Nil Ratan that his voice was almost choked. Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee seconded his motion.

Sir J. C. Bose then delivered his presidential address, the main themes of which were the *Unity of all intellectual life as taught by, and the fire-heat of incandescent life as exemplified by Rammohun Roy*. Two messages received since the last day's meeting having been read by Dr. Kalidas Nag, Prof. Rajani Kanta Guha read his paper on *Rammohun and Politics*. At this stage Sir J. C. Bose requested Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan to take the chair. Dr. Naresch Chandra Sen Gupta then read his paper on *Rammohun and Law*. After this, Sir S. Radhakrishnan delivered his presidential address on *Mysticism and Charity as blended in Rammohun*. He then requested Mr. G. A. Natesan to take the chair.

A second hymn (कि स्वदेशे कि विदेशे यथाय तथाय थाकि) composed by Raja Rammohun Roy having been sung by the choir, Mr. G. A. Natesan delivered his presidential address. Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh and Prof. Naresch Chandra Ray read papers dealing with *Rammohun and the Freedom of the Press*. After this, Mr. G. A. Natesan requested Dr. S. K. Datta, Principal, Forman Christian College of Lahore to take the chair.

Dr. S. K. Datta in his presidential address referred to Rammohun's thirst for knowledge, polished manners, and personal magnetism. Prof. Humayun Kabir then read his paper on *Rammohun and the Fundamental Unity of all Faiths*, and Mr. Jitendra Mohan Sen his paper on *Rammohun as a Pioneer of Education*. Next, Maulavi Wahed Husain read his paper on the *Characteristics of Rammohun's Monotheism*.

In the unavoidable absence of Dr. Subimal Sarkar the substance of his paper on *Rammohun the Herald of a New Age* was read by Dr. Kalidas Nag. Dr. S. K. Datta then thanked the speakers over whose speeches he had presided. The meeting came to a close at about 6-15 P. M.

FOURTH SESSION, 31ST DECEMBER, 12 NOON TO 4 P.M.  
GENERAL CONFERENCE (CONTD.)

In a serene atmosphere, illumined by the mellowing glow cast by the midday sun, reflected through the blue and green glasses of the sky-windows, hallowed by the memory of the great man who was born in the East and buried in the West a hundred years ago, and sweetened by the melodious music of hymns and prayers, the Rammohun Roy Centenary Celebrations came to a successful end this day with the inspiring concluding address of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. It was a delightful sight to see three great Indians of whom India is justly proud, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a poetess of international fame, representing the womanhood of this vast continent, Dr. Brajendra-nath Seal, one of the world's first-rank thinkers and philosophers, and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who has shed lustre on his Motherland by securing garlands of honour from all the world over, assembled together with other ladies and gentlemen of culture to pay homage to another great Indian, Raja Rammohun Roy, who diffused the message of India abroad a century ago. The galaxy of women with their multi-coloured dress shining in reflected effulgence added charm to the ceremony.

Following the song *अयि सुवन मनोमोहिनि* sung by a choir of ladies and gentlemen, and a heart-enthalling prayer offered by Prof. Bijay Chandra Majumdar in the strain of "Lead, Kindly Light," Mrs. Sarojini Naidu took the chair on the proposal of Maulavi Abdul Karim, M. L. C., seconded by Dr. B. C. Ghosh.

Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi, who was to have been the first speaker of the day, was detained by her duties in connection with the All-India Women's Conference. Madame L. Morin therefore addressed the meeting first. She spoke on Rammohun Roy's short stay at Paris, and how the traces he had left there were now being searched out by his admirers. Maulavi Abdul Karim then read his second paper on the Raja, viz., *Rammohun, the Type and Pioneer of Modern India*. After this, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu delivered her presidential address, in which she described *Rammohun as the Reconciler of irreconcilables*.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then requested Sir Brajendra Nath Seal to take the chair. The venerable figure of Sir Brajendra Nath inspired the audience to a spontaneous outburst of cheers. As he was extremely feeble in health, he requested Dr. Kalidas Nag to read his Presidential Address for him. Pandit Sit Nath Tattvabhushan then read his paper on *Rammohun's Idea of Worship*, and Pandit Dharendra Nath Chowdhury Vedantavagis his paper on *Rammohun's Conception of God and the World*.

Sir Brajendra Nath then requested Maulavi Abdul Karim to take the chair. After the second hymn of the day (*देश देश नन्दिन करि*) had been sung, Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramkrishna Rao addressed the meeting on *Rammohun and the larger Unities of life*. Dr. Saroj Kumar Das was the next speaker, his subject being *Rammohun and Vedanta*.

Rabindranath Tagore arrived at the Senate House when this paper was being read. At the conclusion of the paper, Mr. Pramatha Chaudhuri, being requested by Maulavi Abdul Karim to preside over the remaining part of the day, observed that as the Poet had arrived, and as it would be difficult for him in the present state of his health to stay on for a long time, the remaining papers and addresses viz., Prof. Biman Bihari Majumdar's paper on *Rammohun, the Father of Modern Political Movements in India*, Prof. Ruchi Ram Sanni's paper on *Rammohun's Passion for Liberty*, Prof. Sukumar Sen's and his (Mr. Chaudhuri's) own papers on *The Bengali Prose of Rammohun*, and Pandit Kshiti Mohan Sen's

address on *योगद्वेष्ट भारते पृथ्वी साधक राममोहन, Rammohun the Last Link in the Chain of India's Prophets*,—should all be held over. He then asked the Poet to resume his office of presidency.

Rabindranath ascended the pulpit prepared for him. Mr. J. N. Basu, General Secretary of the Centenary Committee, presented the following Report of the year's work, and requested Dr. D. N. Maitra to read it out for him :

"The proceedings in connection with the celebration of the Centenary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy commenced with a Preliminary Meeting held in this Hall on the 18th February last with our illustrious president in the chair. At that meeting three resolutions were adopted,—the first offering homage to the memory of the Raja, and calling upon all sections of the people of this country to co-operate in making the celebration a success; the second appointing, for the purposes of organising celebrations

in Bengal, a General Committee, with instructions to co-opt representatives from different districts of Bengal; the third arranging for celebrations in other parts of India.

"A comprehensive Scheme of Celebrations (given in our Publicity Booklet, pp. 152-155) was framed, and a Working Committee and several Sub-committees formed, to give effect to it.

"The Scheme comprised:

"(a) Celebrations in Calcutta during the Christmas holidays, consisting of a Convention of Religions, a General Conference for papers and speeches on the Raja, a Women's Conference, and an Exhibition of various articles connected with the Raja's life and activities.

"(b) Preparation of Publicity literature, and with the help of such literature, and by correspondence, organization of celebrations throughout Bengal and the other provinces of India, and also in London, Bristol, Paris, New York, Chicago, and Geneva.

"(c) Pilgrimages to Radhanagar and Bristol.

"(d) Publication of the Raja's Works, an Anthology from his writings, interpretative Studies, and Commemoration Volume.

"(e) Permanent Memorials, in the shape of a Portrait in oils and a Bronze Statue in Calcutta, re-naming the northern half of the Upper Circular Road as "Rammohun Roy Avenue," and the completion of the Memorial Building at Radhanagar.

"(f) The Foundation of a Rammohun Roy Chair and Fellowships.

"Throughout the year the endeavours of the Working Committee have been directed mainly to the items (a) and (b). The most outstanding achievements in these respects are (i) the Publicity Booklet, *RAMMOHUN ROY: The Man and his Work*," edited by Mr. Amal Home, to whom we are indebted in more than one way, which has been a powerful instrument in the hands of the Working Committee in organizing celebrations, and in helping people to form some estimate of the multi-sided personality of Rammohun, and (ii) the success of our efforts to rouse the enthusiasm of people throughout the length and breadth of India, and in places abroad, for the celebration of the Centenary, as has, we presume, been apparent to the public from a perusal of the newspapers throughout the year. We may perhaps add to these the Exhibition of the Raja's relics and the celebrations which are just being terminated in Calcutta.

"For various reasons, not the least of which is the present state of financial depression prevailing in the country, the funds that the Working Committee have so far been able to raise are very small. An account of the receipts and expenditure will be published in the newspapers as soon as possible.

"This inadequacy of funds prevented the Working Committee from taking any active steps during the year towards the publication of the Works of Rammohun, which was the most cherished item in their Scheme, or towards the Permanent Memorials. It is gratifying to note, however, that the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, the renowned Literary Society of the province, has undertaken the publication of a comprehensive edition of the Raja's collected Works under the General Editorship of one of our Vice-Presidents, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. In view of this fact, the "Works and Studies Sub-committee" decided at its meeting of the 2nd December last, not to proceed with a separate project for the same purpose. The question of co-operating with the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat in this respect is being considered, and

the formation of a small but influential All-India Committee to raise funds for financing the publication and also for the *Permanent Memorials* is under contemplation. It is to be hoped that when such a committee is formed, and the necessary appeals issued, public response will be forthcoming in a generous measure, so that this Centenary may have something tangible and permanent as its record and achievement.

"In conclusion, we take leave to convey our thanks to all those who have helped us in any way in connection with the present Celebrations. While it is not possible to mention all names individually, we shall be failing in our duty if we do not take this opportunity of recording our sense of deep gratitude to all who have come from far and near to participate in our celebrations,—notably to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. (Mrs) Muthulakshmi Reddi, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Dr. S. K. Dutta, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramkrishna Rao, and to Madame L. Morin, who has travelled all the way from Paris; to all our friends in the other provinces of India, in Burma, in Ceylon, and in Europe and America, who have enthusiastically organized similar celebrations; to the authorities of the University of Calcutta for placing this Hall for the Inaugural Meeting, and for the Convention and the Conferences, and a room in the Asutosh Building for our Exhibition; to the Albert Institute for the use of a room for our Committee meetings throughout the year; to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj for lending us a room for the Centenary Office, and to Mr. N. Mukherji of the Art Press for printing our literature at exceptionally moderate rates, to Messrs. Dwarkin and Son for lending us the use of a large Organ-harmonium and to our volunteers and musical choirs."

After the reading of the Report, Rabindranath delivered *extempore* his concluding address and benediction in Bengali, exhorting the vast audience and all his countrymen to be true to Rammohun Roy and his ideals, reciting at the end in an impassioned voice his poem *हे मोर चित पुण्यतीर्थे जाग, रे धीरे*. The function came to a close with the singing of the Bengali National Anthem *जनगणमन-अधिनायक जय हे* by the choir, during which the whole audience reverently remained standing.

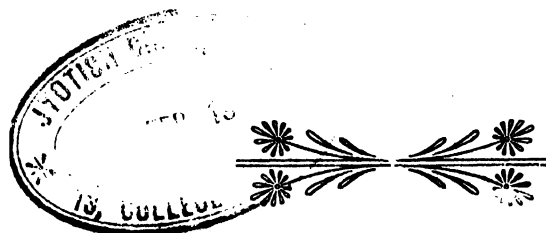
The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, who was to have presided over the General Conference, was, to the great disappointment of the organisers as well as of the public, prevented by illness from coming to Calcutta. Dr. P. K. Sen, who had just arrived from England, and was expected to give on the 31st December interesting details about the celebrations held in London and Bristol, was also prevented that day by a sudden illness from coming to the meeting. Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta, who was to have addressed the meeting on *Rammohun and the various Systems of Philosophy*, and Dr. B. C. Roy, who was to have taken part in the proceedings of 31st December, were prevented from doing so by other unavoidable engagements. Letters regretting inability to attend were received from Dewan Bahadur Sir R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu and the Maharaja Bahadur of Pithapuram.

#### THE EXHIBITION

An Exhibition of Rammohun's portraits, busts, various editions of his works, other relics, and objects related to him was held at Room No. 17 of the Asutosh Buildings from December 24th to 31st. It was formally opened by Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary on Wednesday, the 27th December at 4-30 P. M. After Raja Kshitindra Deva Rai Mahashay of the Bansberia Raj Family had read a paper, Sir Deva Prasad spoke about the all-round greatness of the Raja, and the contacts, traceable through three generations, between his own family and that of Rammohun Roy. There was a distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen, who inspected the Exhibits with great interest after the ceremony was over. Mr. Ganendranath Banerjee, Secretary in charge, to whom the Exhibition owes its success, courteously pointed out to the visitors all objects of special interest collected there.

#### PROGRAMME BOOKLET

A booklet with an artistically designed cover depicting Rammohun pointing to the dawn, and containing a tri-colour portrait of the Raja as frontispiece, the detailed Programme of the Convention and Conferences, Tagore's Opening Prayer and Presidential Address, the Hymns, with an English translation by Indira Devi of the National Anthem and a Catalogue of Exhibits displayed at the Exhibition, was distributed free to the audience.



## HOW YOUTH OF EUROPE SPENDS HOLIDAYS

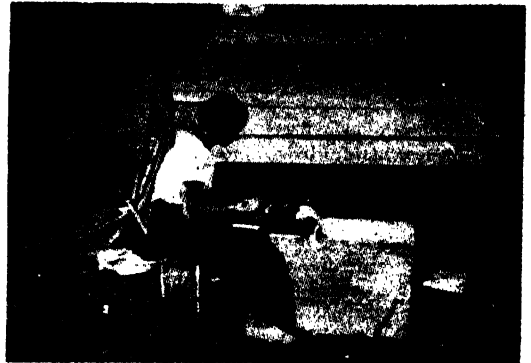
By MISS HANNAH BARTH

[Miss Hannah Barth aged only eighteen was the secretary and leader of a Peace and Youth movement in Dresden in Germany during the last three years; and having had to leave Germany last year has now settled in Prague (C. S. R.) with her parents. Though a German by birth she is very internationally minded. Having travelled herself in France, she in return entertained French guests in her family to eradicate in her own way, any unfriendly relations between the two nations. She organized a meeting of her group in Dresden in 1932 where Dr. D. N. Maitra was invited to deliver an address on the national progressive movements in India, and she acted as the interpreter to the audience, interpreting their questions and answers thereto. She is a great admirer of Tagore and Gandhi and it is her ambition to visit India which has a large and warm corner in her heart. —Ed., M. R.]

**H**OLIDAYS last about two months, *viz.*, July and August. This is plenty of time for undertaking some adventure. The kind of adventure wanted must offer both recreation and education. As nobody among us has much money at his disposal—we are students, the oldest of us being 25, but the better part is 16-19—we must think of spending the holidays in a cheap way too. We find our wishes realized in what is generally known as “camp.” Let me tell you in details my experiences in a camp. Youth of various classes, confessions, nationalities takes part in it. There were about 40 Czechs, and 35 Germans from Prague and her suburbs, Karlsbad, Brunn, and one boy from Berlin. The party set out in two groups, one a few days earlier than the other, because many preparations have to be done. We travelled together on June 29th in a wagon as soldiers will travel. Seats were formed by the various chests which contain pots, and other kitchen utensils, and stores such as some bread, much sugar, flour, cacao, coffee, tinned provisions, etc. I was much surprised at the discipline and fairness of all the boys and girls. A boy ordered that all of us had to give their food, such as rolls, cake, fruit, etc., to him; and he was, after this was performed, assisted by a few others in dividing and distributing everything in common meals.

Our camp was to be near a little village in the surroundings of (Hlinsko near) Olmutz in Moravia. When we arrived, a farmer who had expected us with his rack-wagon drawn by oxen, welcomed us. Several boys were now busy putting the things directly from the wagon upon his cart. We had also taken with us a few bicycles which we should need for “shopping,” in order to fetch the doctor, or any purpose else. Unfortunately it was raining the first days; thus

we could not at once go to see the place where the camp was to be built. We lived with the farmer who allowed us to sleep in the straw of



Camp, July 1933, Moravia, C. S. R.  
Myself behind the “library.”

his granary, to cook in his kitchen and to stay in his garden, where tables and benches were. By the way, a cook had come with us, a kind and reserved girl. And a lady teacher had come too. She was a real comrade to us. In crucial questions, such as to the division of the tents and whether boys and girls should sleep together in one tent (of what I shall have to speak still), she retreated and let us discuss without trying to influence us in any way. Thus we were really independent. And we showed ourselves worthy of it. When sun pierced the clouds we went to the site which had already been selected by expert boys. When selecting the place for the building of a camp, attention must be paid to these necessities: there must be (1) a nice large meadow, woods near by; (2) a source for drinking water; (3) a bathing-place; (4) the roads to the villages or to the town near by. It is most agreeable to build the camp in a hilly landscape, far away from the noise and traffic of the “world.” At last, fine days came when there was no thought of rain and no cloud in the clear blue sky. We began to measure the ground. Some of us dragged props and trunks from the mountain down upon the meadow which is in the valley and in which we would build. Planks were ordered in the saw-mill. Nails and all sorts of implements had been gathered in Prague. Everyone had had to contribute from “at home,”





Camp, July 1933, Moravia, C. S. R.  
The tents are built, one is still missing.

Shall I tell you of what names we gave to quite trite things, *e.g.*, to the tents? I fear I should write too long. We were all very joyful and happy and busy and worked hard; and there was singing and laughing and joking with us. We wore bathing-suits or little black trousers. A girl wearing a skirt would have been an impossible imagination. A few Czechs built the "kitchen" the most wonderful part of which was the hearth. We fetched clay for it from a hill near by, and carefully chose oblong flat stones, seeking everywhere. When the clay had dried, the whole was an admirable



Camp, July 1933, Moravia, C. S. R.  
The "Kitchen" on the left hand side the larder behind the boards, in front the rolls prepared for supper.

piece of work and most practicable. The iron-plates had been taken from Prague. A deep pit which they dug in the ground and inlaid with fir-branches was the larder. By and by, our whole household was brought from the farm to the tents. There are seven tents on the whole, the library in the middle where the typewriter was on a special

little table, the drugs were kept and on the back side of which the news, caricatures on single events of the camp-life were exhibited. A great number



Camp, July 1933, Moravia, C. S. R.  
The "kitchen," seen from behind.

of various newspapers from various towns were taken in besides. The library consisted of books which the inhabitants of the camp had lent. There were most beautiful and modern works which I enjoyed much. What a tent looked like from outside you see in the photos. Inside it was "furnished" like that: three-fourths or so are taken by the beds of boards which are arranged one over the other. There we have strawbags. In the night we would wrap ourselves in plaids which we had brought from at home. In the spare part of the wall, boards are fixed where the inhabitants of the tent put their things. In one corner of the free space the rucksacks are kept. We washed in the brook where we had built stairs, the plates and pots were washed a bit farther down there. The pond was cold and troubled unfortunately, and we dived into it only when we had no better amusement. Beside the tents on the lane a playground for volley-ball was prepared and, about a ten minutes' walk off, a large ground for foot-ball and gymnastics. This was the ordinary contents of a day: wakening at 6 o'clock; gymnastics in the sporting-ground; washing; breakfast (consisting of cacao and bread); appeal; sports; reading, singing, music-playing (guitar); lecture (political, economical or a historical one); discussion; dinner (most simple, one dish; everyone had brought with him a bowl of aluminium and spoon); sport amusement, tours on bicycle; discussions again; supper (tea, bread and butter); talking; sleep at 10 or 11; now and then being on guard. The organization of the camp was this: there was a leader, one of the boys; in every tent a leader, boy or girl. The work, such as sweeping, washing the pots, etc., was done by so-called *Bereitschaften* (preparers) which changed every two days and consisted of about five persons. On the day when



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C. S. R.  
Washing

we all removed with our rucksacks to the camp, the meeting was called in where the question should be discussed whether boys and girls should dwell in the same tent. The boys and



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C. S. R.  
Appel

girls spoke vividly quoting Marx, Reich, and others. As no agreement could be accomplished thus a vote was organized in the way that one party should form one file and the opposite party a file opposite. It was so funny, much noise and much excitement, at first all forming a wild crowd, gesticulating and shouting and trying to convince the adversary. At last two files, insulting each other and laughing at the same time, were complete, the one exactly as strong in number as the other. A committee was elected now, five boys and five girls, who continued the debate on the top of a hill. At last they were successful. In the evening a paper was passed round with the names of the tents and the names of those who should stay in them. The last arrangement had been performed because of making Czechs and Germans mix up and become



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C. S. R.  
Rest

acquainted with each other. In the tent where I was, there were merely Czechs, and I was glad about this fact as it would enable me to learn much of the language.

On the stay in the camp the chief value was laid upon the lectures and, with that, on the political education of the participants of the camp. All of them were socialists and pacifists. The lectures were instructive, whereas the discussions concerned too the editing of a



Camp, July 1933. Moravia, C.S.R.  
The tents complete.

newspaper which would have to introduce the pupils and students in social thoughts. They had published a paper like this before, but it could not be published longer for financial accounts. On the whole, I must say that the influence of camp-life, this healthy life in sun and air is most favourable. Youth amongst youth, that is a good school! I have learnt so many things, become acquainted with so many different young people, with so many different opinions and minds. I wish our Indian friends could enjoy camp-life. I send all of them a heartiest regard, the greeting of camp: Ahoj!

# LALA LAJPAT RAI

## II. Chats on Men and Matters\*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

### I

**H**AWKERS go about the streets in Punjab towns during the summer crying "phut! phut!" Persons who have not seen the fruit that these peddlers are selling might be puzzled by that word, which means "broken! broken!" It is a species of melon. The name given to it exactly describes it. I do not recall seeing a single specimen the skin of which had not burst. When it is ripe it falls to pieces.

I have always found it insipid and avoid it. It must however please some palates, otherwise fruit-sellers would not trouble to hawk it about. Cheapness perhaps has something to do with such popularity as it enjoys.

### II

Perhaps because most Punjabis relish *phut* any organization into which they form themselves soon cracks, as does this fruit. So at least was the case with the Arya Samaj, founded a little more than half a century ago.

So far back as my memory goes, it always lacked unity. My earliest recollections cluster round the sharp discord that existed between the two sections into which it was then divided.

These sections had their designations. Rather high-sounding ones.

But persons who prefer to throw hatchets at one another's heads can never expect the lookers-on to remember the contestants by the gaudy labels they give themselves even though they claim to fight in the name of God. Nick-names coined in the mint of irreverence gain currency and no effort can stop them from being used.

As if the Arya Samajists had differences over nothing more serious than their dietary, the two bands into which they were organized

during my boyhood days were known as the *mas* (meat) and the *ghas* (grass) party respectively. It was nothing unusual for an Arya Samajist to be asked in a spirit of mischief if he relished *jal tori* or claimed merit for avoiding it. That pun had been constructed by some "jokesmith" who conceived the notion that fish looked like *tori* (a kind of "lady's finger," as the English put it, or "okra" as the Americans call it).

### III

The serving maid in the house in East Dulwich (a south-eastern suburb of London) in which we lived from 1912 to 1916 discovered that Lala Lajpat Rai belonged to the *mas* party. She was Irish—irresponsible at times—irrepressible always.

One day as I was going past the kitchen door I overheard this conversation between her and her mistress:

"If it is the gentleman that I have in mind who is coming to dinner tonight, didn't we ought to cook two or three kinds of meat, Ma'am?"

Laughing, Mrs. Singh asked her whom she meant.

"The gentleman who laughs so much," she replied.

"You mean the Master?" this from my wife, who evidently was bent upon teasing the maid.

"No, Ma'am," she said, "the gentleman I am talking about laughs much more than the Master. Much more loudly, too."

He came here the other day to tea. I had made heaps of sandwiches—chicken, meat and fish-paste. They all seemed to melt away.

"I says to myself as I brought you a fresh pot of tea: 'the gentleman is partial to meat sandwiches.' It sure is a pleasure to cook for them that eats as if they relish what you have made for them."

I repeated this conversation to Lalaji when

\*The preceding article appeared in the January issue of *The Modern Review*.—EDITOR.

he came to dinner that evening. He burst out into a fit of laughter that nearly choked him. The maid, who was in the room, coloured up to the very roots of her hair.

Though he was not a vegetarian, Lalaji drew the line at beef. "I simply cannot touch it," he would tell his Western friends. They knew that for generations untold the cow, as the giver of sustenance through her udders and the service she renders to Indian agriculture through her male progeny, had been deemed sacred. They therefore respected his scruples and did not place beef before him.

I have a recollection that he fancied the vegetables of my own growing that were specially cooked for him more than the meat dishes concocted by the Irish maid. There was a plot of land at the back of the house which I had terraced, mostly by myself. The lowest terrace, almost hidden from the drawing room, had been converted into a kitchen garden. Here I spent a good part of my leisure digging, cultivating, manuring, sowing, and in the summer time watering, the lettuces, cabbages, carrots, parsnips, beets and other vegetables.

Lalaji liked these especially because they were fresh. The stale vegetables that usually found their way to the table in London appeared to him to be tasteless and lifeless.

#### IV

Beneath the laughter his heart was heavy. He was too devoted to the Punjab to be happy away from it. Every now and again he said something that showed that he was yearning for home. I remember, for instance, his telling me on one occasion while we were at the table :

"When you come to Lahore I will ask my wife to cook *missi-ki-roti* (bread made of wheat and gram flour) specially for you. It is delicious. She makes it better than any one I know."

Had he stayed in Lahore however after the outbreak of the war there is no knowing what might have happened to him. The officials under the leadership of Sir Michael O'Dwyer (then the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab) were having things pretty much their own way. They had been armed with special powers, in common with the executive in other parts

of India. Scenting a revolutionary plot, they made full use of such powers.

Many Punjabis—mostly Sikhs—had returned just about that time from the Pacific Coast of the United States and Canada to their homes in the Punjab villages. O'Dwyer and his subordinates believed that they had come back filled with revolutionary ideas and were hot on their trail.

No love was lost between Lalaji and the officials, especially after his return from the Fort at Mandalay. He was suspect in their eyes. He might have been involved in this campaign. It was therefore just as well that he was not in Lahore during the years when the war had fanned hatred into a blaze.

Since his mind was not at ease, he could not settle down to any serious work. He would, therefore, often sally down from his temporary home in north-western London to our house.

He liked sitting in my study and talking. It was on the first floor at the back of the house, built upon a slight eminence. The land fell away towards the Thames Valley, with Parliament Buildings and the immense structures in which the various departments of State carried on their administrative activities were situated. Beyond that it rose again until it culminated in Hampstead and Highgate, some parts of which were actually as high as or even higher than the tower of Westminster Abbey or the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral. From where Lalaji and I used to sit talking, this panorama stretched before our eyes whenever we chose to look through the bow window of my study, and the weather was propitious. London was spread out before us as a girl's dower is displayed on wooden cots.

#### VI

Our conversation used to embrace a large field. Some news in the daily papers or an article in a magazine or review, or a chance remark would send us off on a subject and we would not stop until we had torn it to shreds.

Our talk was by no means confined to Indian topics. Conditions in India however naturally came under discussion oftener than the state of affairs elsewhere.

I soon found that he did not look upon the years that he had given to the service of the Arya Samaj as time wasted. But he did feel that as a new faith raised its head in any part of India it added to the religious rancour that already existed there. It made confusion worse confounded.

There was too much religion in India, he said. I suggested that it would be more correct to describe it as "what passed for religion". He replied that I could phrase it as I pleased. In any case the fact remained. Creeds divided us. In their name we fought. So long as we continued to do so, there was little chance of our coming together and forming a strong, united nation.

Lalaji was a nationalist and not a separatist. I clearly saw that.

### VII

In these talks I also discovered that while Lalaji loved our people, he was not blind to their frailties. He loved them despite their faults. Patriotism did not lie in blinking at the defects in our nature, he would say. It lay, on the contrary, in recognizing them and trying to remove them.

He did not confine his criticism to persons of common clay. He was of the opinion—an opinion which I fully shared that India was badly led—that many of our leaders were not only short-sighted but, what was still worse, they often lacked spirit in some cases to the point of actually being cowards.

He took the view—in which I unreservedly concurred—that it was necessary to put a spark of manhood into Indians. That object, he thought, could be attained only by means of education, employing that word in its widest connotation.

He found fault with the system of instruction in India. It was, he said, based upon an utterly wrong assumption—the inferiority of the East *vis à vis* the West. The Indian intellect was, in consequence, enslaved.

The liberation of the Indian mind was, we agreed, the supreme necessity of the moment. There were stupendous difficulties in the way. They had to be conquered at any cost.

### VIII

Such talk often led us to make a survey of the conditions in which the Indian women

were bred and born—in which they had their being. Lalaji was ineffably sad at the manner in which their education and well-being were neglected. So long as the mothers of the nation were in a depressed state, he declared, the nation itself was bound to remain depressed.

He held equally strong views in regard to the so-called lower orders of Hinduism. The treatment of "untouchables," especially in southern India, he asserted again and again, was a blot upon Hinduism.

Sometimes he and I would compare conditions in Britain with those prevailing in our own country, often to India's disadvantage. With what freedom, he used to remark, I could and did express myself in publications issued from London and New York. When would the press in India attain the same measure of freedom!

### IX

The more I got to know Lalaji the more I realized that he was a modernist to his finger tips. He had not troubled to learn Sanskrit nor did he delight in chanting the few *mantras* that he had memorized. True, he was pressed for time. He himself advanced that as an excuse. But the explanation was made self-consciously. A man of his intelligence and industry could easily have acquired at least a fair knowledge of the language if he wished to do so.

His attention was, however, engrossed in other matters. His chief interest lay in awakening the people among whom his life was cast to the realities of the days in which they lived. They had fallen into an almost bottomless pit. The height from which they had dropped had only served to drive their feet and legs deep into the soft, mucky bottom of the pit into which they had fallen and thereby made it much more difficult for them to extricate themselves.

The past, as such, had no great interest for him. Archaeology did not make an irresistible appeal to him.

He left severely alone all tomes dealing with antiquity—even our own antiquity. Stones, no matter how delicately carved—no matter how eloquently they spoke of the past—did not move him to ecstasy.

His mind was essentially secular. The peculiar circumstances in which he was reared in his parental home turned it into a religious channel. But it merely floated upon the surface and soon drifted into the vast, uncharted ocean of Indian politics.

I have a fancy that even when he was a zealous Arya Samajist, the purely spiritual aspect of that faith must not have stirred his being to its depths. He occasionally participated in *havana* and joined persons sitting round the sacred fire chanting *mantras*. That was however more a congregational affair than a real spiritual exercise.

At one stage of his career he directed the attention of the people with whom he talked in private and whom he addressed from the platform to India's Golden Age. But only because he wished to create another Golden Age—a brighter Golden Age.

I have known few men who were fonder than he of history, particularly biographies. None was more anxious to use the lives of great patriots—Indians and non-Indians—to kindle enthusiasm in the youthful Indian heart for service to the country.

## X

Lalaji's emotional nature was as highly developed as his intellect. If anything a little more.

He lavished affection upon every one with whom he came in anything like intimate contact. They could have anything that he had. He would take even more acquaintances to expensive restaurants and theatres.

Children attracted him and he them. Not far from our house lived two friends of his—and ours—Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, an English Civil Servant and his wife, a Scottish lady. They had a daughter about fourteen and a son about eleven. Lalaji used to descend the ladder of time and the children and he would enjoy themselves hugely.

Mr. Westbrook had been religiously inclined from an early age. He would have liked to enter the Church of England. But circumstances over which he had no control prevented him. He appeared instead in the Civil Service Examination and being proficient in English and the classics easily beat all the

other candidates. Posted to the Colonial Office, he rose to be the Chief Registrar.

Attracted by Positivism he got hold of everything written on the subject and plunged into it. It developed in him a fine sense of humanity. The barriers of race and creed fell. His interests became world-wide. Intellectuals from the four corners of the globe—among them many Indians—found a hearty welcome in his home.

He was fortunate in his life-partner. Born in Dundee, Jessie Duncan\* (to give her her maiden name) somehow or other formed, early in her girlhood, a romantic attachment for India. When only eleven years old she composed a poem extolling the beauties of the Taj Mahal at Agra. About the time we took the house in East Dulwich she returned from a tour in India, in the course of which she had visited most of our famous monuments and religious centres.

Mrs. Westbrook had, if I remember aright, been entertained by Lalaji at his house when she visited Lahore. He in any case was always welcome at 65, Calton Road, in Dulwich village, where she lived with her husband and children.

## XI

Lala Lajpat Rai had established contact with some British socialists—mostly of the mildest type. Fabians they called themselves and Fabians they truly were. They no doubt desired a new order—but at a snail's pace, through propaganda. They talked a great deal of organization and a few of them produced tomes that dealt with the emergence of Labour and kindred subjects. So far as I could see however they themselves were content with that contribution and left others to do the actual work of organization with a view to bringing about social reconstruction.

Among the Fabians whom Lalaji had met was\* Mr. Sidney Webb, whom Mr. Ramsay MacDonald subsequently sent to the Upper House and who assumed the title of Lord Passmore. His wife, whom the Indian leader also knew, insisted upon remaining plain Mrs.

\* Mrs. Jessie Duncan Westbrook translated into English some of the late Mrs. Kamini Roy's Bengali poems. These appeared in *The Modern Review* for November, 1929.

Sidney Webb, refusing to be called "Lady Passmore."

Mr. Webb started life as a Civil Servant. He was however much too intellectual to be content with the life decreed to permanent officials by the regulations and even more so by the conventions that grow up in a staid life, such as the English had led from the time they went through the industrial revolution up to the beginning of hostilities in 1914.

Taking to Fabianism, and coming in intimate association with Mr. George Bernard Shaw, Professor Graham Wallas and a few other kindred souls, Mr. Webb helped to start an institution that now forms an important constituent college of the London University. It retains the modest name originally given to it—the London School of Economics. I have often wondered if this is a Shavian retort to the Englishmen who delight in calling their 'public schools' colleges. These schools evidently earn the title of being "public" by virtually shutting out all but rich men's sons.

Mrs. Webb inherited a large block of shares from her father, a railway magnate. She had inherited from him much more than wealth. A fine intellect and great force of character were among her legacies. She cultivated them assiduously. Long before I had the privilege of meeting her, she was acknowledged—and rightly so—as one of the greatest women of the age.

The Webbs collaborated in writing books. Many of the works they produced are still valuable to persons who desire information on subjects connected with the formation and development of the Labour Union in Britain, poor law relief and kindred subjects.

I do not recollect how Lalaji had met the Sidney Webbs; but they spoke to me of him as a man whose friendship they valued. And he was devoted to them.

He paid Mr. and Mrs. Webb several calls. He also saw a good deal of some of the professors connected with the London School of Economics. He had, I recall, formed a very high regard for Professor Graham Wallas and I believe for Mr. Lees Smith.

This contact generated in Lalaji the desire to initiate in India a movement similar to the one that had fructified in the establish-

ment of the London School of Economics. When he and I were meeting in London so often, he had spoken more than once of the idea. I very much doubt that he as yet had any definite idea of embarking upon a similar undertaking. How could he when O'Dwyer was in the saddle in Lahore and he was an exile legally through his own choice but in reality through compulsion?

He was nevertheless convinced that Indians would drive great advantage in carrying on the struggle in which our people were engaged if they could pass through the portals of some such school and acquire systematic knowledge of politics and administration. Such training he felt would be of greater benefit to our people when the sons of the soil bore the full responsibilities of administration, as he fondly hoped they would ere long.\*

## XII

Of a very different type from these Fabian Socialists was Mr. James Keir Hardie, whom Lalaji greatly esteemed. Trained as he had been in the hard school of penury in his native Scotland, his outlook was quite different from that of the book-Socialists who had always or nearly always led a comfortable life.

Lalaji had also met Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, who in collaboration with Hardie had helped to fashion Labour into a political party. At the time when the executive in India was penning up Indian leaders without charge or trial, MacDonald had shown great fighting spirit in the House of Commons, to which assembly he had been returned by workers engaged mostly in boot and shoe-making who then had implicit faith in him.

He was on terms of friendship with Dr. V. H. Rutherford, under whose hospitable roof he had, I seem to recollect, spent some days. A north-country man who had specialized in skin diseases, this Liberal politician then lived in Hampstead.

The placidity with which John Morley, the keeper of the Liberal conscience, appeared,

\* Many years later Lala Lajpat Rai, upon his return from an extended stay in the United States of America, decided to launch a project for establishing in Lahore an institution similar to the London School of Economics. He called it the Tilak School of Politics.

at least to persons not in his confidence, to have permitted Lord Minto to deprive Indian leaders of their freedom without charge or trial, greatly enraged Dr. Rutherford. He made it exceedingly hot for the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, even though he knew that in so doing he was offending against party discipline. Lalaji never forgot the services that this friend of freedom rendered to the Indian cause at that juncture and always spoke of him in the kindest terms.

He also had great regard for Sir William Wedderburn, who at that time was at the helm of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Coming down from his country seat in Gloucestershire every now and again, Sir William used to take rooms in the hotel attached to the Paddington Station. Either there or at the offices of the British Committee of the National Congress, he would hold conference with Indian leaders who happened to be in London and other persons interested in Indian affairs.

On one occasion I happened to go into Sir William's room just as Lalaji was leaving it. I found him greatly exercised in his mind over his Indian friend's attitude towards the war.

Lalaji, I may explain, thought that the conflict in which Britain was engaged with Germany offered Indians a splendid opportunity to come to an arrangement that would solve our political problem. Sir William took the opposite view. In his estimation Indians had done right in offering aid to Britain without attaching any conditions to such help.

### XIII

I do not remember whether or not Sir William had counselled Lalaji to go away from Britain for a time. Probably he had.

Soon after this I learnt from him that he had decided to go to the United States of America. He had not been across the Atlantic Ocean and had a great curiosity to see something of a country of which he had read and heard so much. He might have added that it would also offer him safe asylum, whereas he was not quite sure what might happen to him if he continued to stay in London.

He insisted that before he went, Mrs. St.

Nihal Singh and I should have a meal with him.

"But you have no home here," my wife said to him. "You would be put to a great deal of trouble."

"Never you mind. There will be no trouble. I will make all the necessary arrangements," he replied.

She still demurred. But Lalaji continued to plead until we had to give in.

Upon our arrival at the address which he had given us we found a great feast spread before us—an Indian feast. He had sought the good offices of an Indian lady who, with her husband (a law student) was sojourning in London. She had cooked with her own hands a meal fit for the gods.

As soon as the dishes began to be brought to the table at which we sat, my wife realized that the poor lady must have had spent hours in cooking them. When she attempted to chide Lalaji, he refused to be chided. He told her that when she came to Lahore he would have his wife cook specially for her. Then she would see what people in India ate. There in London it was impossible to have all the materials needed in Indian cookery and even though his young friend had done her best the meal was not what he should have wished it to be.

He was, as I have said, a man of generous instincts and his sense of hospitality was exceedingly keen. After the dinner we kept on talking until it was past midnight. We knew that that was our last meeting for some time to come—may be months, as we then expected,—or years,—as proved to be the case.

The parting was sad, particularly because we knew that Lalaji's heart was hungering for home: and yet the Fates were turning his face in the opposite direction.

### XIV

From such news as drifted my way I understood that during the five years Lalaji spent in the United States he did exceedingly useful work for our country and our people. He sought out American professors, writers and politicians and gave them information about India and Indians. He also wrote books and articles.

Mr. Huebsch—a Jewish-American publi-



sher—was charmed with Lalaji. He had got in touch with me in 1909. In that year he had bought the rights of publishing in the United States of America the letters written by Keir Hardie while travelling in India. He sent me a copy of the book—one of the first batch off the press. A copy was also forwarded to me for review by the *Nation* (New York)—a high-grade literary weekly—for which I then wrote.

I found Mr. Heubusch a man of liberal views and broad sympathies. So did Lajpat Rai years later and got him to print and to publish two of his books.

Lalaji met many other persons in the United States who esteemed him and whom he esteemed. If India had not needed him he would, I believe, have liked to settle in or near New York. An intellectual man who could write with ease and rapidity and who possessed great conversational gifts and personal magnetism, he would have been successful.

But his heart was in India. He could not bear to be away from his home-land. He attached great importance to propaganda work in behalf of his country: but it did not fill his life. He wished to take an active part in the political movement back home.

Apparently however the India Office took a different view of the matter. He was unable to obtain a passport, without which he could not return to the Motherland.

That view seemed to have persisted at the India Office even after the armistice was signed. Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu, who had been at its head since 1917, was neither conservative nor narrow-minded. Quite the reverse. Many of his colleagues were, on the contrary, short-sighted and reactionary. He had moreover to carry with him the officials in India, many of whom were bitterly opposed to his policies and did everything in their power to block him.

I feel certain that had Mr. Montagu been differently placed he would have made it possible for Lalaji to return to India earlier than he was able to do. I saw him often in those days and can therefore write from personal knowledge.

Lalaji was suffering too much from nostalgia to lose precious time in making preparations to leave or in bidding farewell to friends. Once he learnt that he was to be allowed to go home he crossed the Atlantic for Britain and, after a short time in London, sailed for India.

## PROPOSALS FOR AN ALL-INDIA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

By G. C. MUKHERJEE, M. SC.

### INTRODUCTION

**E**VEN at an early stage of civilization, knowledge was regarded as the source of power and pursuit of knowledge was confined to a small class of people (generally the priests), and even amongst them there was much secrecy and rivalry, co-operation being practically unknown. Each individual held fast to his own traditions and his own school of thought, and bitter jealousy leading sometimes to fierce conflicts existed between different schools. With the progress of civilization, however, as the intellectuals and the society realized their duties to each other, it was recognized that the cultivation of knowledge could be carried on more efficiently, if the learned members of the society could co-operate and could come into more frequent contact with each other's achievements and thoughts. For this purpose corporate bodies were organized and frequent discussions used to be held. It was also recognized that knowledge should not be confined to any particular class, but its portals

should be thrown open to all who possessed the necessary earnestness of purpose and gift of mental powers.

At the present time we can regard this democratization of knowledge as almost a sure measure of the progress of civilization in a country; for it was almost unknown in medieval priest-ridden societies. Amongst the countries of the Western World, Greece was probably the first to reach this stage, near about the fifth century B.C. The first learned body of Greece, the famous Academy (named after certain Academe) of Athens was founded by Plato, the pupil of Socrates. Plato was not only a philosopher, but was also a great believer in exact science; on the portals of his Academy was inscribed—"Let nobody enter the Academy who does not know Geometry." Aristotle succeeded Plato and under Aristotle who wrote on Physics, Ethics, History of Animals, the fame of the Academy spread far and wide, and it became the rendezvous of all seekers after truth in the great Empire of Alexander. The

Academy of Athens continued its glorious existence even after the political downfall of Greece, and throughout the Roman supremacy, the teachers and scholars of the academy used to receive students even from Imperial Rome. Besides the great Academy of Athens, other learned societies sprang up in various parts of the civilized world, specially at Alexandria, at various places in Asia Minor like Pergamum and Antioch and at Syracuse in Sicily. It is interesting to note that in the Museum of Alexandria, which was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus and so named because it was dedicated to the Muses, the patron deities of knowledge, all the expenses of the scholars were borne by the king.

### THE ACADEMY MOVEMENT IN EUROPE

The spread of Christianity in the Mediterranean world in the next centuries gave rise to intense theological bigotry, and this killed or drove underground the scientific spirit in Europe for about ten centuries. During the Renaissance period, partly under the influence of Arabic culture, the spirit of scientific enquiry again revived, and a number of learned academies were formed in quick succession. Lead was taken by Italy, then a country of city states, like Venice, Genoa and Florence each of which tried to emulate the achievements of the Alexandrian Museum. The Florence Academy will be long remembered in the Annals of Science on account of the encouragement it gave to Galileo, the inventor of the telescope, and the founder of modern Physics. At the same time was founded the *Accademie des Lincei* at Rome, which has been recently organized by Mussolini's Government into a National Academy for Italy. Italy being the intellectual leader during the Renaissance, it was but natural that other countries of Europe should follow in her footsteps and should found their own *National Academies* under the idea which may now be considered romantic, that the cultivation of science would usher in a new era in human civilization.

In response to these ideas, the French Academy in Paris whose activities were mainly literary, was founded in 1634 by Cardinal Richelieu, minister of Louis XIII of France. The *Academie des Sciences* was founded about the same time and among its first members were the philosopher Descartes and the Mathematician Pascal. After the French Revolution, a single *Institute de France* was organized by Napoleon, of which the various Academies (of Science, Belle Lettres, etc.) formed branches. By 1630, France had become a great National Unit, but Germany was still

divided into a number of petty states whose sole aim was to imitate French manners and customs. The great national institution of Germany, the Prussian Academy of Sciences, was founded a century afterwards in 1740 by Fredrick the Great, who was a great admirer of French culture. It undertook direct and active encouragement of scientific research of the nation by the creation of a number of research professorships and paid memberships; these persons were not expected to do any teaching work and were free to devote the whole of their time and energy to scientific research. Amongst the Academicians of the Prussian Academy, one could find such famous names as those of Voltaire and Maupertuis and the Humboldts in the 17th and 18th centuries, and Vaut Hoff and Einstein in recent years.

### THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

The famous Royal Society of London was founded in response to a widespread movement initiated by Francis Bacon who in a pamphlet entitled the *New Atlantis*, advocated plans for a college of learned men where cultivation of science would be properly organized. But the civil war in England soon intervened and the idea could be given effect to only after the Restoration. The Royal Society first took definite shape in 1663 under a Royal Charter from King Charles II, who took an active interest in its foundation, and gave properties worth £1300 from his own pocket towards its foundation. The first meeting took place on May 20, 1663, under the presidency of Viscount Brouncker, a nobleman who was also a mathematician of some note and among the first fellows were Robert Boyle, Christopher Wren (the builder of the St. Paul's Cathedral), Hooke, and the great Newton joined the Society somewhat later. For about 270 years the Royal Society has played a unique and most important part in the intellectual life of the English nation, and it can count among its presidents men like Newton, Davy (Chemist), Hooke (Botanist), Kelvin (Physicist), Lister (Surgeon), Crookes (Chemist), Geikie (Geologist), Thomson, and Rutherford (Physicists) and Hopkins (Bio-chemist), each a giant in his own subject. The above list is enough to excite the envy of any other learned Society of the world.

The Royal Society holds such an eminent position among the other scientific bodies (of which there are many) of England that it will be better here to review briefly its composition, constitution and functions. The Royal Society has about 450 Fellows on its rolls, and about 50 Foreign members. The representation of different Sciences in the present body of Fellows is as follows :

Physics and Meteorology	77
Mathematics and Astronomy	53
Engineering	24
Chemistry	70
Medicine	90

\* So called, because the intellectual insight of the Academicians was supposed to penetrate the obscure secrets of nature, as the eyes of a lynx are supposed in fable to be endowed with the extraordinary power of seeing through the solid walls.

Zoology	36
Botany	34
Geology	35
Psychology	5
Miscellaneous	18
National Work	8
Archaeology	3
—	453

Among the Foreign members are such men as Einstein, Bohr and Pavlov. Seventeen new Fellows are elected every year. The candidate who wants to get elected will have to get a Fellow who will propose his name and the proposal should be endorsed by six other Fellows. About 120 names are proposed each year of which 15 are elected by ballot by the members of the council and the remaining two are elected for National work. The administration is vested in the council which consists of a president elected for two years, two secretaries elected for eight years, a treasurer and 22 members elected from amongst the Fellows. The President may be elected for a second term.

I shall now briefly describe the functions of the Royal Society at the present time.

The Royal Society publishes two learned Journals—(a) The Proceedings which have two sections (i) Physical, (ii) Biological; (b) the Transactions with two Sections (i) Physical, (ii) Biological. Papers communicated to the society are read in the weekly meetings, and then sent to sectional committees for publication, and if approved are published in the Proceedings or the Transactions.

Besides these purely academic works the society has to discharge a lot of administrative function. It acts, to put the matter in a nutshell, as the *National Governing Body* for the administration of all matters of scientific interest. Through its committees, it administers the following departments:

1. The Government grant for Scientific investigations—amounting to about £ 6,000 per annum.

2. The Kew Observatory: This is the National observatory for research and observations in Magnetism, Seismology (science of earthquakes) Geo-physics, and Meteorology (science of weather).

3. The Meteorological Office.—(At present under the Air Ministry, but the Royal Society has two representatives on the Governing body).

4. National Physical Laboratory.—The National Physical Laboratory was founded in 1900, following the report of a committee with physicist Lord Rayleigh as Chairman to consider and report upon the desirability of founding a public institution for standardizing and verifying instruments, for testing materials. The administration is vested in a committee of the Royal Society, though in the Executive Committee,

other interests are represented. In addition to discharging the above functions, the National Physical Laboratory undertakes scientific investigations of national importance, such as, research in ship-building, radio-telegraphy, metallurgy, and employs a large number of scientific staff.

5. The Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the Timekeeper of the world, was established in 1710 on the initiative of the Royal Society.

A committee of the Royal Society formerly formed the governing body of the institution, but now they form the board of Visitors and are strongly represented in the governing body.

6. The International Research Council.—Science is international and a good deal of scientific work has to be done by international co-operation. So, as a result of series of international conferences held in London, Paris and Brussels during 1918-19, an International Research Council was formed for the purpose of facilitating international co-operation in scientific work and promoting the formation of International Unions in different branches of Science. The Royal Society, acting as the *National Academy of Great Britain* appoints the British delegates to the meetings of the International Research Council. At present, international research is carried on in the following subjects:—

[Quoted from page 148 of the year-book of the Royal Society, 1933].

(1) Astronomy, (2) Geodesy and Geo-physics, (3) Mathematics, (4) Radio-telegraphy, (5) Physics (6) Geography, (7) Chemistry, (8) Biology and (9) Medicine.

The Royal Society is represented through its members in the Selection Committees for appointments of Professors in many Universities, Colleges and other National Institutions, and exerts a very healthy influence in the maintenance of proper standard.

Besides these activities, the Royal Society has to administer a very large fund amounting to several thousand pounds which has been bequeathed to it by successive generations of benefactors for founding Studentships, Medals, for recognition of meritorious scientific work. A very useful and interesting fund known as the Scientific Relief Fund is maintained by the Royal Society, the object of which is to help scientific men and their families in case of emergency. In recent years, a number of rich manufacturers have endowed six full-time Research Professorships of annual value of £ 1,500 each. Before the institution of these Research Professorships, the Royal Society was rather behind her continental counterparts (in France and Germany.)

#### RELATION OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON TO SECTIONAL SOCIETIES

Science plays such a great part in the activities of great nations that even such a body

as the Royal Society, with its great age, tradition and highly efficient organization finds it difficult to cope with all the branches of science. So out of the Royal Society has sprung, in different times, the following societies devoted to only the particular subjects of study :

1. The Royal Astronomical Society.
2. The Royal Anthropological Society.
3. The Royal Geographical Society.
4. The Royal Meteorological Society.

The other great Scientific Societies in Great Britain are :

1. The Chemical Society.
2. The Physical Society.
3. The Geological Society.
4. The Linnean Society (Botany).
5. The London Mathematical Society.
6. The Zoological Society.
7. The Cambridge Philosophical Society.
8. The Faraday Society.
9. The Röntgen Society.
10. The Institution of Electrical Engineers.

From the above it will be apparent that inspite of the existence of a large number of societies in England engaged in the promotion of interest and research work in particular branches of Science, the Royal Society is by no means a superfluous organization. On the other hand, it is a very important national institution, as being a Society composed of most eminent scientists and national workers on all lines, it is consulted by the Government on all scientific matters and is entrusted with the administration of scientific departments and institutions. It also acts as a liaison body between societies devoted to particular subjects. Its relation to other scientific bodies is best understood by describing it as *an apex of the pyramid formed by these societies.*

#### NATIONAL ACADEMIES IN OTHER BRITISH DOMINIONS

In these days some sort of national academy has become so essential for every civilized country, that all the dominions of the British Empire, have, from time to time, managed to secure Royal Charter for their own national institutions. There is a very old Royal Society of Edinburgh, an old Royal (now National) Irish Academy of Dublin, a Royal Society at Toronto (for Canada), as well as Royal Societies for South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. All these societies have taken the Royal Society of London as their prototype and have similar relation and influence with the Governments and other scientific bodies of their countries. *Among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations India is the only country which does not yet possess a National Academy of sufficient prestige and power like these Royal Societies.*

#### SCIENTIFIC BODIES IN INDIA—OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL.

In India in fact, the number of learned societies is extremely small. The oldest and the

most well known being the Asiatic Society of Bengal which has just celebrated its 150th anniversary. It was founded in 1784 by the famous Oriental scholar Sir William Jones. The chief field of activity of the Asiatic Society has been ancient and medieval Indian History and Archaeology in which it has done admirable work. In fact, the Asiatic Society has been mainly responsible for unearthing India's past. It has also got a Natural Science section, and has published very valuable memoirs in Zoology, Botany and Anthropology. In recent years it has organized the Indian Science Congress on the model of the British Association. Through its efforts, the Indian Museum and the Meteorological department were called into being. Next in importance is the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, chiefly devoted to ancient Indian History. Other scientific societies devoted to special subjects are the Calcutta Mathematical Society, the Indian Mathematical Society and the Benares Mathematical Society, and the Indian Botanical Society, each of which publishes a journal. The most active society, however, has been the Indian Chemical Society founded in 1925 by the Indian Chemists headed by Sir P. C. Ray. It has already managed to enroll more than 500 Fellows, publishes a monthly journal and has got a paid whole time Assistant Secretary. In Physics no society has yet been formed, though the Indian Association for the cultivation of science at Calcutta, publishes a journal of Physics, in which, mainly the researches of Prof. Raman and his school are published. Another very important body which is not sectional but provincial in its scope, is the Academy of Sciences of the United Provinces. It was founded in 1930 with its headquarters at Allahabad by the scientists of U. P. It represents mainly the scientific workers of that province, but has a considerable number of extra provincial Fellows and Members. It has managed to secure some government support, publishes a quarterly bulletin and maintains a library of journals.

Apart from these non-official societies, there are a number of Government and semi-Government scientific organizations in India chiefly managed by the Services which publish their own journals and memoirs. No civilized government these days can do without undertaking a large amount of systematic scientific and semi-scientific activities including a lot of research work, and has to maintain well-equipped departments for that purpose. To organize and run these departments efficiently, expert advice is essential, for which the Government generally turns to and receives prompt help from the national academy of the country. In these matters, there generally exists a spirit of close co-operation between the national academy and the state. In fact, it is not unusual to leave a part of the actual administration regarding scientific matters in the hands of the national institution as we have seen in the case

of the Royal Society of London. In common with other civilized Governments of the world, the Indian Government too undertakes a considerable amount of Scientific work, of which the following are some of the most important forms and are under the direct control of the Government of India.

1. The Indian Trigonometrical Survey at Dehra Dun.

It is responsible for the survey of the Indian Empire and also does a certain amount of work in Hydrography, Seismology and Geo-physics.

2. The Geological Survey of India.
3. The Meteorological Service.
4. The Zoological Survey of India.
5. The Agricultural Service.
6. The Botanical Survey.

Here may also be mentioned the Central Council of Agricultural Research and the proposed Central Medical Research Council. Besides these, many provincial Governments maintain Scientific Departments which are devoted to the study of problems peculiar to those provinces. The Irrigation Department of the Panjab, which has a highly organized Research staff, the Department of Fisheries of Bengal, and the Cotton Research Institute of Bombay are organizations of this nature. In the absence of an All-India Academy of Sciences, the expert advice that the Government needs for the purpose is sought elsewhere. Generally this help has been given by an Indian Committee of the Royal Society of London. Hitherto this Indian Committee of the Royal Society has been the guiding factor in the policy of the Government of India with regard to scientific matters, e.g., in the establishment of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore (the original purpose of which was to organize research on industrial problems), in the Forest Research Institute, Bangalore, in the various medical research institutes as well as in the organization of the scientific services advice was sought from the Royal Society. It is also clear that in the absence of a National Academy, the Indian Scientific opinion can have very little influence over the management of the above Government institutions; and very little effective co-operation is possible between the Scientific workers in the Government Institutions and the non-official Indian Scientific workers carrying on research work in various Universities and institutions scattered all over the country.

#### RECENT PROPOSALS FOR THE FORMATION OF AN ALL-INDIA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

During the last four or five years the Indian Scientists have been gradually awaking to the fact that the absence of an All-India Academy of Sciences not only greatly hampers the cultivation of Science, but deprives the nation of a large amount of valuable service which she badly needs. Eminent individuals, as well as important scientific bodies have from time to time expressed

their opinion that an immediate establishment of a National Academy is absolutely essential, these stray voices from different quarters have recently developed into a strong movement, and it is to be hoped that the formation of such a body is a question of a few months. The growth of the movement may here be briefly outlined.

#### INITIATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Towards the end of 1930, the Government of India addressed a letter to the Provincial Governments, the learned societies of India, the Universities and the Indian Science Congress requesting their opinions on the formation in India of (a) a National Research Council and (b) National Committees, to co-operate respectively with the International Research Council and certain affiliated Unions which have been mentioned above. Their views were sought particularly on the following points (a) whether the formation of such a council and committees would be useful, (b) what should be the composition and the method of appointment of these bodies, (c) in what ways would the expenses be met, (d) how much control the Government should exercise over these bodies.

In their reply to this circular, the council and the Executive Committee of the Indian Science Congress expressed their opinion that (a) the formation of such bodies would certainly be useful (b) though the ideal constitution of the proposed National Research Council would be one analogous to that of the Royal Society of London, for the present it should include among its members the representatives of the following categories of Scientific workers: (i) Representatives of the Scientific departments of the Government of India, (ii) Representatives of the learned societies and organizations of research (iii) Representatives of the Universities (iv) Eminent scientists, (v) Representatives of such Provinces and the Indian States as are willing to bear a part of the expenses.

(c) For the present, the Government of India should bear all the necessary expenses.

(d) The National Research Council should be as free from Government control as possible.

Government action on these proposals has not yet been taken owing to financial stringency but even this preliminary action shows that the Government of India realizes the importance of organizing a National Academy.

#### THE PROPAGANDA BY THE "CURRENT SCIENCE"

The Editor of the famous Scientific weekly *Nature* Sir Richard Gregory, during his recent tour in India, discussed the question of the formation of an All-India Academy of Sciences with the Editors of *Current Science*. The May 1933 issue of the journal contained an Editorial on the subject, the substance of which can be understood from the following extracts:

"Although Indian Science should command practically unlimited resources, and actually has enlisted a band of competent and highly qualified investigators, it suffers from a lack of financial support and from the lack of an authoritative exposition of its achievements by a central responsible body which can speak on behalf of her scientific men for India, as a whole. - It seems to us that the early establishment of a National Academy of Science should secure closer and better organized co-operation of activities among all research institutions of India. The scope and purpose of the functions of the Academy are therefore different from those of the Indian Science Congress which offers principally the advantage of human contacts. Among other functions which the Academy will exercise should be included the protection and advancement of the professional interests of its members. It should acquire the necessary authority to advise Government, the Universities and other institutions on all scientific matters and other problems referred to it for consideration and to negotiate on behalf of Indian scientific workers with similar institutions abroad; through its library, the Academy will act as a bureau of information to be disseminated among its members. An Academy of Science is not an ornament, but an indispensable institution for directing the destinies of the nation. - We have no hesitation in thinking that its establishment ought to be the natural and legitimate ambition of a progressive Government and an enlightened public who should unhesitatingly provide the institution with sufficient funds for its service in their cause."

The Editors then consulted their board of editorial co-operators and issued over their signatures a circular letter with questionnaire on the subject. The letter stated that if a sufficiently widespread support for the proposal of establishing an All-India Academy would be forthcoming, the investigation of details would immediately engage the attention of a competent committee appointed for the purpose. The questionnaire asked for the views of the addressee on the scope, function, and constitution of such an Academy, its relation to other scientific bodies, about its finances, etc. The Calcutta Scientists gathered together on the 17th September and drafted a collective reply to this circular. They approved of the proposal wholeheartedly and expressed their opinions on various points. They were in favour of associating the new body closely with the Asiatic Society of Bengal and expressed the opinion that Calcutta would be the most suitable place for its location. They however suggested that the various schemes received regarding the formation of the Indian Academy be placed before a special meeting of the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress in its forthcoming Poona (changed later to Bombay) session for full discussion.

#### PROPOSALS OF THE MARQUIS OF ZETLAND AND PROF. THOMAS FOR FOUNDING A ROYAL INDIAN ACADEMY (OF SCIENCE, LETTERS AND ARTS)

Meanwhile the sounding of opinion for establishing a National Academy was started from another quarter. In April 1933, Lord Zetland, the ex-Governor of Bengal and Professor Thomas, the distinguished orientalist of Oxford, addressed 25 most eminent Indian intellectuals on this subject, on behalf of some British gentlemen who were interested in the intellectual life of India and had gathered together in London to discuss the desirability of an Indian Academy, representative of Philosophy, Science, Literature and Art. They stated that the international influence of a single Indian National Academy will be probably much greater than the united influence of a number of academies, and therefore the former was preferable. As regards the process of initiating such a body, they suggested that the *British Academy might help as far as the Indian opinion would consider such help desirable, specially in such matters as obtaining Government recognition and support and a Royal Charter*. They asked the views of those whom they addressed, as to whether such action on the part of the British Academy would have their approval and support. Among the replies which were sent to them individually, majority were in the favour of establishing a single academy, but some were for separate academies for Science and Arts. They were also informed that in the forthcoming Science Congress (1934), the proposal for an All-India Academy of Sciences would engage the attention of its General Committee. In their reply to Prof. Saha, who was to preside in that session of the Congress, they said that they had hitherto been acting in association with the British Academy who are naturally more interested in a single Academy than in an Academy of Science only, and they suggested that "after the discussion of the matter in the Indian Science Congress (assuming of course that the trend of the discussion did not render such a course impossible) the Council of the Congress be asked to consider whether they might not issue an invitation to those with whom we have been corresponding in India."

#### THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH

The Scientists of U. P., however, have taken a most active part in this general movement for a National Academy of Sciences. As early as 1929, in his "Plea for an Academy of Sciences" Prof. Saha indicated the need of a National Academy of Sciences and discussed the question with a number of scientists at the Science Congress which assembled at Allahabad in 1930. As the realization of the proposals, then seemed remote, a more modest institution, the U. P.

Academy of Sciences, was founded in 1930. But the sponsors of the Provincial Academy continued to cherish the idea of an All-India Academy and took pains to invite scientists of other provinces to join the U. P. Academy. For three years this body worked silently and efficiently, receiving wholehearted co-operation of not only the U. P. scientists but of a number of extra provincial scientists as well. In the middle of 1933, time seemed to be ripe and circumstances favourable for forming an All-India institution, and the U. P. Academy took the initiative in this matter by passing the following resolution on the 10th of August, "That the Academy welcomes the proposal of the Council that the Academy of Sciences, U. P., should become the All-India Academy of Sciences."

Just after this a circular letter was sent to the scientists all over India requesting their views on the matter. The following is an extract from this letter: "In the U. P. Academy of Sciences, thus, there already exists the nucleus of an All-India Academy. The signatories to this letter are authorised by the Academy to state, that the U. P. Academy will be only too glad to place its organisation, experience and resources, at the service of the All-India body, and in case the offer is accepted the Indian Academy can come into existence almost immediately."

The comments of the famous scientific journal *Nature* over these proposals of the U. P. Academy were highly reasonable and sympathetic. The Editorial of September 23, 1933 strongly favoured the formation of an All-India Science Academy and wrote: "As a matter of fact when a number of men of science from different parts of India assembled at Allahabad in January 1930, the question of the establishment of an Academy of Sciences in India was thoroughly discussed. It was then decided to start, as an experimental measure, the U. P. Academy of Sciences which would be the official expositor of the research work conducted mainly in the five universities of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and it was also settled that membership would be open to men of science residing outside the territorial limits of the United Provinces. It was also suggested that if the experiment proved successful, the U. P. Academy might later develop into an All-India organization. The progress of the Academy during the last three years has shown that the experiment has been very successful, and members of the Academy residing in other parts of India have suggested that it should become an All-India Academy of Sciences. The U. P. Academy is the first of its kind to have been started in India, and it has, therefore, strong claim to develop into an All-India Academy. We understand that the council has discussed the question recently, and has recommended to the general body of the Academy that its name be changed to the Indian Academy of Sciences."

It was however realized that the Indian Science Congress being the recognized authoritative body representing Indian Scientists, was the only body capable of dealing with such an All-India problem as the establishment of an Indian Academy hence, the U. P. Academy in a resolution dated December 19, 1933 authorized Prof. Saha to bring to the notice of the scientists attending the Science Congress at Bombay, the resolution of the U. P. Academy of August 10, 1933, and to discuss the whole question with them, and to report to the Academy the deliberations of the Congress, at its next meeting.

The above review shows that the necessity of forming an All-India Academy of Sciences has been emphasized by various authoritative bodies including the Government of India, but regarding the composition and modalities of formation, considerable divergence of opinion prevailed. The greatest divergence of opinion was with respect to the question of location. Naturally enough every society or scientific body wanted the Academy to be located in the particular city in which it was interested. The situation in this case, as in every other All-India affair, was not unlike that in the old Athenian democracy, where every leader of the army, when asked to nominate a captain-general, gave the first vote to himself and the next to somebody else. Generally, the man who got the largest number of second votes was elected. A similar procedure might be needed to deal with the present situation. Thus the different scientific bodies, the Asiatic Society, the U. P. Academy, and the Current Science group, with an admirable spirit of co-operation, resigned all powers into the hands of the Indian Science Congress. The Sponsors of the Congress felt that the discussion of the question of location was unnecessary at that stage, as it depended entirely on the form into which the constitution of the Academy would be finally emerging. They, therefore, submitted to the decision of the General Committee only questions of a general nature. On the 3rd. January, 1934, a special meeting of the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress Association was specially convened for the purpose. At this meeting which was attended by about 75 members from all parts of India, the following resolutions were passed.

#### RESOLUTION 1

The General Committee of the Indian Science Congress thanks the Editorial Board of the *Current Science* for the excellent spade work in sounding the scientific opinion in India on the desirability or otherwise of having an Indian Academy of Science and proposing to hand over to the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress the material hitherto collected.

The following is an extract from the letter

circulated by the *Current Science* on the replies received to their circular letter :

"I have the honour to submit herewith an analysis of the replies so far received to the questionnaire recently issued under your authority.

"We have so far received 109 replies to the questionnaire of which several represented collective opinions of groups of individuals, Research Institutes, learned Societies and Universities. Over 150 individual scientists (distributed all over the country) are agreed that there is great need for the organization of an All-India Academy of Sciences. Three learned Societies, seven Universities and five Research Institutions have supported the idea after consulting the constituent members ; two individuals have expressed doubts about the need for such an organization at the present juncture ; four have opined that the Indian Science Congress fulfils the functions of an Academy.

"Among those who favour the formation of an Academy, one learned Society and five individuals have suggested a further discussion of the matter at the session of the Indian Science Congress at Bombay and the necessary action to be taken based on the decision reached at the meeting ; all the others are in favour of a Committee appointed by you, going into the question and deciding on the constitution of the Academy.

"There has been some difference of opinion regarding the process of initiating the Academy. The majority approve of seeking State-aid to start an entirely new organization which would be run more or less along the line of the Royal Society of London, the details of the constitution as also the process of initiation of the Academy to be decided by the committee to be appointed by you for the purpose."

The above letter shows that there is an overwhelming majority amongst the scientists and scientific bodies of India for starting a National Academy of Science, and they were all agreed that the task of framing the constitution and taking such other steps as is necessary for bringing the Academy to existence should be left to a Committee appointed by the Indian Science Congress. Accordingly the following resolutions were moved by Dr. L. Fermor, President of the Congress for 1933, and were adopted by the General Committee after a full discussion.

#### RESOLUTION 2.

In the opinion of the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress, the principal purposes for which an Indian Academy of Sciences is desirable are :

(i) To act as a co-ordinating body between scientific societies in India, institutions engaged in scientific work, Government Scientific Departments and Services.

(ii) To act as a body of scientists of eminence, to promote and safeguard the interests

of scientists in India, and also to act as a National Research Council.

(iii) To publish a *Comptes Rendus* of papers read before the Academy and also Memoirs and Transactions.

(iv) To keep the door open either for a federation of the Science Academy with other Academies of Letters and Social Sciences which may come into existence.

(v) To secure and manage funds and endowments for scientific research.

(vi) To do such other things as may be necessary for the promotion of Science in India.

#### RESOLUTION 3.

Resolved that a Committee be appointed to meet at an early date in Calcutta, with the object of drafting a constitution to be laid before the next meeting of the Indian Science Congress, and to take the necessary steps for bringing the Academy into existence by the end of the year 1934.

#### RESOLUTION 4.

The Committee shall be constituted as follows :

1. The outgoing President of the Indian Science Congress.

2. The incoming President of the Indian Science Congress.

(A) One representative each of the following Societies :

3. Asiatic Society of Bengal.

4. Indian Chemical Society.

5. Indian Botanical Society.

6. Mining and Geological Institute, jointly with the Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society.

7. Indian Mathematical Society. } one joint  
Benares " " } representa-  
Calcutta " " } tive.

8. U. P. Academy of Sciences.

9. Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. (Calcutta)

(B) Director or a representative nominated by the following All-India Government Departments.

10. Botanical Survey of India.

11. Geological " "

12. Zoological " "

13. Trigonometric " "

14. Meteorological Department.

15. Imperial Institute of Agricultural and Forest Research.

16. Indian Research Fund Association.

17. Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research.

18. Director or representative of the Indian Institute of Science.

19. Representative of the Editorial Board of the *Current Science*.

20-24. The following five members to represent the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress. (They were elected after ballot was taken.)



- |                          |     |           |
|--------------------------|-----|-----------|
| (i) Prof. S. N. Bose     | ... | Dacca.    |
| (ii) Mr. D. N. Wadia     | ... | Bombay.   |
| (iii) Dr. S. K. Mukerjee | ... | Lucknow.  |
| (iv) Dr. K. G. Naik      | ... | Baroda.   |
| (v) Dr. H. K. Sen        | ... | Calcutta. |

The Committee have power to co-opt additional members as required.

#### RESOLUTION 5.

Prof. M. N. Saha and Prof. S. P. Agharkar be appointed Organizing Secretaries.

The Committee is to hold its first meeting at Calcutta (the venue of the Indian Science

Congress for 1935) on February 11 and 12 when mode of procedure will be discussed.

On account of the great public importance of the measure proposed, *The Modern Review* has taken special pains to obtain from the authorities of the Indian Science Congress, a detailed account of the movement. The above account shows that a very good start has been made for a measure of first-rate national importance and the country will watch with great eagerness the working of the Committee. It is hoped also the Central Government as well as the States will give the enterprise their unstinted and whole-hearted support, morally as well as materially.

## INDIAN WOMENHOOD

SRIMATI MAI WARERKAR is the editor of *Mahila*, a Marathi Monthly.



Srimati Mai Warerkar

MISS VIMALA GADVE went to London and joined the Rachel Macmillan Training College.



Miss Vimala Gadve

She has taken the Nursery School Teachers' Diploma from the college. She is the first Indian girl to take this diploma.

# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**GANDHI VERSUS THE EMPIRE.** By *Haridas T. Mozumdar, Ph. D. Illustrated. Pp. 351. A foreword by Will Durant. The Universal Publishing Company, New York.*

Dr. Mozumdar possesses three essential qualifications for writing such a book about Mahatma Gandhi as Americans need to possess. He knows India well, he knows Gandhi well, and he knows America and Americans well.

1. He knows India as nobody can quite know it except one born and reared there, who has drunk in its spirit from the very breast of his mother, from his father's first embrace, from the profound and lasting influences of his Indian child-companionships, his Indian school-training and the Indian environment everywhere about him moulding his whole nature as a hand moulds clay throughout all his impressionable years from birth to manhood.

2. Dr. Mozumdar knows Gandhi through the close intimacy of living with him in his home; through sharing with him the hopes, the toils, the anxieties and the sufferings of the Mahatma's daring, historic, three-weeks' march on foot to the sea, to break Britain's infamous salt-tax, and thus proclaim to her and to the world India's determination to be free; and, later, through conversations and companionship with the great Indian leader in London, during the second Round Table Conference there.

3. Dr. Mozumdar knows America and Americans through more than a dozen years of residence here, where he has studied in our great universities and achieved high standing as a scholar, and more important still, where he has travelled in all parts of the land, studying American institutions and American life, and lecturing with ability and eloquence in support of the right of his country to self-rule and to a place once more among the world's great nations. The work that he has done and is doing for India, as a public speaker, has been, and is, invaluable.

Dr. Mozumdar has written much on both Gandhi and India. And now, in a sense he gathers up the ripe fruit of it all in this large and striking volume just published entitled *Gandhi versus the Empire*.

In this unique work he gives to the public much valuable information about Gandhi, chiefly in connection with his historic visit to England in 1931, and important utterances from Gandhi's lips—for the most part addresses delivered at the London Round Table Conference, in Parliament and at the many Assemblies, public and private, where he was invited to speak. The significance and value of the book lies mainly in the fact that this important information and these important utterances of the great Indian leader cannot be found except with great difficulty anywhere else, and can be found nowhere else collected together as Dr. Mozumdar gives them in his impressive pages.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

**MAN AND TECHINICS: A contribution to a philosophy of life, by Oswald Spengler, translated from the German by C. F. Atkinson. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Cloth. Pp. x+104. 6sh.**

Oswald Spengler is a profound thinker of very wide erudition. Compared with his huge work, *The Decline of the West*, the present book is a small one. It is both a summary of his known philosophy and an outline of his history of mankind. Accordingly it deals shortly with the whole problem of civilized man's life on earth today and is essentially necessary for grasping modern thought and modern social problems. It is divided into five chapters: *Technics as the Tactics of Living; Herbivores and Beasts of Prey; The Origin of Man, Hand and Tool; The Second Stage, Speech and Enterprise; and The Last Act, Rise and End of the Machine Culture.*

**MY IMPRESSIONS OF JAPAN: By Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Kt., C. I. E.; D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co. Bombay. Rs. 2. Pp. 158. Illustrated.**

The author is a man of business and at the same time a widely read and cultured thinker. Hence, one would expect his book to be both entertaining and profitable reading. It is really found to be such. In it Sir Lalubhai tells us of the national characteristics of the Japanese, their education, factory industries, agriculture and sericulture, civics and

religion, and describes a hot spring research hospital and some cities and towns. He also gives his impressions of some individuals and associations; and describes his visit to Ceylon, Singapore, Hongkong, etc.

The Japanese national characteristics which struck him were their cleanliness, artistic temperament, politeness of manners, kindness, hospitality and the honesty of the masses.

"Japan is nationalist first, nationalist second, and nationalist last." Japanese education is intended to make the people nationalists and patriots. There were and even now there are factions in the State. But the Japanese have all along avoided foreign aid in internal quarrel and have thus protected themselves from its fatal effect.

"The Japanese are thorough in whatever work or activity they undertake." They understand the value of large combines and refuse to accept defeat. The percentage of literacy in Japan is 99.23 of the total population. In India the percentage of illiteracy is 92 !

Those who want to understand why Japan is progressive and efficient and successful in industry ought to read this book.

C.

**THE FIRST TWO NAWABS OF OUDH :** *By Dr. Ashrabadilal Shrivastava, M. A., Ph.D., Professor Mahavara's College, Udaipur. The Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow, 1933; Devi octavo. Pages 300, with a Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.*

Professor Shrivastava has rendered a great service to Indian history by publishing a full and authenticated account of the careers of the first two Nawabs of Oudh, Saadat Khan and Safdar Jang, covering a period of 34 years, from 1720-1754, that is, the reigns of the two Mughal Emperors, Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah, who were mainly responsible for an acute Maratha penetration into northern India. Naturally therefore the historical sources of this eventful period are to be found mainly in Marathi and Persian, each supplementing and to a large extent correcting the other. The credit of first investigating these sources goes to Irvine and Rajwade for the Persian and Marathi languages respectively; but their performance remained necessarily imperfect, as research in many collateral topics had not in their days advanced to that extent which happily we notice today. The Marathi selections published by the Bombay Government out of the Peshwas' Records in their possession have indeed given a fresh impetus to the subject and enabled Professor Shrivastava to test their accuracy or otherwise by dipping into some 50 Persian MSS., and constructing out of both, an accurate and well-sifted account of these 34 years in the form of the careers of the two Nawabs of Oudh, both of whom figured so prominently in the affairs of the Imperial Court. Saadat Khan in the north and Bajirao I in the south, have been exact contemporaries, often opposing each other in war and diplomacy and thus shaping the course of Indian history between them. On this account the task undertaken by Dr. Shrivastava was vast and difficult, wading through an intricate mass of manuscript papers in Persian and the printed ones in Marathi. His acquaintance with the latter is unimpeachable as he has been able to clear accurately and impartially many doubtful points and incidents in which both the Persian and Marathi writers could be reasonably accused of partiality towards their own nationals. The present volume is only a foretaste of what is to come out of

his pen in the near future, since he has undertaken to write similar lives of all the succeeding nawabs of Oudh which we are sure will be done in the same critical and penetrating spirit. When he completes this task fully, then will be the time for writing a full and accurate history either of the Marathas or of the later Mughals, with whom the Nawabs of Oudh were closely associated.

The painstaking analysis presented by this author will enable students to realize how the latter Mughal Emperors were utterly devoid of the spirit of valour, decision, and courage in the face of danger which had enabled their ancestors like Babar, Akbar and Shah Jahan to build and consolidate their empire in India. The invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad-shah Abdali were understood to be a repeated effort of the Pathans to restore their rule at Delhi in suppression of the Mughals and compelled the Vazirs, Safdar Jang and Ghaziuddin, to call in the help of the Marathas to put down the Rohilla Pathans. These developments were till now inexplicable to purely Marathi students who will wholeheartedly welcome the perspicuous treatment now presented by Prof. Shrivastava.

Apparently he does not notice some recently published Marathi sources, such as those from the Purandare Dabtar, which would have enabled him to put in a few more minor incidents like the murder of Mahadevbat Hingne, the first Maratha envoy at Delhi, in January 1744 by Safdar Jang. The incident is well narrated in MS. 154 of Purandare Daftar vol. I and well illustrates the trend of Maratha policy. A similar analysis for the first ten years of Bajirao I is even now necessary to clear the first Maratha entry into Malwa and the struggles waged by the Mughal Viceroys, Giridhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur. For the history of northern India the labours of Prof. Shrivastava are sure to prove invaluable.

G. S. SARDESAI

**INDIA IN THE MELTING POT :** *By a "Chota Sahib." Published by Lincoln Williams, Publishers Ltd., London. Price 2-6.*

The inordinately long-drawn considerations about granting constitutional government to India have given the opportunity to various people in England to publish books which are essentially ephemeral productions, but serve to misrepresent the case of India for self-government. The book before us is in one of them. It is a farrago of fact and fiction in which fiction easily predominates. The author's claim to "personal knowledge of India" would not stand scrutiny as would be evident from the following statements chosen at random from the book :

(1) "It will not be amiss to State here that Mr. Gandhi is a Brahmin of the Bunnia (shopkeeper) caste and when he was on his way to attend the Round Table Conference the public were mystified at the reports of his doings on board ship and reference was made to the sacred water and Ganges mud he was bringing with him."

Needless to say that Mr. Gandhi is not a Brahman but a Bania (Vaisya) and he did not take with him a single drop of Ganges water or a pinch of Ganges mud for his own edification or for the purification of men like our "Chota Sahib."

A writer who indulges in such hopeless rubbish is not worth arguing with. And his ignorance of facts is equalled only by his aptitude for falsehood.

(2) "Two days after his (Mr. Gandhi's) arrival

back in India the Bengal Provincial Congress Conference issued the following statement: 'This is an auspicious time for the worship of the Mother Kali and submerge to the bottomless grave by bounds and revolvers the European Association,' which threat they have since essayed to carry out on several occasions with more or less success."

There is no such organization as the Bengal Provincial Congress—the Indian National Congress being an all-India organization and no one in Bengal is aware of any statement like the one manufactured in England having been issued in the Presidency.

(3) "These men and women, (coming from what has been called the 'criminal castes') if not their children, can become very useful tools in the hands of high caste agitators, for although they do not care whom they rob or kill subject to caste prejudices, they are ready to deal with Europeans, Hindus and Mohammedans alike the high castes can exercise very great influence over them in person. According to reports the Chittagong District is seething with anarchy and the terrible results of unbridled terrorism."

Not a single recruit from the so-called "criminal castes" has figured in the Armoury Raid or in any other outrage of the kind referred to in Chittagong. If the "criminal castes" can still subsist it is because the British Government in India have not yet made primary education free and compulsory thus neglecting one of the primary duties of a civilized government.

(4) "As an indication of their (the Sikh's) steadfastness it is to be noted that over 80,000 of them served voluntarily during the Great War."

Alas for the veracity of this statement about the Sikhs having served in the British army voluntarily we have not forgotten the statement made in *Truth* by an Englishman immediately after the terrible happenings in the Punjab in 1919. The writer of the article referred to the time when the results of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's recruiting activities were being loudly trumpeted and when he (Sir Michael) was talking publicly of the vast numbers of troops that he still expected to get out of the Punjab and wrote as follows:

"At that period my informant, who has spent the best part of his life in India, came into contact with thousands of the recruits already raised and he was horrified at the unanimity with which they declared that they had not joined voluntarily. The statements of the recruits themselves were confirmed by the conversation with other natives encountered while travelling. It was a common thing to hear them speaking of sons or brothers who had disappeared or were expected to disappear 'without trace' and also to hear discussions as to the best means of thwarting the activities of the native heads of villages or districts. The head men were 'all out' to mop up, by hook or crook, every abler bodied man or boy on their lists in order to earn a public acknowledgment from the Lieutenant-Governor at one of the *darbars* which he held wherever he went."

He added that the term "recruiting" was "only another name for press-gang work so far as the Punjab was concerned" and opposed the proposal to extend Sir Michael's term of office. "Whatever," he said, "may be thought in official circles, the evidence referred to above leaves no room for doubt that the extension of his appointment is bound to create the worst possible impression upon the Punjabis and probably not on them alone."

We are not surprised to find the author being most bitter on Brahmanism and the Bengalee.

"Criminality as a caste is one of the festering sores of Brahmanism"—he says.

In another place the reader is told—"Brahmanism is the most horrible means of political and social degradation left in the world. . . . Any surrender to it is immoral and would be a huge political mistake, and that is, after all, the alpha and omega of Mr. Gandhi's and his co-Congress Wallahs' machinations and means whereby they have led Western idealists and visionaries into their many traps."

Of the Bengalee the author says—"Nominally Bengal, the house of the arch conspirator, does not contribute a single soldier to the Indian Army during peace time and only contributed 7,000 combatants out of a population of forty-six millions during the war."

Yet Sir Michael O'Dwyer in course of his recruiting tour in the Punjab compared the record of Gujranwala District with that of Bengal and said to the *darbaris*, "If you fail to seize this opportunity you are not likely to have another." The *Statesman* (August 15, 1917) commented thus on his speech:—"Could there be a more remarkable illustration of the revolutionary times in which we live than a comparison between the recruiting record of Bengal and that of a Sikh stronghold, to the very decided disadvantage of the latter?"

"Chota Sahib" has deliberately refrained from disclosing the reasons that are responsible for Bengal not contributing soldiers to the Indian Army. The artificial and arbitrary division of Indians into military and non-military races which the British have made is the chief reason for Bengal's non-contribution to the Indian Army. The persistent refusal of the Army Headquarters to allow Bengalees to enlist as soldiers in the beginning of the War is a fact which does not reflect credit on those responsible for the administration of the country.

As every road was said to lead to Rome so every fact recorded by "Chota Sahib" has been selected or manufactured to lead to the conclusion—India is not fit for self-government and must be governed by the British. He has not profited by the bitter experience the British had with Ireland, because he would still build "his trust on reeking tube and ironstead" and leave out of his calculations the invincible soul of man. He would have his countrymen believe that the Congress party in India "do not want any form of government at all which will interfere with their programme of lawlessness." And though ignorant or deaf about the actual condition of India and the aims of Indians he has made the following assertion:

"Theorizing with the East is a dangerous game and to attempt to impose Western political conceptions on such a fanatical multitude is like applying a torch to a powder barrel. A rude awakening to these constitution drafters and unless our Government disregard silly sentimentalism and apply themselves vigorously to the duty of governing India in accordance with British ideas of justice and fair play we shall be held legally and morally responsible before God for all the anarchy and massacre that has taken place and which will assuredly follow as so plainly and without any equivocation, foreshadowed by Mr. Gandhi."

Yes, theorizing with the East is a dangerous game when the theory has no foundation in fact and to persist in the Western conception of the inferiority of the Eastern people may result in applying a torch to a powder barrel. And it is strange that this is what

Mr. R. Rickards said in his appeal to 'the cons. authorities in England'—an appeal made or as far back as 1832 when he said:

"Your institutions must be reformed. . . . They (the natives of India) will soon know that rights and duties are reciprocal; that if you assume the right to govern, duty requires that you should do it, first for their benefit, next only for your known. . . . You have a heavy debt of justice to repay. It will be demanded at your hands, and the opportunity is about to be afforded you of discharging it liberally—with equal satisfaction to the claimants, and immortal credit to yourselves. But if you neglect the opportunity. . . . I say, again, beware! The knowledge now diffused and diffusing, throughout India, will shortly constitute a power, which three hundred thousand British bayonets will not be able to control. That government, which have been so often called a government of opinion, must for the future have some better support than the idea of its military superiority. The natives of India are now in a state to desire your protection; and they will gratefully return the boon, if it be granted with real liberality and justice. The groundwork of the future fabric should be co-operation with the natives in the government of themselves; and for which, under due control, they will be found far better qualified than those to whom it has hitherto been entrusted. But . . . if your domestic policy be a system of expedients, and the object of your foreign policy, military supremacy, the day may not be far distant when you shall feel, in disappointment and disgrace, how feeble is physical compared with moral power; and in the downfall of the magnificent empire of India . . . may add one more page to the proofs given by history, that fleshly arms, and the instruments of war, are but a fragile tenure, and 'soon to nothing brought,' when opposed to the interests, and the will of an enlightened people."

This is what the better minds of England and India have realized and are trying to find out the best constitution which would be consistent with the self-respect of India as a willing partner of the British Empire. But the realization is beyond the conception of "Chota Sahibs" who lack the vision of the statesman and do not know that politics should be treated as a gospel and not as a game.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

### SANSKRIT

**JATAKAPARIJATA:** By Vaidyanath Dikshita with an English Translation and notes by V. Subrahmanya Sastri, B. A. In 2 Vols. Pp. 1360. Published by V. S. Sastri from 50, 3rd, Cross Road, Basavangudi P. O., Bangalore. Price Rs. 13. 2 vols.

Vaidyanath Dikshita's Jatakparijata is a well-known treatise on astrology. It may be called a compendium of similar works of earlier astrologers of repute. The original work is in classical Sanskrit, and as it contains many technical terms and aphorisms specially applicable to astrology, it has long been a difficult work for ordinary students of astrology to handle. This difficulty has been reduced to a minimum by the English translation and copious explanatory notes and examples to be found in this edition. The whole work has been divided into two volumes and subdivided into eighteen adhyayas. It first begins with the properties of signs and nature of planets and their properties and ends with the *kalachakra* and *dasas* of human lives. In fact, the work attempts to tackle with

every phase of human life and the planetary influences on it and consequent effects. For lovers of astrology this is a valuable work and Mr. V. S. Sastri must be congratulated in bringing out such a good edition of this well-known treatise on astrology. His English translation and explanatory notes will be of great help for a careful perusal of the work and the examples he appends to every section are not only excellent in their character but also assist a good deal in mastering the rules. This edition will prove, no doubt, a helpful and necessary guide to all students of astrology.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

### BENGALI

**BANGIYA SABDAKOSHA.** Compiled by Pandit Haricharan Bandyopadhyay and published by the Visvabharati. Price of each part 8 annas and postage one anna. To be had of the author at Santiniketan, and at the Visvabharati Book Depot, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

This is an elaborate and comprehensive dictionary of the Bengali language which will be completed in some 1000 pages of demy quarto size. It is being published in monthly parts of 32 pages each, of which 9 have been published. It is the result of thirty years' labour of the author. It contains all words used in ancient, mediæval and modern Bengali books and periodicals and in legal documents, etc., whether Sanskrit or of Sanskrit or Prakrit origin, or taken from Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, English or other languages, with their derivations, etc. The author has given illustrative Sanskrit and Bengali quotations, and, where necessary and possible, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and Sindhi equivalents of Bengali words.

When complete, it will be the most comprehensive and authoritative dictionary of the Bengali language. The complete manuscript has long been ready. It is being gradually printed. The University of Calcutta agreed to publish it, bearing all the expenses but could not do so owing to financial stringency. So the author has been obliged to bring it out, depending upon his very limited resources and the expected support of lovers of the Bengali language and literature. Being convinced of the scholarly and useful character of the work, Rabindranath Tagore has helped him by making Visvabharati the formal publisher of the work.

**VISVAKOSHA** . . . *Encyclopædia Indica. Second Edition, compiled by Nagendranath Basu, Prachyavidyamaharnara, with the collaboration of distinguished literati. With maps and illustrations. Published in parts. Priced 8 annas each. To be had at the Visvakosha Press, 9, Visvakosha Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta.*

This Bengali encyclopædia was completed and published twenty-two years ago. A second edition had long been called for, but could not be undertaken owing to reasons of Mr. Basu's health. But having secured the collaboration of trustworthy scholars, he has at length begun to publish the work in parts. The new edition is a greatly improved and enlarged work brought up-to-date. It must not be supposed that because the work is in the Bengali language and has been named *Encyclopædia Indica* in English, it therefore relates only to Bengal or India. It is really a universal encyclopædia in the same sense as the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is one though it is not so elaborate.

Of course, just as British encyclopaedias give more space to persons, places and other topics in which Britishers take interest, than to others so this Indian encyclopaedia gives more space to Indian subjects than to others. But non-Indian persons, places and things are also treated of. For example, in the first 32 pages of the first volume, forming No. 1 of the second edition, there are 21 non-Indian items dealt with, such as those relating to Achaemenes, Achilles, Akkad, etc.

The population of Indian districts and towns are given according to the census of 1931, and their longitude and latitude are given in order to indicate their exact location. Care has been taken to make the historical accounts accurate.

**SASTRIYA BRAHMABAD O BRAHMA-SADHAN, or an Exposition of Religion according to the Upanishads, Bhagavadgita and Brahmasutra.** By Pandit Sitacanth Tattabhashan. Paper cover Re 1. Cloth Re. 1-4. To be had of the Author at 210-3-2 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, and of Messrs. Chakrabarti Chatterjee and Co., 15, College Square, Calcutta.

The author is well known for his annotated editions of the ten Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita and the Brahma Sutras, the annotations being in easy Sanskrit and with either English or Bengali translation. He is besides the author of some thirty theological and philosophical books and booklets.

His present work is marked by depth of thought and of lucidity of exposition, and will be found both instructive and interesting.

**RAJARSHI RAMMOHUN.** By Saratkumar Ray, author in Bengali of "Buddhist India," "Mahatma Asvinikumar," "Life and Teachings of Buddha," "Sikh Gurus and the Sikhs," "Siraji and the Marathas," "Sir Gooroodas Banerji," etc. Annas Twelve, Ray & Co., 220, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 112. Six Illustrations.

This is a well-written popular biography of Raja Rammohun Roy, fit to be read by Bengali children and their elders.

**SARIR GATHAN, or Body-Building.** By Praphulla Chandra Sen-Gupta. City Publishing House, Silchar. Re. 1.

It is a book on the preservation of health and on making the body strong. It devotes some forty pages to physical exercises, with illustrations neatly printed and easily understood directions. In addition there are chapters devoted to *brahmacharya*, food, sleep, bathing, washing the mouth and cleansing the teeth, defecation, cleanliness, dress, dwelling-houses, etc. A useful handbook.

C.

**BHARATER RASITRANAITIC PRATIBHA:** By Sri Aurobindo. Translated by Mr. Anilbaran Roy. Published by the Modern Book Agency, 10, College St., Calcutta. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.

In these days of agitations and cogitations on constitution-making in India it is really a happy sign that Sri Aurobindo should come in with his study of the topic. The book under notice is the Bengali translation of the last few of his essays called "A Defence of Indian Culture" originally published in the *Argya*. In India, politics was not an abstract thing, but an inseparable part of the social and religious system. If we are not to thrust any administrative system from without, we shall have to look

for the real problems of India and solve them from inside and this book helps us much in understanding India from inside. There are not a few striking observations made by the author. The power and position of the kings, the king and religion, social organizations and other matters have been considered in a most illuminating way. The author's proposition that India had her own method of unification and that British rule is the first foreign rule which has continued in India can not but strike one's curiosity. Before adopting western industrialism and parliamentarism India should pause and think. Mr. Ray's translation is commendable.

RAMES BASU

## HINDI

**GRAM-SUDHAR:** By Pandit Ganesdutt Sarma Gaur 'Indra', *Vidyaarachaspathi*. Published by the Madya-Bharat-Hindi-Sahitya-Samiti, Indore. Pp. IV+216. 1933. Price Re. 1.

This is publication no. 41 in the series called "Holkar-Hindi-Grantha-Mala." The subject-matter of the book under notice is the most useful matter of the uplift of rural areas, i.e., rural reconstruction, in modern phraseology. All the various sides of the work have been dealt with in a readable manner. The author has done well in taking up this problem concerning the millions of the agricultural population of India.

**BALODYAN PADDHATI KA GRHA-SIKSHA:** By Mr. Saram Ramprasad Sarma. Published by Messrs. Jaydev Bros., Argapura, Baroda. Pp. IV+101. Price 13 as. 1933.

It is surely encouraging that the "Sayaji-Sahitya-Mala" has come to no. 212 by publishing the present work.

This book on kindergarten is based on "Kindergarten at Home" (the People's Books' series) written by two members of the National Froebel Union. The first lessons in the three R's and also manual and musical ones are most interestingly delineated in the small book. This will be welcome both to the parents and the teachers of the youngest of the learners.

RAMES BASU

## MARATHI

**दीर्घ निकाय भाग २रा (Deergh Nikaya Part II).** Published by Granth Sampadak, Mundal, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8. Pages 600.

This book contains the translation of the second and the third parts. This translation was not destined to see the light of the day till 1932. The Marathi translator the late Prof. Rajawade has utilized all the latest research by English as well as German scholars and has added the results of his own knowledge of Vedic literature in the numerous foot-notes. Study of the original with this translation will be more useful than foreign translations, the more so because the Marathi translator can utilize the original Pali words of the cognate Sanskrit and vernacular ones; while this facility is denied to those who translate classical Indian literature into a European language. I heartily recommend this book to those who want to get a first-hand knowledge of the Buddha's gospel. The book contains an introductory note by Prof. Joshi, the successor of the author at the Baroda College.

V. S. WAKASKAR

## GUJARATI

**ZARTHOSHT NAMEH**, edited by Mrs. Meherbannu B. Anklesaria and Behramgor T. Anklesaria, of Bombay. Printed at the Fort Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 161+212+136. 1933.

A Parsi poet of Surat composed this chronicle in A. D. 1674 in that form of Gujarati which was current at the time. It is based on a Persian poem, written about four hundred years before the date of its composition. This particular poet has composed it

in this form, without sacrificing their individuality to their thoughts and their language. The structure is Gujarati, the building materials to a certain extent alien, extraneous. To the Hindu reader therefore, unless there was some one there to guide him, the poems looked to be rather forbidding; but fortunately for one of the poet's works, the father of one of the present Editors, came to the readers' rescue and for the other work—the present one—the son, Mr. Behramgor, has discharged his self-imposed task in an admirable manner. For correcting the text, he has consulted a large number of manuscripts for explaining the thoughts of the poet, he has gone to the original Persian work on which the poet has based his poem, for elucidating unfamiliar phrases and words he has given ample notes. Mrs. Meherbannu has contributed in sixty-eight pages, a commendable synopsis of the life of the Iranian Prophet. Both the editors have tried their best to illuminate the dark corners of the subject. They have consulted nearly two hundred works bearing on the matter in different languages—European, and Asiatic, such as Pahlavi, Persian, Sanskrit, Gujarati, English, French,

German and Latin. The editing is a monument of research, and a close scrutiny of the work turned out by them shows their great assiduity and laboriousness with which they have worked for the last seven years in bringing about this result. We wish other scholars take a leaf out of their book. This branch of Gujarati Literature requires development, and it is sure to come at the hands of such workers.

**SIHOR NI HAKIKAT**, written by the late Desankar V. Bhatt and edited by Muni Kinar M. Bhatt printed under the orders of the Council of Administration Bhavnagar at the Saraswati Printing Press, thick card board pp. 152. Price Re. 1-8-0 Illustrated (1933)

Sihor was the capital of the ancestors of the present rulers of the Bhavnagar State before it was named to Bhavnagar to escape the tyranny of Maratha invaders. It is a very ancient town and its known history goes back to the days of king Mulraj of the Seranki dynasty when it was given in gift to Brahmins by him. There are references to it even in works earlier than that. The late Mr. Devshankar, though a school master by profession, had an antiquarian's inclination and qualifications. He therefore set about collecting materials for a Gazetteer of Sihor and the result is this book. Before he could publish it he died, and it fell to the lot of the present young editor to edit and publish it. One sees in it the touch of the modern writer, the spirit of the researcher. Although a part of the subject-matter is necessarily folklore and tradition, Mr. Munikumar has followed certain principles (See p. 17) in setting down or rather settling historical facts connected with the town and thus tried to change its background from a folk-tale one to a historical one. We welcome the attempt and call for repetition of such attempts.

K. M. J.

## LONDON LETTER

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

## POLITICAL RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

**T**HE year 1933 has closed. Everyone is now looking forward to the New Year with hope and expectation of better conditions for trade and employment than in the recent years that have been clouded over by the financial and trade depression. At such a time—one of the most critical in the world's history—one would have thought that Parliament should be in almost continuous session. But Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is never so happy as when the House of Commons is "up" so that he need not be under the necessity of appearing in the House of Commons to answer for his sins of omission and commission. In the old days no one complained more than he of the long adjournments when Conservative Governments were in power. He is now so much one of themselves that he regards long vacations as desirable and the sittings of Parliament as vexations of the flesh to be curtailed as much as possible.

## PARLIAMENT'S LONG VACATIONS

During the last six months of 1933 the Members of Parliament certainly could not complain of being over-worked. Parliament adjourned for the summer recess on the 28th July and had well over three months' holiday. Parliament did not meet again until the 7th November and then only to be prorogued ten days later, on 17th November. The present session of Parliament was opened by the King on 21st November and went on for exactly a calendar month, till 21st December, when it adjourned until the end of January. Meanwhile there is no Means Test for either Ministers or Members and they draw their full salaries during the whole of the many months they have not been near Westminster.

## MR. LANSBURY'S ENHANCED REPUTATION

It is a calamity, of course, that the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. George Lansbury, is laid

aside for many weeks with a broken thigh and it is not without interest to note that one of the chief political commentators (not of the Labour Party) in his political review of the year, says that the only British statesman who in the past year has enhanced his reputation is Mr. Lansbury "71 years old and now unfortunately incapacitated for months to come."

#### A NO-POLICY GOVERNMENT

The same commentator remarks that the Government's policy at home and abroad has been to wait on events in the hope that events will cover up the defects of their statesmanship. In international affairs, he says, "the Government has acted entirely without understanding, imagination or courage; and it has failed (especially in disarmament and in the Sino-Japanese dispute which brought in its train disastrous European consequences) to utilize even once the great authority which still resides in the British nation."

The Government, he continues, is merely nibbling at the urgent problem of re-housing the poor. It has no positive peace policy and appears still to be almost at the mercy of the most influential of its supporters, who are clamouring for re-armament. Its record in 1933 is a dismal one, is his verdict.

#### THE PREMIER ON PROVIDENCE

The Prime Minister last week attended a meeting of the Scottish Educational Institute and, speaking to the teachers with reference to the "economy" cuts that were imposed on them by him in 1931, he said: "You and I are long sufferers as a result of one of those curious cataclysms which do not belong to governments, but to Providence. We both expect these lean years to go over as quickly as possible, and we both want to make ends meet in a decent and honourable way."

#### PROVIDENCE GETS BLAME. GOVERNMENT TAKES CREDIT

We had been told before on hundreds of Tory platforms that the financial cataclysm was due entirely to the Labour Government. Now apparently it is Providence that is to be blamed instead of the Labour Government. The unemployment figures in this country reached their highest point in January 1933. That, no doubt, the Prime Minister would say, was due to a curious cataclysm of Providence. In recent months the unemployment figures have been falling in this country—in common with most other countries all over the world—but not to anything like the same extent as in some other countries. That fall, however, the Prime Minister does not attribute to Providence. In a broadcast speech on 8th December, speaking on behalf of the National Government, he claimed that they had reduced unemployment and increased the nation's

power to consume. What he did not point out is that the numbers of the *wholly* unemployed have increased ever since the National Government was formed and are *still increasing*.

He did not point out either that in addition to the registered unemployed there has been an increase of nearly 300,000 in the numbers in receipt of Poor Relief since the National Government was formed and every statement of the Ministry of Health, quarter by quarter, since the National Government came into office, has shown an increase as compared with 1931 when the Labour Government was in office.

#### ABUNDANCE TURNED INTO SCARCITY

I have pointed out time and again that what we are suffering from is a super-abundance of everything that is necessary for human comfort and well-being. The Prime Minister talks of these "lean years." The chief activity of the present Government is to turn the abundance provided by Providence into an artificial scarcity of food supplies in order to raise prices. This is a policy that the Prime Minister, in his regenerate days, would have condemned root and branch. Now he advocates it, and the whole energies of his Government are concentrated on it, while he mocks the intelligence of the people by talking of "lean years". On the contrary, the years are so fat that corn is being burned, coffee thrown into the sea, cotton ploughed into the ground—and the latest example is the abundance of the herring harvest in this country which instead of being welcomed as a gift from Providence, is bringing ruin to thousands of fisher folks at home because of the stupid policy of the Government in putting an embargo on Russian trade and so cutting off the best customer for British herrings.

#### BURDENING THE UNBORN WITH DEBTS

On the 18th December just about a fortnight ago the Labour Members in the House of Commons pressed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give some hope to the unemployed that the cuts in their benefit (which have reduced some of them since 1931 to below the level of decent subsistence) would be restored before long. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, protested vigorously against the assumption that there was going to be a surplus at the end of the year which would allow the restoration of the general cuts. There is a debt on the Unemployment Fund of about £115,000,000. Instead of adding this to the National Debt Mr. MacDonald's Government has saddled the Unemployment Fund with this debt. The result is that every new employee for the next forty years will have to pay part of this debt incurred by past Governments and for which the unemployed are in no way responsible. Mr. Chamberlain proposes to pay off £5,500,000 a year for the next 40 years out of the Unemployment Fund and calmly tells the



unemployed that it will be impossible to restore the cuts in Unemployment Benefit so long as there is a deficiency in the Fund! Forty years! What a prospect for under-nourished unemployed!

#### BABIES STARVED—BONDHOLDERS ENRICHED

Sir John Simon, a day or two later, said the nation was £12,000,000 better off at the end of the first half of the present financial year than at the corresponding period last year. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, speaking in Halifax on the day after he had made his House of Commons speech, said he had every hope that at the end of the current financial year we would have a substantial surplus.

But while Mr. Chamberlain and the National Government profess to be unable to give more than 2/- a week for the subsistence of an unemployed man's child, they quite calmly handed over to Newfoundland *as a free gift* £550,000 to meet their interest charges which fell due in 1933. They go further and promise Newfoundland further sums that may amount to anything from £1,500,000 to £2,000,000 as a free gift by the end of December 1936.

They have undertaken *in addition* to pay 20/- in the £ to Newfoundland's creditors and take over the responsibility for Newfoundland's debt to bondholders both in the United States and in this country—amounting to some £20,000,000.

#### A VICIOUS AND CORRUPT POLITICAL SYSTEM

We receive not a penny of benefit for this gift or this guarantee, which is added to the responsibilities of the tax-payers of this country. We do not even get a fair share of the Newfoundland trade nor is it carried in British ships. It is no wonder that the Newfoundland bonds jumped from about £55 to £100 to the great benefit of Stock Exchange speculators! The people of Newfoundland only hold about five per cent of these bonds and it is really not helping them at all. It is merely helping the speculators and bondholders. It is not even as if Newfoundland had been struggling against adversity and had gone down in circumstances that were too heavy for her or over which she had no control. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself said in the House of Commons on December 7th, the Report on Newfoundland "makes very painful reading" and shows that Newfoundland "has been the victim of a vicious and corrupt political system."

#### GREED—GRAFT—CORRUPTION

The fishermen in Newfoundland still live under the truck system under which they receive no wages but are provided with foodstuffs and other necessaries in lieu of wages. The Report tells us that large fortunes were made by the merchants who employed the fishermen,

who were "little more than serfs with no hope of becoming independent." While they were making huge profits the merchants supported the fishermen, but when times were not so profitable the duty of supporting the fishermen was thrown by them on to the State. The words of the Report are very illuminating:

"Under this system, which has continued, in spite of criticism and repeated warnings, down to the present day, the merchants were given three chances of making a profit, first on the supplies made to the fishermen in the spring, secondly, on the sale of fish to foreign markets, and thirdly, on purchases by the fisherman from his earnings of sufficient goods to carry him through the winter.

"The fishermen, on the other hand, who had never been given a chance of becoming independent, were deprived of the right to look to their merchants for assistance in bad times and were compelled in emergency to seek public charity.

"The evidence tendered to us from all sides and from responsible persons in all walks of life leaves no doubt that for a number of years there has been a continuing process of greed, graft and corruption which has left few classes of the community untouched by its insidious influences."

And now, not to assist the poor people and fishermen of Newfoundland, but to relieve the bondholders who have made their investments with their eyes open, the taxpayers and the unemployed of this country are to have Newfoundland's financial burden transferred to their shoulders.

If the truth of this great financial ramp could be put before the electors of this country, the Tory Government that masquerades under the title of "National" would be swept out of office for all time.

#### SIMON, MUSSOLINI AND THE LEAGUE

Meanwhile Sir John Simon, our Foreign Secretary, has been sunning himself in Italy's beautiful island Capri. On his way there he stopped in Paris and we are told that he managed to reassure the French Government with regard to the British policy in connection with the League of Nations. *The New Statesman* very pertinently says that if that is true, and if the French Foreign Office really knows what the British policy is, then it is better informed than the British public.

At present the Foreign Secretary is in Rome conferring with Signor Mussolini. Signor Mussolini has publicly declared his intention either to mend or end the League of Nations. By mending it he means having a virtual dictatorship of the Great Powers over the rest of the world. To try to carry that out would certainly be to end the League.

#### THE ONLY WAY—A WORLD COMMUNITY

One of the Italian newspapers tells us that the object of the Italian proposals for reform is to create two Leagues, one of the Great Powers and the other of the Minor Powers.

# THE EARTHQUAKE DEVASTATION IN NORTH BIHAR

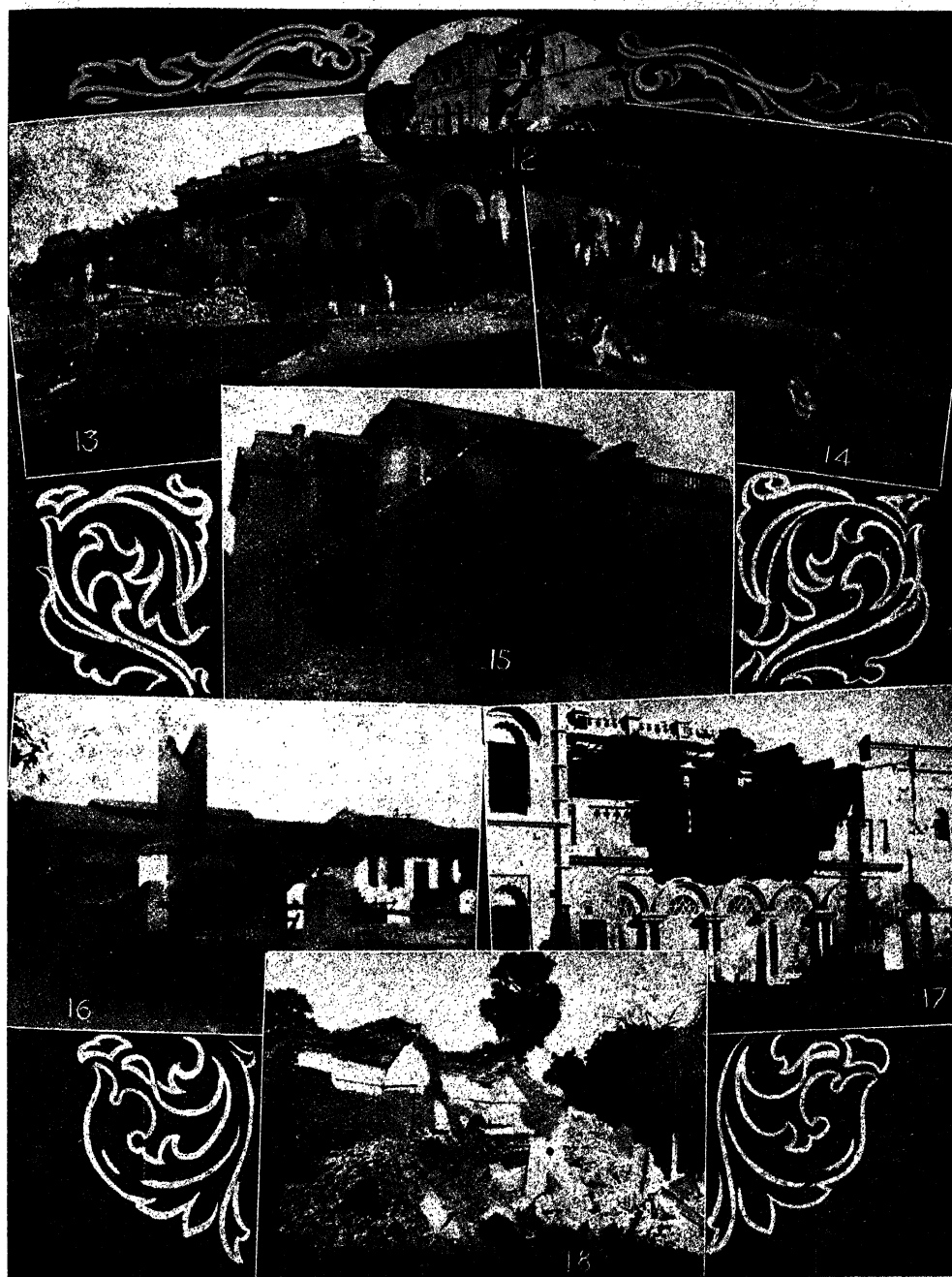


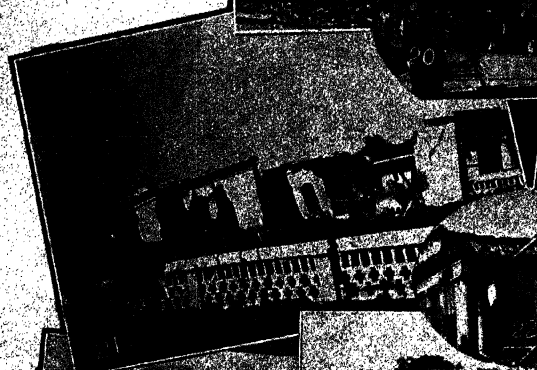
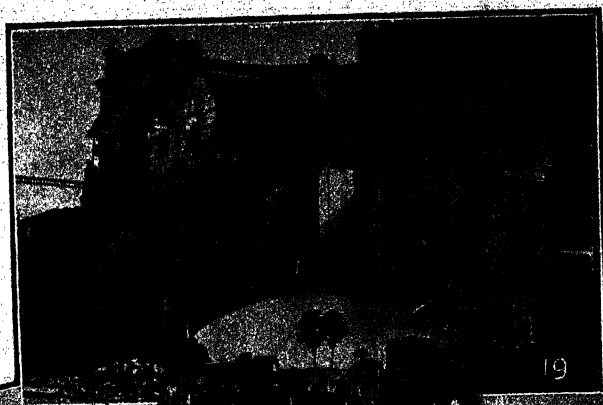
## Key to the Pictures

1. Bazar Monghyr
2. Kumar's Palace Darbhanga
3. Temporary Camp of Raj Hospital Darbhanga
4. Muzaffarpur
5. Samastipur
6. The poor people's habitations - Monghyr
7. Remains of the school building Monghyr
8. Road to Keshabpur Jamalpur
9. A house near Bazar Jamalpur
10. Near Burrabazar Monghyr
11. Road to Keshabpur Monghyr
12. Patna
13. Raj Hospital Darbhanga
14. Bridge Darbhanga
15. Rai Shahib Dr. Sudhir Kumar Sen's House, Laheria Serai
16. Sugar Mills Samastipur
17. One of the prominent Mosques of Patna.
18. Some officers' quarters after the quake Jamalpur
19. Art-Studio and Dr. R. P. Lall, Dental Surgeon's Office Patna.
20. Muzaffarpur
21. Matihari
22. Monghyr
23. Matihars
24. Muzaffarpur
25. Matihari
26. Matihari
27. Bazar Muzaffarpur









it is not so long ago that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Signor Mussolini launched the Four-Power Pact, which died a natural death. This seems to be another Pact of the same kind, but with other Great Powers, like the United States and Russia, added.

The only way to make the League really effective is for nations to realize that as individuals give up some of their private rights in the interests of the whole community in their villages and towns, and just as villages and towns give up some of their rights in the interests of the whole national community, so nations will have to be prepared to go to an international court and give up some of their rights of being prosecutor and judge in their own disputes, in the interest of the whole world community.

Times are changing quickly. The world is growing smaller everyday. Telegrams, telephones, and now wireless broadcasting have made the whole world one. A speech, made by the King

at Sandringham on Christmas Day, was able to be heard in every part of the world. It seems to be the essence of insanity, at a time of such strides towards world unity, for this and other countries to be erecting more and more trade and other barriers between one another.

#### THE BIRTHRIGHT OF PEOPLES AND NATIONS

The brotherhood of man is a fact. The realization of that fact is slow, but it will come. It must come. And it is that belief that helps some of us to go on working for the under-dog at home, for the freedom and full citizenship in their own country of peoples of whatever race, caste or colour, and for the freedom of every nation to live its own life in its own way to try to secure, in fact, for every people, the self-determination for which we fought in the War, so that they may have full responsibility for their own self-government, which is the birthright of every people and every nation.

3rd January, 1931.

## EARTHQUAKES

By DR. S. N. SEN

[The terrible calamity that has overwhelmed the sister province of Behar is known throughout the civilized world by now. These awful visitations are all the more terrible because of human inability to forecast them and thus be in a state of preparedness. There are some who will disagree with this view since there is a claim that an astrologer made a forecast of this particular occurrence. We do not know whether the forecast stated the location, area, intensity, etc., or whether it was one of those vague "hit or miss" predictions of a calamity of unknown character with which our almanacs abound.]

As a matter of fact since there are about 1000 earthquakes every year, (over twenty a day), of varying intensity, taking place all over the world, the mere prediction of an earthquake, without specifying the exact zone, the intensity and the path of the wave, could hardly be said to be of any use.

Science as yet seems to be unable to solve the problem of forecasting earthquakes, as the following notes, kindly supplied by Dr. Sen of Calcutta Meteorological Office, would tend to show. All that it can do as yet is to record the fact together with its various characteristics at the time of the occurrence.—Ed. M. R.]

**A**N earthquake is a result of any sudden displacement of the earth's crust; but the term is usually restricted to movements of natural origin and to only which take place below the earth's

surface as by volcanic operations or by the growth or shaping of the earth's crust. Volcanic earthquakes are those which precede, accompany or follow the operations of a volcanic eruption or are due to displacements within the mass of a volcano. Tectonic earthquakes are the results of the growth or shaping of the earth's crust. There is no essential difference between the nature of these earthquakes save and except that near about the origin, the earthquakes due to former cause are associated with flow of lava, throwing up of ashes, smoke, flame, etc.

The force of attraction exerted by the moon and planets is negligibly small and cannot explain the phenomenon. The occurrence of earthquakes does not appear to be related to the phases of the moon. But it is a fact that earthquakes are more numerous in June and July in India probably on account of heavy rainfall in the hilly tracts which may upset the isostatic balance of the earth's crust.

Probably the Japan earthquake of 1923 was the greatest earthquake ever recorded. Almost similar quakes occurred in Messina in 1908 and in Sicily in 1693.

The maximum speed of the compressional

earthquake waves is of the order of 30,000 miles per hour.

If, in remote future, geophysical science can attain such a degree of perfection that man is able to get exact information of the state of the whole of the earth's crust extending to a depth of about 200 miles, the problem of earthquake forecasting may be solved. At the present state of seismological knowledge this is not possible.

Most of the earthquake centres of the world appear to be situated on two belts on the globe. But there are many other centres outside these belts. One of the belts begins



Kalyanbazar, Muzaffarpur

in the south Pacific Ocean near New Zealand, proceeds towards north-west till it comes to the east of China. From here it turns to north-east to Japan and Kamschatka, crosses the Bering Strait and proceeds up to the south-western part of South America, along the western mountain ranges of America. The other belt which is really a branch of the former begins from the East Indies, comes up to the Bay of Bengal and then proceeds over Burma, Assam, the Himalayas, Tibet, Turkestan, Persia, Turkey, the Balkan Peninsula, Italy, Spain and Portugal. It then turns

to south-west, crosses the Atlantic Ocean and the West Indies and joins with the first belt in Mexico. Besides these two belts there are important earthquake centres in China and Manchuria, in central Africa, in the western part of the Indian Ocean, in the south Atlantic Ocean and in the Arctic Ocean. The rocky soil appears to be more liable to damage than alluvial soil.

If the intensity at the origin is very great, it can produce disastrous effects at great distances such as 200-400 miles.

On account of the deformation of the earth's crust the subterranean water is sometimes subjected to very great pressure and may be forced upwards. If this water comes from a great depth then its temperature may be high and it may contain sulphur compounds and various other materials locally present in the interior of the earth. Disappearance of water from wells, rivers, etc., may be due to change of level which changes the course of the feeder springs, streamlets, etc. Appearance or disappearance of small islands is due to subsidence or upheaval of the earth's crust.

Sound is produced by the ground vibration which sets the air in vibration.

Deserts and plain tracts of land appear to be less disturbed by earthquakes, probably on account of the dead structure underneath.

Duration of an earthquake depends upon the time taken in establishment of equilibrium after a disturbance. The time taken is usually small.

The disturbance produced gives rise to three different kinds of waves which are propagated like the water waves with tremendous velocity. If the disturbance at the origin is very violent, it may be recorded by instruments even in the remotest parts of the world.

The place where the disturbance actually occurs inside the earth is technically known as the focus or hypocentre and the place vertically above it on the surface is known as the epicentre which is commonly described as the origin or centre of the earthquake.

Centre is an area the position of which can be determined exactly by accurate survey after rough seismological determination.

An earthquake can be localized or be widespread. There does not appear to be any relation between calm periods and earthquakes. There is no truth in the belief that a quake is followed by a storm.

The different kinds of waves of an earthquake are recorded by the seismograph together with some other characteristics.

There are in general three kinds of movement in an earthquake, *viz.*, up and down, to and fro and a twist. All the movements were marked in North Bihar during the earthquake of January 15. The twisting movement becomes feeble as the distance from the epicentre increases. The character of the up and down and to and fro movement varies from place to place.

When the deformation of the crust is excessive, the safe limit of elasticity is passed and fissures appear.

#### PRESENT EARTHQUAKE

Nearly the whole of Northern India and the northern part of the Deccan was shaken by the earthquake of the 15th January, 1934. Probably North Bihar is the centre of this earthquake and the area of greatest intensity lies in North Bihar and Nepal.

Subsidence of the earth's crust probably over a region extending from Nepal to North Bihar, is the probable cause.

Three shocks were recorded at Alipore on the 14th (two of which occurred at night) with epicentral distances 550, 400 and 300 miles. It is not known here whether Madras felt an earthquake shock on this day.

The present disturbance is of tectonic origin. Though it is believed that some portions of the Himalayas and Bihar are really extinct volcanoes, Bihar may experience severe earthquakes from time to time but no asser-

tion can be made as to whether Bihar will ever become a permanent centre of volcanic activity.



Mr. Ashoke Bose's newly-built Bungalow in ruins.  
Nine miles off Motihari

Feeble to moderate shocks should be felt for some time now and their frequency is likely to diminish gradually. These shocks show that after subsidence internal accommodation to new conditions is taking place.

Volcanic and tectonic movements are the forces that are mainly responsible for most of those wonderful natural sceneries that we admire. Besides a large number of the minerals that are of great economic value to mankind also have their origin in these movements. But all these considerations are poor consolation to those that have suffered, and are suffering, from the results of the recent catastrophe.





## GLEANINGS

### Lamp for Internal Sun Baths is Swallowed by Patient

Internal sun baths are made possible by a device produced by Dr. Joseph Mandelbaum, bronchoscopist. It is a tiny gas lamp, radiating ultraviolet rays after it has been swallowed painlessly by the patient. The sun rays may be directed exactly upon the diseased spots for periods up to three minutes. Treatment of this type is expected to be of aid to the medical world in its fight on tuberculosis.

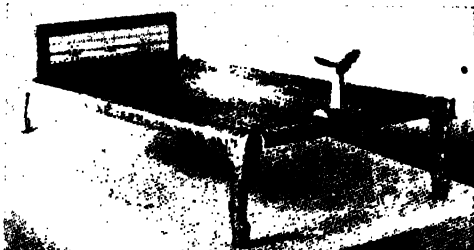


How internal Sun Bath is administered to Patient  
by means of Tiny Ultraviolet Lamp  
—*Popular Mechanics*

### From the Archaeologist's Note Book

#### AN UNCOMFORTABLE ROYAL BED

The ancient Egyptians had good furniture, they drank wine and beer, used cosmetics, and



Bed of an Egyptian queen 5000 years ago. The pillow called for a heavy coiffure

were generally up-to-date but when it came to sleeping, a contraption that looked like an oar-lock was the torturing pillow. The bed illustrated is in the Boston Museum; it was reproduced from the original in the Cairo Museum. The bed slopes and a foot board kept the mattress from sleeping off. The original, cased in gold, belonged to Queen Hetep-Heres I, mother of Cheops.

### ASTRONOMY IN KING TUT'S TIME

In the Oriental Institute at Chicago is an astronomical instrument with which King



An ancient astronomical instrument

Tutankhamen's astronomers, probably priests, took observations. The plummet, as mounted, was employed in setting the sighting instrument directly over the observer's meridian, presumably a north-south line marked on a pavement or temple roof. The observer could then determine when a star crossed his meridian, thus forming a crude stellar clock. The inscribed ebony handle and the plummet are ancient. The block and cord are restorations.

### THE PORTLAND VASE'S RIVAL

The Portland vase, one of the world's finest art works, is a celebrated urn found in a sarcophagus near Rome. It is of dark blue transparent glass ornamented with cameos of

opaque white glass, representing what are probably scenes from the legend of Peleus and Thetis. It was broken to pieces by a lunatic in 1845 and has been cleverly mended. At the Toledo Museum of Art, one of the outstanding museums of the Middle West, there is the so-called Libbey-Toledo vase of exquisite workmanship which Dr. Eisen, the great authority on ancient glass, says is superior in design and execution to the Portland vase. This author deduces from the representation of certain features on the Portland vase that the artist who executed

already building a plane for that purpose. The Italian seaplane which set a record of more than 424 miles per hour—over seven miles a minute—went as fast as some types of pistol bullets, but could hardly keep up with a bullet from a United States army pistol which has a muzzle velocity of 545 miles per hour. Sir Malcolm Campbell has traveled more than four and one-half miles per minute in his racing car and Gar Wood has driven his speed boat more than two miles per minute. If man succeeds in doubling the highest speed he has yet reached—that of the



The Libbey-Toledo vase in the Toledo Museum of Art rivals the great Portland vase, one of the world's masterpieces



The Portland vase after restoration, but minus the base that it must have had when originally made



An artist has added a base to the Portland vase so that it assumes the symmetry of the Libbey-Toledo specimen

it had a definite locality in mind, which he identifies as the promontory of La Gaiola in the bay of Naples. It is probable that the Portland vase in its original condition had a base; one of our illustrations shows how such a base would appear.

—*Scientific American.*

#### Human Bullets Raise speed on Land and in Air

When James R. Wedell flew his racing plane to a new world's record of more than 305 miles per hour at the Chicago air races a few weeks ago, he set a new mark for speed kings of the world to shoot at in their unceasing struggle to go faster and faster on land, in the air and on the water. Human speed today compares favourably with that of a bullet, and there are those who see man winning a race with the sun when he begins to fly in the stratosphere—and France is

seaplane—he would be in a position to stage a race with the sun. The speed of the sun—actually the earth's rate of rotation—is something over 1,000 miles per hour. If man could approximate this speed, he might start from New York at noon and reach San Francisco at noon the same day—in nothing flat. With the French plane, the backers claim it should easily be possible to attain a speed of 500 miles per hour at an altitude of twelve to fifteen miles, and the more optimistic claim if such a speed is attained with the first stratosphere plane, there is no reason why it cannot be increased through changes learned by experience. Tests have indicated that there appears to be no limit to human endurance in straightaway speed so far as physical injury is concerned. For stratosphere flying, naturally, the pilot would be in a sealed compartment with an artificial supply of oxygen.

—*Popular Mechanics.*

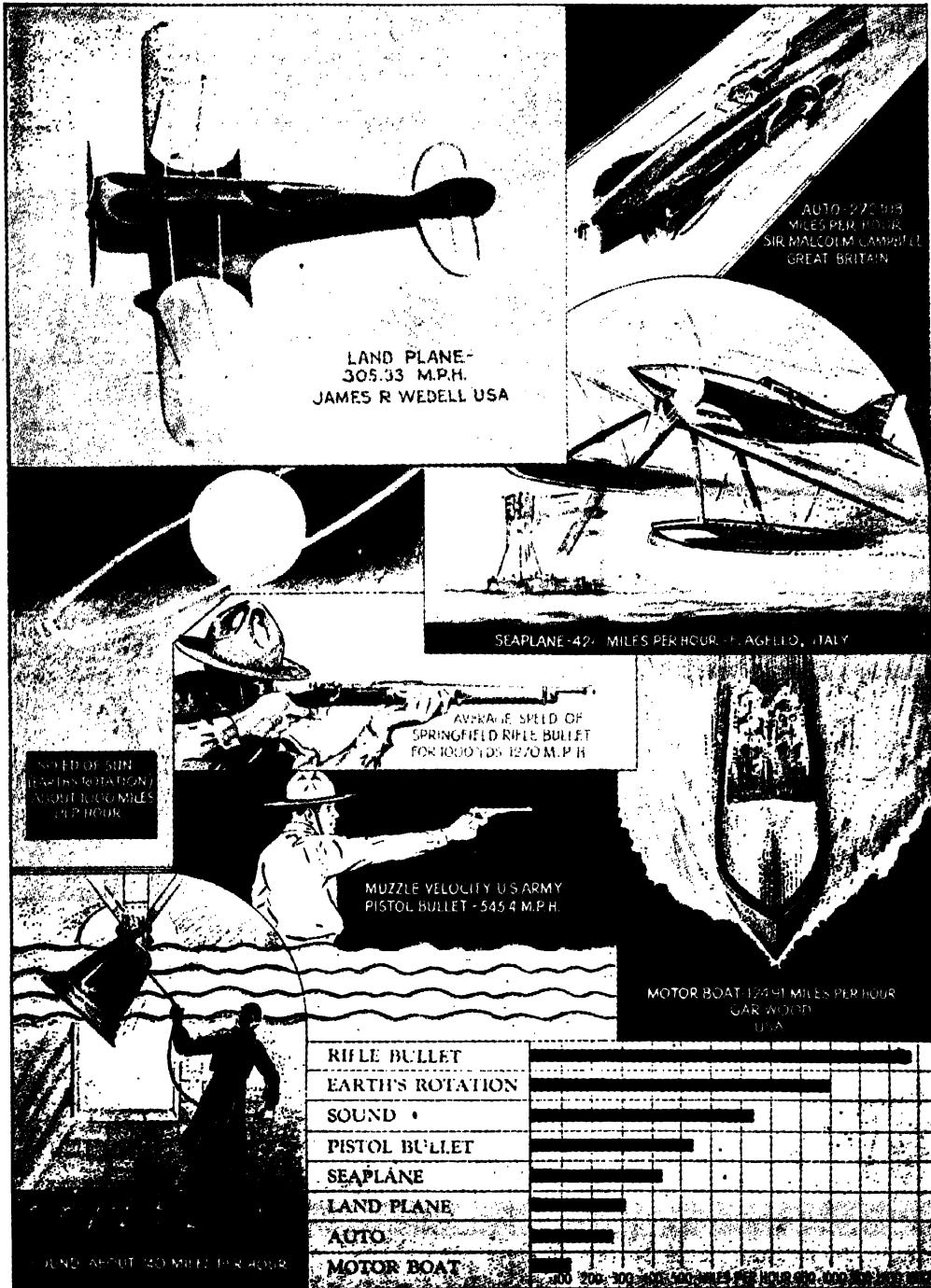


Photo and Drawings Comparing Highest Speed Man Has Attained in the Air, on Land and in the Water with Velocity of Bullets and of Sound, and Speed of Earth's Rotation

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### A Poem by Tagore

The following poem by Rabindranath Tagore appears in *Visra-Bharati News* :

#### KRISHNAKALI

I call her my Krishna flower  
though they call her dark in the village.  
I remember a cloud-laden day  
and a glance from the eyes of my girl ;  
her veil trailing down at her feet,  
her braided hair loose on her back.  
Ah, you call her dark ; let that be,  
Her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

Her cows were lowing in the meadow,  
when the fading light grew grey.  
With hurried steps she came out  
from her hut near the bamboo grove.  
She raised her quick eyes to the sky,  
where the clouds were heavy with rain.  
Ah, you call her dark ! let that be,  
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

The East wind in fitful gusts  
ruffled the young shoots of rice,  
I stood at the boundary hedge  
with none else in the lonely land.  
If she espied me in secret or not  
She only knows and know I.  
Ah, you call her dark ! let that be,  
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

She is surprise of cloud  
in the burning heat of May,  
a tender shadow on the forest  
in the stillness of sunset hour,  
a mystery of dumb delight  
in the rain-loud night of June.  
Ah, you call her dark ! let that be,  
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

I call her my Krishna flower,  
let all others say what they like.  
In the ricefield of Maina village  
I felt the first glance of her eyes.  
She had not a veil on her face,  
not a moment of leisure for shyness.  
Ah, you call her dark ! let that be,  
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

#### Western Tibet

In the same paper Angarika Brahmachari Govind describes his journey to Western Tibet thus :

Though I have been travelling a great deal in my life, I must say that my journey to Western Tibet (Ladakh), from where I returned about two months ago, has been one of the most interesting trips I ever made. Not only the nature of the country and the life of its inhabitants but also the way of travelling was in itself a thrilling experience. In this age of railways and motor cars we hardly can imagine a country in which the wheel, even in the primitive form of the simplest bullock cart, is absolutely unknown because there are neither roads nor bridges on which it could move. There are only small paths, just sufficient for men and horses, so that one can only choose between travelling on foot and horse-back. One has absolutely to rely on one's strength and resources, and to face nature in all its moods. As there are mostly no houses where one could stay at night, one has to make the open sky one's home. In the first month I had not even a tent because I was told that there was no rain in that season and very soon I became so used to the open-air life that even if I got a chance to stay in a house, I preferred to sleep on the roof. Certainly sometimes it was not altogether agreeable : for instance, when crossing the Great Himalayan Range in snow and rain or enduring icy thunder-storms at the shores of the great salt lakes on the Tibetan highland. But such small travails meant nothing compared with the overwhelming impressions of nature. Most people think that Tibet must be a horrible country, because it is barren and desertlike. But they forget that colours can turn the desert into a fairy land, and in fact Tibet is one of the most colourful countries in the world. The lakes are blue and green like saffron and emerald, and the mountains bright as gold and sometimes flaming red of shining amethyst colour.

In such a fantastic setting monks and mystics of olden times built their hermitages, which later on became sanctuaries and monasteries. The study of these places was my main purpose. I visited about twenty monasteries and found a great deal of important iconographical material, specially about the old Indian *siddhas* (mystics) who lived mainly between the 7th and the 11th century A. D. They belonged to the Tantric school of Buddhism. Some of them have been great poets and it was they who for the first time introduced the spoken language into Indian literature. Before that time Sanskrit was practically the only written language. Even the Buddhist had abandoned Pali in favour of Sanskrit. Thus the *siddhas* were the first Hindu

poets, the father of modern Hindu literature. Unfortunately India has nearly completely forgotten what it owed to these men, and only a few names like that of Saraha, for instance, had survived. But fortunately while the last traces of Indian Buddhism were swept away by the Mahomedan invasion, the records of the *siddhas* were carefully preserved in Tibet. Parts of their works were translated into Tibetan, their life-stories collected in a special volume of the scriptures, and their pictures engraved on stones or painted on the walls of the monasteries.

The pictures I found were engraved and painted on stone slabs. Mostly the old painting had gone and they had been overpainted in later times. But I was able to trace the old engraving underneath and to restore those parts which have been damaged through the influence of the climate in course of centuries. Thus I returned with a complete collection of pictorial representations of the eighty-four *siddhas*, which I hope to publish soon, under the auspices of Visva-Bharati.

#### Forests in India

On the importance of forests in India Mr. Rabindra Mohan Datta, M. Sc., writes in *The Indian Review* :

Forests are the most valuable natural assets of India. Their character depends upon soil, rainfall, elevation and other natural circumstances. But their distribution is greatly affected by action of Man. Man is responsible for the absence of forest trees over enormous areas which have been cleared for cultivation, or more slowly destroyed by reckless feelings.

It has been the uniform experience of all countries that the natural processes of growth and reproduction by which forests are kept alive, are incapable of keeping pace with man's destructiveness; and the State has generally found it necessary to take special measures in the ultimate interests of the country for preserving its forests from reckless destruction. Forests, being valuable national assets, their proper conservation is one of the most important economic functions and duties of the Indian Governments.

The process of reckless and ceaseless destruction of forests went on from time immemorial in India, but its evil effect was not felt because of the thinness of the population, and because the primary forests remained practically untouched and also partly because the Hindus would not cut down certain classes of trees on account of their religious scruples. The effect of the general increase in population first manifested itself during the later Mughal period, but the Mughals, either because of ignorance or being too engrossed with their tottering thrones, did nothing to prevent the destruction of primary

forests. In the earlier years of the British rule, this destruction became more progressive and rapid on account of rapid increase of population and consequent extension of cultivation. Lord Dalhousie first became alive to the necessity of stopping reckless de-forestation and, in 1855, he laid down the foundations of a definite and far-sighted forest policy. The Mutiny delayed the progress, but from 1860 forest administration was rapidly organized and developed; exploration, demarcation and settlement, followed by efforts to introduce protection and some form of regular management. Work on these lines is not yet complete and the work of replacing destroyed forests is only comparatively recently taken in hand. In 1894, the Government of India laid down a definite forest policy and divided forests into the following four classes :

(a) Forests, the preservation of which is essential on climatic or physical grounds. These are usually situated in hilly countries where the retention of forest growth is of vital importance on account of its influence on the storage of the rainfall and the prevention of erosions and sudden floods, etc.

(b) Forests which supply valuable timbers for commercial purposes, such as the *sal* forests of Northern and Central India, the deodar and pine forests of the N. W. Himalayas.

(c) Minor forests, containing inferior timber, producing materials for local consumption—these areas are of great importance to agriculture in the adjoining districts.

(d) Pasture and grazing grounds proper, which are forests in name only.

The Indian forests play an important rôle as suppliers of the necessary raw materials for various industries, and providers of employment for large numbers of people. Forests produce may be divided into two main heads: (i) major produce, *i.e.*, timber and fire-wood; and (ii) minor produce, such as lac, tanning materials, essential oils, turpentine, resin, etc. The minor products are increasing in importance, and many of them have already established themselves in the markets of the world.

Although the principal function of Forestry is the preservation and development of forests, we must never lose sight of the fact that it has also an important vocation as the handmaid of agriculture and industries. It is for this reason the Royal Agricultural Commission recommended (i) appointment in each province of a forest utilization officer whose main function would be to develop forest industries—a matter of great importance to agriculturists, especially to those who live in the neighbourhood of forests; and (ii) a reclassification of forests into a major division consisting of commercial forests and those necessary on physical and climatic grounds; and a minor division consisting of minor forests, fuel plantations, village wood-lands and waste lands. They also suggested close co-operation between the Agricultural and Forest Departments.

**What is worth Saving in European Civilization ?**

Professor Jear. Gachennno, the editor of the French International Review, *Europe*, has contributed a thoughtful article on the above subject to *The Aryan Path*. Part of this is quoted below :

Christianity is dying. Let it die, for it has ceased to nourish our souls. Once upon a time it helped us to become aware of our own souls, but now it has degenerated into a second-rate market of passion and self-interest. Too often it justifies the world we live in. Compromises, conciliations are killing it. But even while Christianity is dying, something else is rising in its place, a Religion of Man, every day more demanding, every day more clearly defined. Nothing is more touching than the story of its development. I only know it as far as it has affected the small *canton* in which I live, but I am sure that in all the provinces and in all the literatures of Europe one can find sentiments and phrases akin to those I am about to quote.

I find the first notes of the new faith struck in the writing of Senancour and Benjamin Constant. "In a world of mingled pleasure and pain," declares Senancour, "it is incumbent upon man to increase joy, to fructify expansive energy and to oppose in all sentient beings whatever tends to degrade them or to promote suffering." Thus the man of Europe, becoming aware that he stands upon an earth subject to infinite vicissitudes and beneath a heaven which is deaf to his prayers, realizes that he is alone and that his only resource is within himself. But this very thought gives him back all his courage : Man has no other Providence than man.

In the enthusiasm for their new faith Europeans have not thought that circumstances may be stronger than man. They overlook the insolent manner in which the things go their own way, and they fancy that man is master. But now, intoxicated by our power, we have no longer the capability of regulating it, just as a disordered heart cannot control its pulsations. Thus "things" have taken their revenge. In this disillusionment, the slow conquests of reason do not satisfy us. We demand a miracle ; we want history to read like a novel, and so once more we hand over to some outside agent—some saviour or tyrant—our lives and destinies which at one time we were so proud of ruling.

I cannot here enumerate all the causes of our failure, and I take up once more my main theme. It does not seem to me that our troubles—not even the Great War itself—point to a complete failure. All that is worth saving in Europe, all that she has ever offered that is useful or noble, may be found in the formulæ and examples of a revolutionary humanism, at once humanism, at once clear and bold. But the

important question is whether such a humanism will win through or be crushed.

There is no difficulty in classifying the parties and doctrines which actually divide Europe. The great line of demarcation lies between a dream of happiness and a dream of dignity and self-respect. I am not scorning happiness, I am sure that happiness is one of the main pillars of self-respect ; but if Europe is ready to sacrifice her honour to happiness, she will have lost the faith which made her greatness. Even now, our masters, those who hold sway over the material part of our civilization, declare themselves able and willing to furnish the masses, who have so long desired it, with a certain amount of happiness ; they promise a peace and security such as has never before been known, provided the masses hand over absolute and complete control of *everything* to these masters. Europe is full of dictators ready to manufacture happiness for people, but they will do nothing to maintain the people's self-respect. And why ? Because such men are not afraid of happy people, whereas they dread those who are animated by a sense of human dignity.

Which dream will prove the more powerful, that of happiness or that of self-respect. The "masters" are ready to degrade the masses ; they are willing to amuse and to feed them, and so we have Americanism, Rationalization, Fascism,—a return to I know not what dark age. Shall we be content with the lot of happy slaves, or shall we maintain\* that the only happiness worth having is that which we have won for ourselves ? Are we strong-minded enough to refuse, if we must, the offered *panem et circences*, for the sake of a happiness and glory that we alone can conceive. Thus only will Europe be justified ; thus only will she save her faith. Her destiny depends on our courage.

**The Lancashire-Bombay Textile Agreement**

While consultations on questions of trade between India and Japan were being carried on, the Bombay cotton interests rushed into an agreement with those of Lancashire in spite of opposition from other parts of India. Mr. Krishna Kumar Sharma comments on this agreement in the *The Mysore Economic Journal* as follows :

The principle of imperial preference against which Indian opinion is solidly unanimous has been willingly endorsed by the Bombay cotton interests without obtaining any economic concession from the other side. Their own utterances on former occasions have been exactly contrary to what they have accepted now.

On the one side, representatives of Bombay cotton interests are forming currency leagues to

get the ratio changed and clamouring for more and more protection and on the other, they are lavishly and with a magnanimous and generous hand bestowing concessions upon Lancashire. They favour reduction in wages, grudge a reduction in the working day to the worker and penalize the consumer. Why then should they grant concessions to their competitors without any *quid pro quo*? Either protection is necessary for Bombay cotton industry or it is not. If the former is the case, such concessions are utterly unjustifiable, and if the latter, the Government should in bare justice to the consumer withdraw all protection or reduce duties on goods entering Bombay port only. This agreement has been denounced by nearly all important Chambers of Commerce in all parts of India.

How the Government of India will view an agreement made by a section of the industry in spite of protests from other equally important interests is difficult to forecast. One thing is, however, certain and that is that any step taken by the Government to enforce the agreement will be against the best interests of the country. The production of Indian mills can meet the total home demand and an increase in imports will, therefore, be against the interests of the Indian cotton mill industry itself. It will mean closing down of more mills, increased unemployment and reduced wages. Less of Indian cotton will be consumed, hand-loom weavers will be hit hard by severe competition and it will be extremely difficult for Indian mills to diversify the styles of production, specially those which have to face the competition from Lancashire. An unfavourable move at this stage of India's industrial advancement would be really very unjustifiable.

### Laboratories of Reconciliation

Mr. Richard R. Wood writes about the function and achievements of the Society of Friends in *India and the World* thus :

With the increasing excitement in European politics, the Society of Friends is facing a heavy task.

The Society of friends is a pacifist Christian sect. The essential feature of its religious philosophy, the feature that set it apart as distinctive in Seventeenth Century England, at its origin, is the belief in the "Light Within." Each human being may enjoy direct immediate experience of fellowship with God. There is in every human being a Divine spark, which can transmit the glory of God to that soul. This spark is often referred to as "the seed of God," indicating the belief that it contains possibility of growth.

Conditions may prove unfavourable to the seed; economic or social environment may be inhospitable; disease of mind or body may check its development; sin and selfishness may hamper it. But in every human being it is present. No

matter how unpromising, there is about every person something Divine.

Pacifism is a necessary corollary of this principle. This Divine element in every human being demands respect. You simply cannot respect it while doing to its human container the things that men do to men in war. Therefore, participation in war is inconsistent with Quakerism.

It should be noted that this same process of deduction leads members of the Society of Friends to concern themselves with the emancipation of slaves, with justice for American Indians and for subjugated peoples generally, with the emancipation of women, with temperance, and with social justice. Rather gradually, as abuses develop and come to be recognized as abuses, Friends grow uneasy about them, and try to correct them. Sometimes recognition is slow. Friends have only very recently come to concern themselves with the question of social and economic justice for the American Negro. For nearly two generations after the emancipation of the slaves, Friends were content to aid in their education, but fail to note the importance of establishing normally friendly relations between whites and Negroes of equal cultural attainments.

At present, one of the tasks of the Society of Friends in Europe is to seek to check the wave of anti-German feeling. There is no hope for Western civilization if we are to blame all our troubles on the Germans, and pummel them instead of setting about correcting the evils. Patience, sympathy, understanding, love for the people even while disapproving their views and their actions, are what the world desperately needs. In the past people who have courageously acted on the assumption that the Divine spark really was present in both sides of a bitter quarrel have accomplished apparent miracles of re-conciliation. We believe that our principles are equally effective today. We do not feel confident of our ability to apply them effectively. Perhaps some great souls will arise to give a lead.

### The Plight of the Indian Agriculturist

Mr. D. G. Karwe writes in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* :

It is usual with the supporters of the present high ratio [18d.] to make out that any downward movement of the rate of exchange will adversely affect the interests of the wage-earners, the salaried and the professional classes and of the public revenues. The actual experience of the last six years constitutes a thorough exposure of the hollowness of those arguments. It is indeed true that a scaling down of the ratio will be followed by a comparative rise in prices. But it is wrong to argue on the basis of the supposition that all increments in prices are definitely detrimental to the permanent and legitimate interests of the above-mentioned classes. If the price level

lowered as the result of an unwarranted heightening of the exchange rate not only the producing but also the wage-earning classes have to bear the evil consequences. If the producers are forced to market their goods at unremunerative prices, they are compelled either to reduce wages or to give up business. In both cases the wage-earners suffer in the end at least as much as the producers. The position of the professional and salaried classes is not essentially different. The demand for their services falls off, and as the public or private employers experience a shrinkage in their revenues they have to resort to curtailment of staffs and retrenchment of salaries. Even the contention that with a lower ratio the Government of India's finances will suffer a net loss on account of an increased rupee equivalent of its home charges is a half-truth more dangerous than a stark untruth. What the Government might lose in increased expenditure on this account it will more than make good on its revenue. A straitened peasantry, an unemployed and impoverished middle class, and a losing industrial and mercantile community are certainly not the best tax-payers. Railways, income-tax, posts and telegraphs, even salt—all these are beginning to yield lesser returns, and the Government has been led on to impose such arbitrary levies as the recent 25 per cent surcharge on all sources of central taxation. There are innumerable avenues of retrenchment in Government expenditure, such as the revision of exorbitant salaries. Any policy that would sacrifice the first interests of the national producers to the immediate needs of the year's revenue is in a line with killing the goose that lays the golden egg.

The plight to which the nation at large and particularly the agriculturists have been reduced during the last few years is too pitiable for words. It is only the innate passivity of the Indian people and the utter isolation from the life of the people in which supreme governmental authorities live and shape their policies that have prevented the mobilization of social sympathy in support of the great national interest. To the extent to which the agriculturist consumes his own produce and pays for others' services and goods in kind the fall in prices has not adversely affected his lot. The extent of payments in kind is, however, very narrow and even in areas where cultivation is principally for subsistence a

considerable portion has every year to be marketed for the purchase of services and commodities, as also for the payment of such fixed dues as interest, taxes and loans. In the case of the growers of commercial crops, e.g., cotton, sugarcane, oil-seeds and jute the fall in prices has hit the producers with special severity. In many parts of the country rents are fixed in money and the leases are executed for a number of years at a time. In these places the tenants find it impossible to meet the demands of the landlord. Arrears, indebtedness and privations are the inevitable outcome of such a situation which is extremely embarrassing both to the tenants and the land-owners. It is well known that the rates of interest are exceptionally high in India and that their level is determined by the customs of the trade and the position of the borrowers. With reduced prices not only does the cultivator find it difficult to meet his old interest and instalment obligations but any new borrowing is well-nigh impossible except at ruinous rates. The co-operative banks which have their dealings with the cultivator members have latterly experienced almost insuperable difficulties in making recoveries. Indeed, there are not a few co-operators who almost fear the worst in many areas. The Government demand for land revenue is theoretically based on averages of prices over a prolonged period and the land revenue codes do not ordinarily allow of remissions and suspensions on account of a fall in prices. We know how very wooden is the system of administration in India. It is extremely difficult to secure for the people even such concessions as have been provided for by law. It would be hoping for a miracle to expect that the Government would run to the rescue of the landholders in an emergency not falling strictly within normal official operations. In fact, in spite of the loud and heart-rending protests of the landholding classes the collections of land revenue have been effected with the usual rigour in almost all parts of the country. Any one who has the slightest acquaintance with country areas, knows full well that while the government caravan proudly passes by as though nothing has happened out of the ordinary, the farmers, the land-owners, the *sowkars* and the co-operative societies are on the brink of an utter collapse. The standard of life in rural areas was never very high; the present conditions constitute a degradation which is beyond parallel.





## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Why a Federated World ?

For permanent peace, prosperity and security we need a federated world. Mr. Dudley W. Woodbridge explains this in *World Unity* as follows :

First : Security. "It is none of any other country's business how large a navy we have." Is it any of our business how large a navy other countries have ?

In order to be secure in a world governed by force it is necessary for one's country always to have a superior force. It is equally necessary for every other country (if it wishes to be secure) to have a superior force. But this is impossible. However, if there were *one* superior force on a world scale, and that force should be used in such a way as to support liberty under the law for international relations it would then be possible to have a permanent righteous peace.

"Trust, in your own right arm." How far would that principle protect an individual ? What is more uncertain than the outcome of a war ? A single diplomatic or military blunder might easily change the result from a so-called victory to an inglorious defeat. Besides, what profiteth a bully to win twenty fights if he loses the twenty-first, and what profiteth a nation to win twenty wars if it loses the twenty-first ?

The world has long taken and should well remember the risks of war and international anarchy. Is it not time to take the risks of peace backed by a righteous superior force ? Could the United States exist today if it had not taken this latter risk ?

Second : Justice. It is unfair to allow each country to determine the righteousness of its own case with the implication always in the background that if the other countries do not like it they can fight. Might does not make right, but right cannot triumph unless it is backed by might. All intelligent people the world over should devise ways and means whereby international right will be backed by might just as every civilized government attempts to do within its own boundaries.

Third : Co-operation. Fighting begets fighting. Mutual co-operation begets good will. Economics, justice, education, art, science, religion—all that is most worth while in life—know no artificial international lines. It is not sentimental twaddle, but basic truth, that mankind as a whole has far, far more in common than it has apart. Those of us who appreciate this fact are building on the rock.

Those of us who do not, are building on the sand—and when the storm comes great will be the fall thereof !

### The lot of Newspapermen in the U. S. A.

Under the Roosevelt régime the Press has got a code in the U. S. A. The newspaper interests put up a strong opposition when it was passed. In this connection many things regarding the hard lot of newspapermen in the U. S. A. have come to light. Mr. Chester T. Crowell, himself a journalist, writes in *The New Republic*.

I recall that when I was employed as a cub reporter on The San Antonio Express of San Antonio, Texas, I was informed that my wage would be seven dollars a week and my hours from half-past noon until midnight, with Sundays off. I worked one year without a day off. My hours were from half-past noon until half-past two o'clock the following morning, which is to say fourteen hours a day seven days a week. From time to time I would get so tired that I simply could not stumble down to the office and would spend the day in bed. I was always docked for the lost day. This condition was common among newspapers outside of the very largest cities, and to a considerable extent still is.

Any worker in the editorial department was expected to give two weeks' notice when he wished to resign, and to the best of my knowledge all did during the sixteen years that I spent in newspaper work, but only a very few newspapers ever gave notice when they discharged a man. He simply came to work and discovered that he was not wanted that day or any other day. Some of the more humane publishers had been troubled by the suffering this caused. They were also moved by the annoyance to their other employees when discharged men hung around trying to borrow small sums with which to buy food, and the more progressive discovered a remedy. They did not pay a new man his wages for the first two weeks so that when he finally left, usually discharged, he would get the two weeks' wages that had been withheld. This custom was common in the Middle West for a quarter of a century and, I think, still is. I have been told that it was initiated by The Kansas City Star and I

I have heard it highly praised by newspapermen accustomed to such thoughtfulness from publishers.

The first time my pay was ever cut on account of hard times (and the times really were hard) I walked into the business office and was handed my pay envelope and discovered to my embarrassment that it was 10-per cent short. I mentioned this fact with some trepidation because I assumed it to be a clerical error likely to cause a great deal of trouble. But the cashier calmly informed me that it was no error at all; wages had been cut 10 percent. No one had been told anything about this. The heads of the institution were as gentlemanly a group as I have ever known in the newspaper world. What they did seemed perfectly natural to them because no one had ever heard of such a thing as an editorial-department labourer having any rights. I announced at once and in no uncertain terms that I would have the rest of my money instantly or I would start a campaign of throat-cutting that wouldn't leave manpower enough around the place to get out a newspaper. Then I took my missing 10 percent and went upstairs to gather up my few belongings and go elsewhere to seek a job. But no one was angry with me and everyone who knew anything about what happened was amused. They put me down as a hot-headed kid from Texas who had no idea of the economic and social amenities of newspaperdom. I tried to explain that they would have a perfect right to cut my wage for the following week if they so elected and would give notice, but that to cut for the week already past seemed to me precisely like stealing. Well, that *was* funny.

Nevertheless I declined to get to work until assured that I would receive my full wage the following week. They actually argued with me that to quit then and there was very, very wrong. I should give two weeks' notice. But I wouldn't so they promised that my wage wouldn't be cut, and it wasn't.

Since then my wages have been cut because of business conditions several times and never once with advance notice. I do not know what experience others may have had with wage cuts, but certainly I never have been notified one second in advance. Usually the printers would know what the situation was because the publisher generally made the mistake of going to them and asking them to postpone pay day. They never did. And the result was that the publisher found the money to pay them. I have also seen pay day pass by with no pay envelopes distributed, but I have never been informed of this coming event by a publisher nor have I ever heard from one under such circumstances one word of apology, explanation or regret.

The reader will please keep in mind that one of this refers to New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston or any other of the major cities. If it did, I should not consider it worth

writing; I am telling what I know of the general run of newspaper employment where the vast majority of newspapermen in this country are working, in the medium-sized and smaller communities.

I have been managing editor, city editor, chief editorial writer and star staff man repeatedly but I never at any time made the amount of money ordinarily earned by a union printer on those very newspapers at that time. It always amused me when publishers took it for granted that I hated union printers as much as they did. They assumed that I would dislike the printers because they received larger pay envelopes than mine. Well, they were wrong. I didn't. I envied the printers. They, too, had been wondering tramps only a decade or so before I entered newspaper work, but now they could actually buy homes on the instalment plan, while in the editorial department I saw, month after month, the procession of brilliant young men wending their way from nowhere to nowhere, stopping a while but never calling the place home. Those who were going to amount to anything got out.

One more story of newspaper work and wages and I close. This is such high comedy that I should hesitate to tell it if every person involved were not still able to testify. A friend of mine was sent as staff writer to Mexico City to do a series of feature articles, but revolution broke out suddenly so he gave that his attention instead. In the midst of the turmoil he found himself in the cable office with shells exploding all around him and, for that matter, over a considerable part of the city. He couldn't get out, but what a stroke of luck to be marooned in the cable office! He remained there for a week with the artillery busy all that time. No other newspaperman could reach the place. He scooped the world and his paper sold his dispatches to many other newspapers, garnering thereby much profit. It also did a prosperous business in extra editions. On his return, however, my friend found himself unable to make out his expense account because he had sent messengers through shell fire to get food at all hours of the day and night. He had had almost no sleep for a week and he was a nervous wreck. Being a painstaking, meticulous person it grieved him to discover that neither notes nor memory would account for all of his expenditures, so he went to the business manager and confessed that there were still fifty dollars to be itemized, fifty dollars that he had certainly spent, but couldn't remember.

"That's all right, my boy," said the kindly chief executive. "You did a grand job and we appreciate it. We will not take the fifty dollars out of your first week's salary because that might leave you short. We will just take it out five dollars a week for ten weeks, so you run along and don't give it another thought."

### Japan's Manchurian Blunder

There is perhaps a widely entertained belief that Japan will find in the control of Manchuria an early solution to her most pressing economic problems. But an analysis of the prospects, says Mr. Ben Dorfman in *The New Republic* leads to a contrary conclusion. He writes :

Immediately following outbreak of hostilities in September, 1931, there was fanned into full flame an anti-Japanese boycott of unprecedented proportions and effectiveness. Japanese steamship lines, banks, manufacturers and merchantile houses were forced either to suspend or limit operations in China proper and in regions in the South Pacific where Chinese dominate business. Industry and commerce in Japan were likewise upset.

Japan's international credit rating was lowered, her gold-dollar bonds dropping in New York by almost 50 percent within the first eight months of the conflict. These bonds have recovered considerably, but despite this, Japan's credit abroad remains so bad that she cannot borrow except at ruinous rates. This is particularly significant as Japan has never repudiated a foreign financial obligation, a record second to none in the world.

Within three months after the outbreak of hostilities, Japan was forced to abandon the gold standard. The yen then began to drop until it had depreciated to about 40 percent of its former gold value, a position from which it has not recovered. Even though Japan had not embarked on her continental adventure, she probably would have been forced to follow Great Britain in abandoning the gold standard. It is doubtful, however, that the yen would have dropped so far as it has, had it not been for her military operations in China.

It should be clear that many of the internal and external difficulties growing out of the extremely low value of the yen are to be traced to Japan's military activities in China. The extreme depression of the yen has imposed heavy burdens on Japan in paying for her imports and in meeting the charges on her foreign loans. To an extent it has stimulated exports, but this has not been an unmixed blessing, in view of the general—but not always well founded—charges of "dumping" lodged against her. This is serious, for many of her best customers, China, India, Egypt, Malayasia and sections of Africa, for example, are beginning to restrict imports of Japanese goods. That Japan has not suffered more from her depreciated yen, is due only to the cushioning effects of the depreciated pound and dollar.

As to the costs of Japan's military operations in China, reliable figures are not available—if for no other reason than that the operations have not yet ceased. It is scarcely to be doubted, however, that her costs in "blood and treasure" have exceeded what she has made in Manchuria to date.

From the opening of hostilities in September, 1931, to the present, Japan has undergone many hardships and her people have made many sacrifices. These have been offset in part by certain gains, but without question, the aggregate of losses during this period has more than offset the aggregate of gains. I doubt that any Japanese would dispute this.

At the moment, Japanese-Manchukuo trade is exceptionally brisk, but the basis does not promise to endure. Japan is expending and investing heavily in Manchukuo; her highly depreciated yen is giving her an advantage over domestic and foreign competition; and the reciprocal trade restrictions between China and Manchukuo are playing in her favour. Once she discontinues making these expenditures, which she can ill afford in her present financial state, and once Manchukuo's economy is adjusted to new local conditions, the present basis for this unusual trade will disappear.

For some time to come Manchuria will be of only slight assistance in solving Japan's population and trade problems. There is no prospect whatsoever for mass emigration; and Manchurian resources do not give promise of early or great Japanese industrial and trade expansion along economic lines. Further, Japan's manner of gaining control of Manchuria has injured her trade opportunities and credit standing in certain important areas; and the costs of gaining this control have seriously threatened her financial stability. With a more judicious handling of her Manchurian problem, Japan was destined to gain much of what she will obtain in Manchuria, and in so far as net economic gain is concerned, she could easily and might wisely have spared herself the cost of the entire venture. She may get more out of Manchuria economically than she otherwise would have, but this possible gain has been bought too dearly.

### The Negro and the Court of Justice

Even a schoolboy knows something of lynching practised on the Negroes in the U. S. A. *The New Republic* (December 13, 1933) comments editorially on the glaring injustices done to Negroes even in the court of justice. It writes :

The first trials of the Scottsboro cases were conducted amidst such glaring injustices to the defendants that the United States Supreme Court set aside the verdicts. In the second trial, Judge Horton, who presided, also set aside the verdict of guilty after only one of the defendants had been tried, on the ground that the decision of the jury was a palpable miscarriage of justice. When the new series of trials began a fortnight ago at Decatur, Alabama, every honest and intelligent Southerner must have hoped with all his heart

that this time the trials would be conducted in such a way that there could be no question of the fairness of the proceeding and that the honor of the South in a question of justice to Negroes charged with a serious crime, which has been so seriously questioned throughout the world, would be vindicated. Unhappily, the conduct and result of the first case have given exactly the opposite result.

Judge Callahan, who supplanted Judge Horton in presiding at the new trials, has seemed singularly insensitive to the fact that the eyes of the world were upon him. He swept aside evidence tending to support the view that the general feeling in and around Decatur was such as to make a fair trial almost impossible. He refused to permit the introduction of vitally important evidence showing that the two young women (one of whom has denied that there was any attack) had spent the preceding night in a hobo jungle with two young white men. He flatly asserted from the bench that no Southern white woman, however degraded, would voluntarily have sex relations with a Negro. His attitude toward the chief defense counsel, Samuel Leibowitz, can only be described as one of half-concealed hostility. His mental bias was strikingly revealed when, in charging the jury, he forgot to instruct them how to bring in any verdict except one of guilt. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the jury should once again have shut its eyes to the evidence and sentenced the defendant to death. It will be no surprise if similar verdicts are found in the cases of the other Negroes. Appeals will of course be taken; and it seems reasonable to believe that the miscarriage of justice is again sufficiently obvious to bring the question before the United States Supreme Court. But the real tragedy in the case is still Alabama's.

### Hitlerism and Labour

The same paper writes :

The fight of the Hitler government against what remains of the German labour movement continues. On December 12 the trade-union organizations, which had a formal existence under Nazi directors even after the police had raided their offices, confiscated their treasuries and sent their Socialist and Communist functionaries into concentration camps, will be officially dissolved. On that day the "vertical union," in which not only all workers, irrespective of trade or industry, but also all employers will become members, will take the place of the trade-union organizations, bringing "peace and friendship for all those who work in the Reich instead of the frenzy of the class struggle." It requires no particularly active imagination to picture the "peace and friendship" that the new National Socialist "Labor Front," with its power arbitrarily to fix wages and conditions of work, will bring, now that it is no

longer hampered in its subservience to capital by the existence of trade-union organizations. Meanwhile, the Nazi judges are undertaking sadistic orgies of persecution. Six Communist workers were beheaded in Köln last week for their participation in a street fight before the accession of Hitler, in which a Brown Shirt soldier was killed. In the same week ten other Communists were condemned to death for a similar offence. Berlin is witnessing the trial of fifty-three Communists for whom the State Attorney demands capital punishment; in Dresden eighty-nine members of the Socialist Workers' party were sentenced to 200 years in prison. Up to November, 15,600 Communists and Socialists had been charged with high treason in fifty-six cities under the Göring law, which permits the death penalty for those found guilty. Now the government announces its intention of staging a monster trial of more than 1,000 Socialists and Communist "traitors," arrested since that time, to set an example to other rebellious elements in the Reich. In the language of Göring and Hitler this can mean only one thing: the mass slaughter of men and women who dared to criticize the present regime.

### Beware of American Drugs

A drastic pure food and drugs Act has been long overdue in America. Now that an Act on this line is going to be passed there, many shocking irregularities in the food and drug preparations are being revealed. Mr. Jonathan Mitchell writes in the same paper :

In the Federal Food and Drug Administration's building in Washington is a little room lined with exhibits of dangerous and fake patent medicines, cosmetics and foods. The bottles, tubes, jars and food packages are neatly mounted on composition board, with legends beneath them describing the various kinds of death, permanent injury and loss of money suffered by their purchasers. The room is not a pleasant place; in the Food and Drug Administration it is known as the chamber of horrors. However, it gives you some notion of what the drug interests in fact mean when they speak of property rights and free Americans. What they mean is the right of medicine manufacturers to make 500 and 1,000-percent profits from credulous, ignorant and dying people.

The exhibits in the chamber of horrors fall into a number of distinct groups. First and most important are the patent medicines which are either injurious in themselves or else worthless for the deadly diseases they pretend to cure. A typical example—one cited in a recent news-reel talkie made by Mr. Tugwell in defense of the administration's bill—is Banbar. Banbar is made by the L. B. Barlett Company of Pittsburgh, and sells for \$ 12 a medium-sized bottle. Its

label bears the line: "For the diabetic." It is in fact made from a fairly common weed called horsetail, and its therapeutic value is close to zero.

On the exhibit in the chamber of horrors, beneath a Banbar bottle and a glass jar containing a sprig of horsetail, are two groups of photostats. One group consists of copies of some twenty-five testimonials received by the L. B. Barlett Company from sufferers from diabetes. These testimonials were investigated by the federal authorities, and the second group of photostats embodies the results of the investigation. It consists of the death certificates of each of the testimonial writers, recorded within an average of a year from the day the testimonial was written.

Not long ago the federal authorities proceeded against the L. B. Barlett Company in the courts. Dr. Eliot P. Joslin of Harvard Medical School, international authority on diabetes, appeared as a government expert, and testified to Banbar's complete worthlessness. But because of the flagrant loopholes in the existing pure food and drugs law—which has remained substantially unchanged since it was obtained in 1906 by Dr. Harvey W. Wiley after a ferocious fight with the medicine makers—the L. B. Barlett Company was acquitted, and Banbar is still being sold for \$ 12 the bottle.

Another exhibit is Marmola, made by the Radalam Company of Detroit. Marmola is a "popular number" in the big drug-store chains. It contains—or has contained—thyroid extract, and is advertised widely as a remedy for excessive weight. According to the legend beneath the Marmola bottle in the chamber of horrors, when taken by normal individuals it may lead to "loss of appetite, nausea, insomnia, palpitation of the heart, sweating, fevers and delirium." A similar case is that of Renton's Hydrocin Tablets, information about which has only recently been compiled by the Food and Drug Administration. Renton's Hydrocin Tablets are made by the

Renton Company, Pasadena, California, sell for \$ 1.50 a bottle and are advertised for the relief of pain, especially rheumatism and arthritis. The tablets contain cinchopin, the indiscriminate use of which as a drug has been protested by various medical authorities. Taken over a sufficient period of time, cinchopin can bring about atrophy of the liver, and six cases of death from cumulative cinchopin poisoning have lately been reported by the Mayo clinic of Rochester, Minnesota.

The most shameful exhibits in the chamber of horrors, perhaps, are those of poisonous cosmetics. This is the section in which you find photographs of people blinded, and with faces scarred and eaten away. There is a set of photographs of a young Ohio girl, victim of a preparation called Lash Lure, made by a firm in Los Angeles and containing a coal-tar dye. The Food and Drug Administration has a photograph of this girl before her injury; she is unusually lovely. Another photograph is taken in the hospital, her eyes are gone and the flesh around them is a mass of tortured scars. When damage suits were brought by a number of victims against Lash Lure, its discoverable assets were less than a thousand dollars.

The final group of exhibits in the chamber of horrors consists of deceptively packaged or fraudulently advertised food. The most striking exhibit is Tow's Log Cabin Syrup, two cabin-shaped cans of which are mounted side by side. One can is for sale in those states requiring complete truthfulness in food advertising, and bears the legend, "25 per cent maple syrup and 75 percent cane-sugar syrup." Its brother can, for sale over the rest of the country, states simply, "made from cane sugar and maple syrup." Other exhibits display ice cream puffed up to nearly twice its legitimate volume with air, chicken à la King containing just one prominently placed, razor-thin slab of chicken, noodles disguised by transparent coloured paper, fruit jam containing no fruit.



# NOTES

## *The Earthquake*

The history of India, ancient, mediæval or modern, does not record an earthquake which was more destructive and devastating in its effects than or even approximately as catastrophic as that which shook some parts of northern India on the 15th of January last. North Bihar has suffered most, and the independent kingdom of Nepal next to it; other regions have suffered little or not at all. The loss of life and property in Bihar has been appalling. No exact estimate of the number of persons killed or injured has yet been made, nor all the dead bodies yet extracted from under the debris of the houses which are in ruins. Even an approximate estimate of the number of the dead will never perhaps be made. For no record has been kept of the dead bodies thrown into rivers or burned during the first few days after the disaster. The official and non-official estimates differ very greatly. And as yet even guesses have been made as to the casualties only in the towns. The villages have not yet been systematically visited. Perhaps when the final estimate is made as to the number of men, women and children killed in the urban and rural areas, it would not be a matter for surprise if the total came up to a hundred thousand.

As for Nepal, it is said that more than three thousand persons have been killed and three of the biggest towns, including Kathmandu, the capital, are in ruins.

In many cases whole families have been wiped out. In more, some survivors remain to mourn the loss of their near and dear ones. In some cases, persons have been dug out

alive from under the debris, which shows that if rescue work had been undertaken promptly and systematically, a larger number of lives could have been saved. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says it took three days for the terrible news to leak out. The Bihar officials seem to have been dazed and unnerved by the stupendous cataclysm. According to the Pandit, the Government having woken up from their torpor has realized the gravity of the situation three or four days after the event. As regards medical and other relief, his impression was that some officials disliked the idea of any activity that was not completely under them—an attitude which was completely out of place in face of the great disaster. Mr. Nehru also adds that the villages are sadly neglected.

The first thing to do after the calamity was to establish communications. This was not done, with the result that, not to speak of newspapers, even the nearest relatives of persons in the affected areas could not send express telegrams several days after the event. The number of messages held up at Muzaffarpur was 7,000. After the establishment of telegraphic communications, communications by road and rail required to be attended to. • Whatever neglect or delay may have taken place at first, it is to be hoped the Bihar Government is now thoroughly alive to its duties.

A regular aerial survey of the whole affected area should be undertaken at once, if it has not been done already.

The careful clearing of the debris under expert supervision and the disposal of dead

bodies by burning or burial should be completed as quickly as possible, in order to prevent the outbreak of epidemics. A sufficient supply of wholesome, uncontaminated water is also necessary for the same purpose and for the purpose of relieving distress. For in many places, wells and other sources of water-supply have either dried or choked up.

The sufferings of the people whose houses and all have been destroyed or who have lost the bread-winners of their families, are indescribable—nay, unimaginable. Some kind of temporary shelter, in temporary huts or under canvas, must be immediately provided for the homeless. Clothing and blankets have also to be provided. The need of water-supply has already been referred to. Perhaps the boring of numerous tube-wells is the most practicable plan for this purpose. Wholesome simple food, including milk for babies, has to be supplied to tens of thousands.

All this means the expenditure of a mint of money. Of course the Government of Bihar cannot find all the money required. The Government of India must come to the rescue. The Viceroy has opened a relief fund, which is being liberally subscribed to, the biggest donation announced till now (January 27) being one lakh from the Maharaja of Gondal.

But the people of India have not left the work of relieving distress to the rulers. Before any leader had appealed to them, relief had begun to be given, and relief parties had gone from Bengal with money, food, clothing, blankets, medicine, etc. All the other provinces have also joined in this sacred duty. And all leaders, of greater or less prominence and belonging to different religious communities, have issued their appeals, and some have also begun to make collections. The Calcutta Mayor's Fund has been swelling day by day. It is a silver lining to the cloud that this terrible blow of Nature has revealed the fact of the whole of the Indian people being kin. Funds are being raised in foreign countries also. It may not be possible for a subject, depressed and impoverished people like the Indians to display the buoyancy, the energy, the methodicalness, the spirit of brother-help and the team spirit displayed by the independent Japanese people after the

earthquake which laid Tokyo and other places low. But it is to be hoped that the achievement of Indians will not be unworthy of the great ancient country to which they belong. Let everything be done according to a well thought-out and laid-out plan.

In this connection, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes in its issue of the 23rd January last :

His Majesty the King-Emperor's message of sympathy for the distressed people of Bihar has been much appreciated in this country. The calamity which has befallen Bihar is undoubtedly one of the greatest in record in the whole of the British Empire. This being so, the Indian people expected the Royal donation to be much bigger than £150 the amount. Their Majesties have contributed. Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon have started the Viceroy's Fund with a donation of Rs. 5,000. Sir Samuel Hoare was "much distressed to learn of the serious nature of the earthquake disaster." He has made no personal donation yet. One may say in this connection that in the great earthquake of 1923 in Japan the Emperor of Japan gave out of his privy purse 10,000,000 yen and the Japan Government 30,780,000 yen from the State Treasury.

### *Development of Earthquake Centre in Bihar ?*

It has been surmised that probably an earthquake centre has been developing in Bihar. It is to be hoped that the apprehension is unfounded. But, if Bihar does become an earthquake region, there should not be any panic and stampede of people from Bihar. The fatalism of the people of India has been a handicap in many directions. But it should be of advantage to them at least in developing the requisite degree of stoicism to dwell in an earthquake region. Japan is subject to not infrequent earthquake shocks. But the Japanese have not left their hearths and homes. Every now and then, there are tremors and volcanic eruptions from Mount Vesuvius in Italy. But the Italians have not deserted its neighbourhood. The sloping sides of Vesuvius are cultivated almost to the vicinity of the crater.

Whatever regions of the earth we may inhabit, we cannot have a permanent lease with corporeal immortality anywhere.

### *House Building in Bihar & Nepal*

Temporary housing accommodation has to be provided immediately for the sufferers from

the earthquake. But before the construction of houses of a more permanent character, whether inexpensive or costly, is undertaken, official and non-official engineers and architects should publish plans, with descriptions of building materials, of various kinds of houses for the poor, the middle class and the wealthy which are likely to resist earthquake shocks of at least moderate intensity to some extent. Plans and materials followed and used in Japan and other earthquake regions should be considered and adopted as far as necessary and practicable.

### *Future of Agriculture in Bihar*

In many parts of northern Bihar where there was formerly dry land, there is now water, and some tracts of fertile agricultural land have also been covered with sand. A remedy has to be found and the peasant proprietors or cultivators of these lands have to be helped to get land elsewhere, or, if possible, to remove the sand from the surface of the sand-covered areas.

### *Bihar Sugar Mills and Sugar-cane Crop*

On account of the earthquake several sugar mills in Bihar have been greatly damaged and their working stopped. This means considerable loss to the shareholders or other proprietors. But as they are comparatively well-to-do people, they may be expected to tide over their difficulties without extraneous help. The case of the agriculturists who supply them with sugar-cane is more pitiable and deserves immediate and careful consideration. They have grown thousand of tons of sugar-cane in expectation of sale. But mills which could have purchased them cannot now do so. Other mills, which are in working order, are situated at a distance and have their own sources of supply of sugar-cane, and cannot buy the surplus cane from the villages in the earthquake areas. Even if they could buy, the roads being damaged, there is no easy means of conveying the cane to these mills. Under the circumstances Babu Rajendra Prasad's suggestion seems to us the best, and practicable, too. He suggests that the village cane-crushing mills, put out of action by the establishment of huge

sugar factories, be re-started and others purchased, and all the sugar-cane locally crushed. The juice obtained may be turned into *gur* or raw sugar, and this may be afterwards refined and white sugar obtained from it.

### *Physical and Moral Causes of Earthquakes*

Scientists can communicate to us what they know or can conjecture regarding the physical causes of earthquakes. Religious-minded persons also have their theories. They are inclined to say and some of them do say that earthquakes are a visitation for human sins. Our knowledge of the causation of events is so limited that we cannot dogmatically assert either that there is or that there is not any causal connection between cosmic cataclysms and human transgressions and derelictions. But we find it difficult to accept the theory that earthquakes have any connection with human sins of omission and commission. For, taking into consideration the recent earthquake, it cannot be asserted that the people of north Bihar were more sinful than other people, or that the people of the towns and villages which have suffered most were the most sinful, or that in those towns and villages those who were killed or injured or lost their houses and other property were the most sinful.

The lesson which all of us can and should learn from earthquakes and other similar destructive agencies is that, whether sufferers or not, we are all temporary lessees of the earth and may be turned out without even a moment's notice, and that, therefore, we should make the best use of our term of tenancy and be free from worldly attachments, never putting off till to-morrow what good we can and ought to do to-day, and that, as we are or may be in the same sad plight, we owe one another all possible active fraternal sympathy.

### *New Right Honourables*

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and His Highness the Aga Khan have been made Privy Counsellors on last New Year's Day. They are henceforth to be styled the Right Honourable so-and-so.



In the days of the Bengal Partition agitation it was held officially that there was a Right Gh—and a Wrong Gh—. We wonder whether there are any *Wrong* Honourables now !

Except in the case of those who are 'decorated' with titles for literary, scientific and professional eminence—perhaps to make or keep them duly grateful and subservient, which object is not always fully or partially gained, titles are meant as rewards for political services or for abstention from political 'disservice' to the Government. It may, therefore, be inferred that, as both the Aga Khan and Dr. Sapru have been equally rewarded, their services to the British Government in connection with the Round Table Conference, the White Paper and the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee have been considered similar and equal. His Highness the Right Honourable Aga Khan has served his community and indirectly also the British Government by standing up for a communalistic constitution, not a democratic and nationalistic one. The Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has served the British Government by not standing up irreconcilably for a democratic and nationalistic constitution and perhaps also by not insisting on justice to the Hindu community, to which he belongs. For his professional eminence he was entitled to a privy councillorship long ago.

### ***British Peerage and Indians***

It is said that there was a talk of raising Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Aga Khan to the British peerage, but it could not be done on account of the fact that both the Hindu and the Mussalman can be legally polygamous, whereas British peers must be monogamous. Of course, the fact that a British Christian can be and sometimes is illegally polygamous, does not stand in the way of his becoming a lord and sitting in the British House of Lords. There is no question of 'ethics' involved. Illegal polygamy is worse than legal polygamy—particularly so far as the female partners and their children are concerned. It is no loss, but a gain that Hindus and Moslems cannot become British lords.

### ***Home in Brazil for Assyrians***

A *Reuter's* telegram, dated London, January 19, 1934, runs as follows :

The Council of the League at Geneva discussed the Assyrian question at some length this afternoon. Sir John Simon expressed thanks of the Council to Brazil for the offer to settle on agricultural land in Brazilian territory the whole of Assyrians in Iraq, numbering about 10,000 persons.

Sir John Simon said that it was the first time in history that an entire people emigrated to another part of the world and he emphasized the successful outcome of the League's efforts to get this problem settled.

Special committees have been set up, one in Iraq and one in Brazil, to investigate the methods of migration and the most suitable territory. To meet the costs of the enquiry 20,000 Swiss francs have been voted.

Sir John Simon is literally correct in his statement. For it is difficult to say whether the Assyrians, whose religion is not mentioned, are leaving their hearths and homes of their own accord or are doing so because they find it impossible to live in Iraq peacefully, honourably and safely in the midst of their Moslem compatriots, who are in an overwhelming majority.

History does record other mass transfers of people. For example, in 1755 some six thousands French inhabitants of Nova Scotia were deported and dispersed by the victorious English. Readers of Longfellow's *Evangeline* should know the details. Again, as one of the results of the last great war, Greek inhabitants in Turkish territory were transferred to Greek territory. The South African Union would fain expel Indians from South Africa.

The history of this emigration of the Assyrians, who are among the remnants of one of the most ancient civilized peoples of the earth, to the antipodes, is to be found briefly stated in the last three issues of *News for Overseas* published by the League of Nations. In August 1933 we read in the papers of the massacre of considerable numbers of Assyrians in Iraq. In consequence of this event, the Council of the League endeavoured to find means of resettling in some other country the members of the Assyrian minority in Iraq and set up a committee for this purpose.

This decision was taken after a discussion of the petition from Mar Shimun, the Patriarch of the Assyrians, which had been brought before the Council by its Minorities Committee (consisting of the representatives of Mexico, the Irish Free State and Norway). The Council also had before it the Iraqi Government's observations on these petitions.

The report adopted by the Council and drawn up by the representative of Spain says that :

"The petitions contain information relating to events which took place last August in the Mosul area, when, it is asserted, some of the Assyrian population suffered treatment which, if these reports should prove correct, the Council could not hesitate to condemn. The Iraqi Government, on the other hand, alleges that the events complained of by the petitioner were consequent upon measures it was obliged to take to put down an armed rising of Assyrian rebels, in which, it suggests, the petitioner himself was not wholly unconcerned, and such an attitude on the part of members of the minority would also, of course, deserve energetic condemnation by the Council. It should also be observed that, until these events took place, the Iraqi Government was carrying on in normal conditions the settlement of the Assyrians."

The Council expressed its regret at having to deal with a case such as this and took note of the assurances given by the representative of Iraq, Yassin Pacha al Hashin, to the effect that his Government were determined to do all in their power to prevent any repetition of such regrettable incidents. It thought no useful purpose would be served by instituting an enquiry, and still less by merely making recommendations to the Iraqi Government. One of the greatest difficulties of the question was that part of the Assyrian population of Iraq would prefer to leave the country if it were given the indispensable facilities and reasonable guarantees that its departure, and especially its resettlement in a country not necessarily adjacent to Iraq, would be effected under completely satisfactory conditions. The Iraqi Government, for its part, had declared itself willing to contribute as generously as its resources permitted to facilitate the settlement outside Iraq of the Assyrians who wished to leave. It had asked the assistance of the League in finding lands for settlement.

When this decision came before the League Council, the representative of Iraq said that the

investigations carried out by his Government had shown that, in the heat of action and in the course of the subsequent pursuit, some elements of the army had acted with excessive severity and certain tribesmen had raided the abandoned villages. There had been innocent victims. The Iraqi Government did not wish to conceal the fact that excesses had been committed, and sincerely deplored them. It thought the only solution, in view of the attitude of the Assyrian minority, was that those elements of the minority who were taking part in or had been influenced by the recent rising should be settled outside Iraq. He deplored the fact that the situation was such as to permit of no other solution.

Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, said:

It was a profound disappointment that the Council, which had discussed the question of the Assyrian minorities in December 1932, should so soon after have to take it up again in such circumstances. The Iraqi representative had admitted at the Council table that certain parts of the Assyrian population had been treated last

August in a way that deserved the severest condemnation. It was true that the documents submitted to the Council showed that a substantial part of the Assyrian population had acted in a reprehensible manner toward the Iraqi Government, but this fact could not be considered to justify the excesses that had been committed. But the Council should look to the future and not to the past. He was in favour of the proposals contained in the Council report.

The French representative, M. Paul-Boncour, was also in favour of the Committee's recommendations and said that conversations were already going on between the Iraqi and the Syrian Governments with a view to settling a certain proportion of the Assyrian refugees. But, unhappily, the power of Syria to absorb immigrants was strictly limited, and the solution could not be reached unless it were possible to settle the Assyrians in countries other than those bordering on Iraq.

In accordance with the Council report, a Committee was set up consisting of M. de Madariaga, Chairman (Spain), and the representatives of Denmark, France, Italy, Mexico and the United Kingdom. Its task is to take, in close co-operation with the Iraqi Government, all such steps as it may think fit to prepare and execute a detailed scheme for settlement outside Iraq of such Assyrians as may express the desire to leave the country. The report stipulates that the Assyrians who remain in Iraq must be regarded as a minority to which the Iraqi declaration would be applicable, guaranteeing full equality before the law, all civic rights and liberties and full cultural and religious freedom. The report also points out that the Assyrians would be bound by the obligations of loyalty to the Iraqi State incumbent upon all citizens of a country.

The Council asked that, in view of the profound anxiety caused by recent events, the Iraqi Government would be good enough to keep its Committee regularly informed, until such time as the expatriation of the Assyrians had been completed, of the measures taken to ensure the safety of the Assyrians in Iraq, to assist the families left destitute in consequence of the events of last August, and to rebuild the villages which had been wholly or partly destroyed at that time.

The Iraqi Government undertook to do all in its power to facilitate the departure of dissatisfied Assyrians and to help the League in carrying out its tasks.

It may be that when the Assyrian emigrants have settled in Brazil, they will lose their individuality, and all trace of this ancient people, who have existed as a distinct entity for so many millenniums, will be lost.

It is a great historical tragedy. But it is better to emigrate in peace than to be exterminated.

### *The Hindu Mahasabha and the League of Nations*

Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji of the Lucknow University has issued the following statement to the Press:

"The League of Nation's reply to the Ajmer Hindu Mahasabha resolution has been misunderstood by people. It merely states that the League's resolution on minorities does not confer any powers on the League to enforce it. But the League has unanimously and, with India voting for it, re-affirmed that resolution, which was originally passed in 1922. It was re-affirmed in 1933 in October, the very month when the Mahasabha adopted its resolution at Ajmer.

"The League's resolution expects every member to observe the principle of minority protection, as established in the minorities treaties, in the treatment of its respective minorities. The Mahasabha's simple point is that those principles are grossly violated in the Government's communal award. Even the state of Iraq declared for those principles the other day in gaining admission to the League.

"If the League's principles are found to be too high for India, the more honourable course for her will be to resign her membership of the League as being too heavy a cultural burden for her, and to part company with the society of civilized nations. India today, alone among 55 States-members of the League, is flouting the League's decision on minority protection and the minorities treaties, of which she is herself one of the authors, instead of upholding the authority of the League as one of the original members."

"The Mahasabha proposes to submit a last appeal on the subject to His Majesty's Government and to its many ministers who are League-minded and warm supporters of the League."

*The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay observes :

The Mahasabha need not be sorry. Though the League under its constitution cannot deal with the question at its formal sessions, the members unofficially have been made aware of its views. Some one asked the late Mr. Ranade why he took so much pains over representations and memorials, knowing full well that none of them will have any effect on the powers that be. Ranade replied that he had no illusions in the matter, but that his object in drafting these model documents was to educate his countrymen and to train the public to deal with administrative questions. The Hindu Mahasabha has cast its bread on the waters and may console itself with the hope that it will find it after many days.

### ***"The Communal Decision and the Poona Pact": An Unauthorized Manifesto***

We left Calcutta on the 25th December last and returned on the 15th January. On our return we found on our office table some copies of a printed document with the title, "The Communal Decision and the Poona Pact: A Manifesto." It is not stated therein who has issued it, but it is printed at Sree Saraswaty Press, Ltd., Calcutta. It purports to have been signed by 28 persons, one of

whom is the editor of this review. As he never signed any such manifesto, we must treat it as an unauthorized document which need not be discussed.

### ***Alleged Excesses in Midnapore District***

The following resolution was passed at a crowded meeting of the citizens of Calcutta held in Albert Hall on January 17 under the presidency of Mr. A. K. Fuzlul Huq, an ex-Minister :

"This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta feels staggered at the reports relating to the flogging of persons, destruction of property, forcing villagers to salute the Union Jack, and other excesses, alleged to have been committed upon peaceful people in connection with the Route Marches of Troops in the Sub-division of Contai and elsewhere in Midnapore, and enters its emphatic protest against the short-sighted policy of repression, which is not only uncalled for but is also inexpedient.

"This meeting further resolves to form a committee of the following persons with a view to explore the means of remedy and the measures of securing redresses to the aggrieved people in the affected areas :- Messrs. Fuzlul Huq, J. N. Basu, B. N. Sasmal, J. C. Gupta, B. K. Basu, Satyananda Bose and P. Banerjee with powers to co-opt."

In the course of his presidential address, Mr. Fuzlul Huq said that he consented to preside over this meeting,

because I feel, and feel very strongly, that as discussion of these affairs vitally affects members of the Hindu community of Midnapore exclusively, it is very fitting and proper that one of my community should come forward to associate himself with you in order to make it clear to the Government and the officials that although the oppression or excesses, whatever they might have been, had been directed against a particular community, the other communities also have got the fullest sympathy with the victims of these excesses or oppression, and that in a moment like this the Mahomedan community is perfectly prepared to stand side by side with you.

"Let it not be supposed that on an occasion like this the Hindu community is absolutely isolated. You are not, my dear friends. If you take upon yourselves a particular course of conduct, if you think a particular measure is necessary to voice your protest, you have behind you not merely 22 millions of Hindus but also 29 millions of Mahomedans . . .

"Gentlemen, I feel strongly that the course of conduct that the Government has adopted with reference to these happenings at Midnapore is absolutely a move in the wrong direction."

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee read out certain letters in which police excesses had been alleged. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who

was present at the meeting, said in the course of his speech :

Although he was speaking as an individual he believed that he was representing the feelings of other provinces, especially the feelings of his colleagues in the United Provinces, when he said that other provinces of India were keenly feeling the misfortunes that had overtaken Bengal.

### *Number of Bengal Detenus and Internees*

During interpellations in the Bengal Council on Monday the Home Member (Mr. R. N. Reid) said that the total number of internees and detenus was 1,749.

In reply to Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri, the Home Member gave the following figures of detenus :

Number in Detention Camps	766
Number in Jails (including Dooli Detention Jail) under section 2 (1) of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act	625
Number interned in villages	255
Number interned at home	104

Total 1,749

Following the suggestion of Rai S. K. Das Bahadur that with a view to effect economy, the number of village internees might be reduced with a corresponding increase in the number of home internees, the Home Member said that the question being one of public interests and public safety was to be decided by the Government and he was not in a position to give a considered answer at this stage.

He also declined to give the amount of allowances the detenus receive.

It has to be noted that all these persons have been deprived of their liberty without trial, on the suspicion of the police.

### *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Rammohun Roy*

During his recent visit to Calcutta Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was given an address of welcome on behalf of the Students' Rammohun Centenary Exhibition Committee. He made a speech in reply, in the course of which he said among other things :

"I was a school boy in England when we used to read the doings in Bengal. I well remember how I used to be fired up by those acts. Before the national movement grew strong and included all India it was Bengal that really stood for Indian nationalism and Indian freedom."

Addressing the students the Pandit said : "It is you who will form the coming generation. You will function in the public activities. Todays are rapidly merged into yesterdays. Tomorrows are yours. Therefore it is for you to think and

make up your mind what that tomorrow is going to be. Bengal has never had to bear a crisis as it has today. But, as a matter of fact, the crisis is not Bengal's monopoly. It has faced all India. It has faced the whole world. Bengal, however, during the last two or three years, had to bear a larger share of the burden. The only other province that might be compared with it in that respect was the North-Western Frontier Province, which had to bear a terrible burden.

Regarding the object of his visit in the exhibition he said, "I have come here partly because it is always a great pleasure to me to meet young men and partly to pay my tribute of respect to him in whose name you are holding the celebration." He was in favour of occupying himself with what he termed aggressive political activities rather than with other activities which, though undoubtedly important, was not the need of the hour. He thought he should not associate himself with what he considered as a side-issue of the moment.

He advocated the use of 'Swadeshi' articles and exhorted everyone to take up its constructive side. But, Panditji added, no reforms, economic, moral or psychological, could take root until the fundamental problem of the freedom of the country is solved.

Pandit Jawaharlal feelingly referred to the "contribution of Raja Rammohun Roy towards India's uplift."

He came at a time when India was in a ferment. It was extremely difficult to get out of the old ruts and it required remarkable wisdom and courage. The Raja possessed that courage and wisdom. "Raja Rammohun Roy," asserted Panditji, "was a rebel. He was no doubt in good terms with the British authorities; and yet, in spite of that, he was fundamentally a rebel. He saw the change coming and did not submit to the conditions simply because they managed to exist. Romain Rolland, the great French savant had said 'thought, if not put into action is abortion.' The Raja translated into action what he thought in his life.

### *Academic Conference of Bengalis Residing Outside Bengal*

A Gorakhpur correspondent of *The Leader* wrote to it :

Gorakhpur, Dec. 29.

The 11th session of the All-India Bengali Literary Conference was held under the presidency of Mr. A. P. Sen, Bar-at-law, Lucknow.

There were in all eleven sectional sittings with the following as the presiding chairmen over the respective deliberations :—History : Prof. Surendra Nath Bhattacharya (Benares); Greater Bengal : Dr. Prasannakumar Acharya (Allahabad); Literature : Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhusan (Benares); Philosophy : Prof. C. C. Mitra (Delhi); Music : Babu Dwijendranath Sanyal (Lucknow); Pedagogy : Prof. Devnarain Mukherjee (Agra); Journalism : Babu Ramananda Chatterjee (Calcutta); Art : Babu Kusolkumar Mukherjee (Jaipur); Science :

Dr. H. P. Sen (Cawnpore); Economics and Sociology : Prof. Jogeshechandra Mitra (Calcutta).

There was also a special sitting of the women's section, presided over by Shrimati Nistarini Devi Saraswati (Benares).

About 100 delegates from all over India attended the conference. Prominent among the distinguished visitors were :- The Hon. Mr. Justice Sir Lal Gopal Mukherjee, from Allahabad, Shrimati Anurupa Devi and Sjt. Kedarnath Banerjee of noted literary fame from Muzaffarpur and Benares respectively.

The management was in the hands of the reception committee of which Mr. C. C. Das was chairman and Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterjee, honorary secretary. There was also a corps of volunteers which included 50 boys and 20 girls, who looked after the comforts of the delegates and the visitors.

### *All-India Oriental Conference*

About 500 members and delegates assembled in Baroda from different parts of India to attend the seventh session of the All-India Oriental Conference held there. It was a complete success. Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, the distinguished Indologist, presided over the session and delivered an interesting and stimulating address.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharani Sahiba attended the various sectional meetings on all the days. The scholars and authorities were greatly impressed by the Maharaja's familiarity with several abstruse and difficult topics.

The President conveyed the general view of the scholars that the Baroda session was unique in itself and a landmark in the history of the All-India Oriental Conference. "The arrangements made by the State and honorary workers," said Mr. Jayaswal, "will be long remembered. The invitation of the Hindu University of Benares for holding the next session has been accepted."

Mr. Jayaswal and others expressed satisfaction for the beautiful art-collection of the Hon. Col. Wier. One of the remarkable results attained by the Conference is the general view that the limits of Ancient Indian History must shift back by centuries, and that the time was ripe for undertaking the task by Indian scholars.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda gave a garden party to the visitors.

Dr. P. C. Bagchi, delivered a very interesting lecture on "Cultural relations of India with Central Asia," illustrating various relations with lantern slides.

In short, the conference did most useful work on a constructive basis. His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda gave an inspiring impetus to the whole session by taking a very keen and sincere interest in all its activities. Baroda has enhanced the importance of original oriental research.

The food exhibition was inaugurated by H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, and people were taking keen interest in looking at the various items, and especially the products of "Soya Bean."

### *Chittagong Magistrate's Drastring Orders*

An Englishman's house is said to be his castle. On reading the orders printed below people might think that a Chittagonian's house was his prison.

Chittagong, Jan. 18.

The District Magistrate has issued an order directing all Hindu "Bhadralok" males in eight thanas adjoining the Kotwali of Chittagong up to the age of 25 to remain indoors for one week.

Another order prohibits (a) for 48 hours the running of trains on the main line to and from Chittagong with the exception of the Calcutta Mail and Assam Mail. These trains are not to stop at any place within the District to pick up or set down passengers, except at Chittagong. (b) prohibits for 48 hours on Chittagong-Nazirhat line trains except 47 Up and 42 down from stopping at any place between Chittagong and Hathazari. (c) prohibits for 48 hours on Chittagong-Dobazari line trains except 55 Up and 52 Down from stopping anywhere between Pativa and Chittagong. A third order prohibits for 48 hours the Barisal and Coxbazar steamers from taking up or setting down passengers until they passed the outer bar at Chittagong fort entrance.

The fourth order prohibits for 48 hours the plying of passenger launches on Karnafuli river.

The fifth order directs all the courts and offices under the control of the District Magistrate of Chittagong to be closed for 48 hours.

The sixth order prohibits for 48 hours motor traffic on Juharhta-Chittagong-Dacca road and Sholasahar crossing on Chittagong-Mathazari road.

The orders were enforced from 10 this morning.—A. P. I.

Chittagong, Jan. 26.

It is understood that the District Magistrate's notice ordering home internment for one month from January 25 has already been served on 300 persons, including 100 students of the Chittagong College.

Armed pickets still continue to guard street crossings.—"Associated Press."

In a recent speech of his the Viceroy has declared that all the resources of the Government would be used to crush terrorism. Such declarations, taken with orders like those printed above, might give those who do not know the facts, the exaggerated impression that large areas in India were up in arms against the British raj.

Village homes and small-town homes in Bengal in numerous cases, perhaps in most cases, are not self-contained as regards water-supply, bath-rooms and privies.

People have to resort to rivers and tanks and fields for various essentially necessary purposes. When this is borne in mind, the

extreme hardship of being compelled to live indoors for a week at a stretch will be easily understood. There are many homes where the bread-winners and the purchasers of food and other supplies from the market are young men up to the age of 25. These homes, too, will be very seriously inconvenienced by the Magistrate's orders. It should be noted that almost all, if not all, the persons who are being put to trouble are perfectly innocent. Yet the Magistrate appears to think that, in order to fight terrorism and to prevent the terrorists from getting new recruits, it is indispensably necessary to pass orders which cannot but have the effect of irritating large numbers of innocent persons and inducing in them a mood of desperation.

### *Science Congress at Bombay*

According to *The Bombay Sentinel*,

A striking discourse lasting for 90 minutes on the riddle of the universe was delivered by the President, to eminent scientists and scholars of India gathered at the 21st Indian Science Congress which was inaugurated by the Governor of Bombay at the University Convocation Hall on Tuesday afternoon.

Prof. Meghnad Saha, President of the Congress, said that it was impossible to have a complete grasp of the cosmological problems, unless one had some idea of the geography of the universe about us. "Travel with me through space," he said, "with the velocity of light and survey the heavens."

"In a second and a half, the moon is reached which is the nearest neighbour, in eight minutes the sun is passed, which is the source of light and life to us, then in a few hours' time, the last neighbour in the solar system Pluto is left behind and for four years we shall wobble in dust and cosmic radiation."

"From thence it takes eight years to make the acquaintance of Sirius, the wonderful companion of the heavens whose bright brilliancy twenty-nine times the light of the sun—has given rise to innumerable stories and myths in the minds of all nations from the times of the Egyptians. A 135 years' cruise through the rich fields of luminaries and then a time may come when we shall reach the limit of the universe; then nothing but void will remain."

The same paper observes :

The presidential address was an eloquent plea for a closer co-operation between the workers of the scientific services of the Government and professors in universities. He urged that the State must awaken to the need for a proper organization of the scientific brains and pointed out that in other countries the co-operation was so complete that it was not unusual to find universities and services very often exchanging their workers to the mutual advantages of both. Here in India he failed to see that co-operation.

He suggested the formation of an Indian Academy of Science for the proper control and direction of scientific research in this country.

Elsewhere in this issue of *The Modern Review* we print an article on the proposed Indian Academy of Science.



Dr. Meghnath Saha

The following passage in Dr. Saha's address has been criticized in some quarters as being utopian and unpractical :

Owing to improved methods of communication and to much better contact between different parts of the world, the world is fast becoming one economic and cultural unit. But the politicians still persist in their Olympian attitudes.

Economic and scientific studies show that the world has resources enough for her whole population and if there be a rational programme of production and a programme of judicious and equitable distribution, nobody should suffer from

hunger and privation and everybody can afford to have much better amenities of life. But for this purpose rivalry amongst nations and communities should give way to co-operative construction and the politicians should hand over many of their functions to an international board of trained scientific industrialists and the distribution should be supervised by economists. The eugenists should devise means for assigning a fixed quota of population to each geographical unit, which it should not be allowed to exceed. The joy of life for the grown-up men will be provided not in designing means for the plunder or exploitation of our fellow men in various ways but in administering to their needs and in the free development and display of the finer faculties of mind.

These suggestive ideas have been criticized as unpractical and so on, as we have said above. But the idealism of all idealists, be they spiritual, moral, social, political or economic, appears to "practical" men, unpractical and utopian. Nevertheless, idealists must persist in disturbing our complacency.

Many interesting papers were read at the Congress. Some of those which seem to have awakened public interest were Prof. Dastur's address on the nature of living matter, Prof. Sisir Kumar Mitra's address on broadcasting as a means of education, Prof. A. C. Banerji's address on the expanding universe, Lt.-Col. S. S. Sokhey's address on the relation of research to teaching in medical schools, etc.

### *Asoka Pillar at Lumbini*

We took advantage of our recent visit to Gorakhpur to see the Asoka pillar at Lumbini (Lumbini), now called Rummin Dei, which marks the spot known as the birth-place of the Buddha. It is in the independent kingdom of Nepal. The pillar was set up by the Emperor Asoka about B. C. 249. According to Mr. Gokulchand Nogratha, assistant engineer in charge of archæological works in Nepal Terai, it measures 25 feet from the upper portion of the base to the top. "It tapers slightly with a circumference of about 8 ft. 8 in. round the base, 7 ft. 5 in. near the inscribed portion and about 6 ft. 6 in. at the top. "It is slightly leaning to the west at present, though it is not known since when it is so." It has a crack right down from the top straight to just below the inscription, but there is no trace of the same downwards. Mr. Nogratha told us that the crack might have been due to the monolith having been struck by lightning



Asoka Pillar at Lumbini. Editor of *The Modern Review* standing on one side.



General view of Lumbini

on some unknown date. The inscription has remained intact. It records the fact that Asoka visited and worshipped the spot in or after the 20th year of his reign and caused the



Sculpture within the temple representing Maya Devi, her sister and infant son, etc.



Temple of Maya Devi

pillar to be set up, because the Buddha was born here ("*hida Bhagavam jate-ti*").

Near the pillar is the temple of Maya Devi (Buddha's mother), containing her image in relief, holding the branch of a *Sal* tree, with the images of her sister and the child Buddha, etc.

### *Saroj Nalini Dutt Association*

The Saroj Nalini Dutt Association for women's welfare which held its annual meeting

last month, was founded by Mr. G. S. Dutt to perpetuate the memory of his departed wife, the late Srimati Saroj Nalini Dutt. According to an article in *Advance*,

The Association which started only with 7 or 8 Mahila Samitis can now boast of nearly 450 such Samitis which are rendering valuable work to better the economic condition of our womenfolk. The members of these Samitis number more than 10,000. The Mahila Samitis are purely women's organizations composed or managed entirely by women and they afford ample scope for bringing out and developing their spirit of social service and capacity for organization. The Association has introduced into the hitherto stagnant life of the women of Bengal a magnetic force which is galvanising them into activities for the acquisition of a knowledge of domestic science, hygiene, the science of maternity and child welfare and for receiving training in various cottage industries.



Srimati Hemlata Devi

One of the most brilliant achievements of the Association has been the establishment of an industrial school in 1925. It was started with only 30 girl students on the rolls and now it claims more than 200 women, nearly half of which are widows and married women. The school, which is located at 60B, Mirzapore Street, Calcutta, teaches sewing, cutting, embroidery, chikon work, lace making, carpet weaving, cane work, drawing, literary education and music. The school has also opened a class of general nursing under the



supervision of Dr. H. N. Ray, M.B. Dai training classes have been started in different districts in Bengal and several hundred professional dais and ladies have been trained and have been carrying on maternity work. Through the benefactions of the late Basanta Kumari Devi, wife of the late Sir Pratul Chatterjee, the Association has established the Basanta Kumari Bidhabasram at Puri where widows above the age of 16 are given an industrial and literary education under the supervision of Srimati Hemlata Tagore.

Srimati Hemlata Tagore is also one of the Secretaries of the Association and editor of its Bengali monthly organ "Bangalakshmi," and is usefully connected with some other philanthropic institutions.

### *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Work for "Old Ladies"*

We find from the papers that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has issued the following statement :

I find from some newspapers that I am supposed to have recommended social and village uplift work to my colleagues and that I myself propose to indulge in this activity. I have no such ambition, nor have my colleagues of the U. P. This kind of safe and pious activity can well be left to the old ladies. My colleagues and I work for the freedom of India and for ending all political and economic domination of Indian masses and we are prepared for the consequences of our action. We do not believe in safety-first.

If Pandit Jawaharlal had simply stated that his colleagues and he were working for the freedom of India and for ending all political and economic domination of the masses and not merely for social and village uplift, that, we think, would have quite sufficed to satisfy public curiosity regarding their plan of work. He need not have slightly referred to social and village uplift work as "safe and pious activity" fit for "old ladies." To be an unflinching fighter when fighting is necessary is praiseworthy, but uncalled-for combativeness is waste of energy and merely irritates.

For more than a quarter of a century Rabindranath Tagore has been so convinced of the vital necessity of village revivification that his Visvabharati has a rural reconstruction department. Social and village uplift work is included in the Congress constructive programme and has been and is being done by young ladies and old ladies as well as young gentlemen and old gentlemen. The sight of decaying villages all over India led Mahatma

Gandhi to declare that "to serve our villages is to establish *Swaraj*. Everything else is but an idle dream."

There are literally old ladies in Congress ranks who also "do not believe in safety first." They have gone to jail as civil resisters, some more than once.

It is not true, too, that social and village uplift work is safe. We do not refer merely to the fact that village workers in malarious or otherwise unhealthy areas may, and not unoften do, fall ill and become invalid ; we also refer to the fact that social and village uplift work is politically risky. For during Bengal's long period of tribulations many young men have been interned who incurred suspicion because of doing such work. Some of them fell seriously ill while under restraint or confinement as detenus or internees and a few have even died in consequence. Of course, they were deprived of their liberty ostensibly as actual or would-be revolutionaries. But they were never brought to trial, and nothing has ever been proved against them.

Social and village uplift work is necessary for winning freedom, though it may be indirectly, and should not, therefore, be referred to contemptuously. But even if such work were not of indirect use in the struggle for freedom, it ought to be done, because of its own intrinsic value and necessity. When India becomes politically free, our villages will become better places to live in from all points of view and society will also be more equitably and humanely organized and freed from many evils. But it is uncertain when the day of freedom will come. In the meantime, are our villages to continue for an indefinitely long period to be the undesirable places that they are ? And is society also to continue indefinitely to labour under various curses ? If not, then social and village uplift work is fit to be undertaken not only by "old ladies" but by others also.

We recognize that political freedom will lead to village uplift but village uplift alone will not lead to political freedom. It is also true that village uplift work and social reform and reconstruction cannot be done satisfactorily until and unless India is free. But that does not mean that such work cannot be done to some extent, or is unimportant or unnecessary.

### ***"Kulabhaskar Ashram" in Allahabad***

Munshi Kaliprasad, the founder of the Kayastha Pathshala in Allahabad, was honoured by the Kayastha fraternity by the title of "Kulabhaskar" ("Sun of the caste") being conferred on him. A students' hostel connected with the Kayastha Pathshala has been named "Kulabhaskar Ashram" after him. We had occasion to visit this hostel in October last year. It is meant for very poor self-supporting students. Two of the houses in which they live are mere huts with mud walls, mud floors and roofs covered with country tiles, like the dwellings of the poorest. The boys themselves repair and whitewash the houses when necessary. Their expenses are met from the income of a dairy and a kitchen garden, of which they do all the work themselves without the help of servants. They are inspired with an admirable spirit of self-help.

### ***M. C. C. Matches***

The English lady who met all the expenses of the last British expedition to conquer the heights of the Himalayas took the world into her confidence as to her motives in doing so. By the achievement of the British expedition she wanted to show the Indians who were struggling to throw off British domination that the Britisher still possesses indomitable courage, grit and endurance. Who knows whether the M. C. C. have not been touring India to give an exhibition of British superiority in another way?

It were much to be wished that Indians could similarly tour Britain to give a demonstration of their manhood by playing some national game of their own. But even in a game like hockey, which is an exotic, Indians have shown that they can beat all the world.

As for cricket, it was only the enterprise of the Maharajkumar of Vizianagram which has enabled an Indian team to prove once at least at Benares that it can stand up to the visitors, who have carried the day everywhere else.

Nobody will contend that the regeneration of India depends on her sons shining in cricket—*mens sana in corpore sano* is possible without it. But why cannot those in India who are born with a silver or a golden spoon in their mouths, who have enough of nourishing

food and plenty of leisure and can afford to keep trainers and who do nothing useful—why cannot they specialize in manly games and show the world that it is easy for Indians to excel in them? Big land-owning idlers all over India can render at least this service to their country.

### ***Mr. J. N. Basu's Presidential Address***

In his presidential address at the last session of the National Liberal Federation of India held at Madras, which was commendably brief, businesslike and to the point, Mr. J. N. Basu has shown that what the White Paper scheme offers is neither Dominion Status nor anything approaching it, that it is "over-weighted with a tendency to keep back the progressive elements in the State by giving power and prominence to elements that lag behind in experience of work for general welfare and progress in various spheres of life," and that it merely "attempts to tone down some of the aggressive features of an autocratic State." Says he:

The White Paper cannot be described as a document intended to bring about peace and contentment. It is aggressively reactionary in the matter of communal representation. It goes very much further than either the Minto-Morley scheme or the Montagu scheme in accentuating and elaborating separate communal electorates and seats in the legislatures. It sub-divides the Hindus. There is no recognized principle behind the scheme. What has been given to one community in one province has not been given to another community occupying the same position in another province. Instead of framing a constitution suitable for a modern government facing the future the White Paper seeks to drag us backward to earlier centuries.

### ***Resolutions of the National Liberal Federation of India***

The principal resolution or resolutions passed at the last session of the National Liberal Federation of India related to the White Paper scheme. Its criticism of that scheme is comprehensive and cogent. As pointed out by Mr. S. G. Vaze in *The Servant of India*, the Liberal Party's resolution goes much beyond the demand contained in the memoranda of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the British Indian "delegation" to the so-called Round Table Conference.

"For instance, the Liberal resolution lays down that 'no scheme of reforms can meet India's require-

ments or satisfy national aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full power and status of a Dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.' This is a very radical demand which neither Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru nor the British Indian delegation deemed it expedient to make. Perhaps they thought it rather extravagant to prefer such a demand. What the Liberal Party wants is not merely constitutional arrangements which, by their own momentum and in the natural course of development, will tend to bring about Swaraj at an early date, but an express provision in the constitution prescribing the establishment of Swaraj at a specified date, which must be sufficiently in the near future."

Mr. Vaze gives other examples also.

It must have been noted by everyone that the memoranda of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the British Indian delegation have alterations to suggest in the White Paper only in so far as it affects the British Government; they have none to suggest in so far as it affects the States. The Round Tablers say in effect: We accept the Princes' conditions, but we don't accept the British Government's. The Liberal Party repudiates this position. It sees grave danger in the attitude of the Princes as well as of the British Government. If we get the latter to relax or even eliminate all the safe-guards mentioned in the White Paper, even then the terms on which the Princes are willing to come into the federation will destroy both self-government and popular government. This is the plain meaning of the resolution the Liberal Federation has adopted. See how heavy are the demands it makes on the Princes. It asks that—

- (i) all the representatives of the States in the Assembly be elected members, indirect election being permitted in their case as a transitory measure for a fixed period;
- (ii) that fundamental rights of citizenship be guaranteed to the subjects of Indian States in the federal constitution;
- (iii) that the Crown's rights of paramountcy over the States be exercised by the Government of India as at present, and not by the Viceroy, as proposed in the White Paper;
- (iv) that, under suitable safe-guards, the federal legislature itself be given the power to amend the constitution, the consent of individual States not being required for such amendment to take effect in any constituent unit of federation.

### *An Attempt to Meet Criticism of Liberal Party's Position*

According to Mr. Vaze, the Liberal Party's resolution might or would be criticized as follows:

The resolution itself leaves very little to be desired. It embodies demands to which the most extreme politicians can subscribe with little scruple. But how are Liberals going to follow it out? What will they be doing to implement it? What in other words, are the sanctions which they will apply if the improvements which they recommend are not given effect to, as they themselves know and say will not be given effect to? And

what are these resolutions worth, if they have no force at the back of them?

His answer is:

The Liberal Party has no convincing reply to make to it. But this is not the fault of the Liberal Party, but the misfortune of every single party in the country. For the Liberal Party may address the same question to other parties including the Congress, and none of them will be able to return a satisfactory answer. The fact is that we are all in the depths of political depression and it will serve no useful purpose for one party to be twitting another with inactivity and impotence. The wiser course will be for all of us to put our special gifts in the common pool and thus help, each in its way, to fill the deficiencies of the other and make the country at least a little stronger than it would be with our isolated efforts in different and even opposite ways.

This reply is good so far as it goes. But it cannot conceal from public view the fact that the Congress cannot be charged with "inactivity" in the sense in which the Liberal Party has been inactive. Congress activity has involved much sacrifice and suffering; Liberal activity, if any, involved none. Congress will not work but will oppose any unsatisfactory constitution framed for India. The Liberals are expected to work any constitution, however unsatisfactory. We do not mean merely that they will enter the councils—some Congressmen may also do so to be in opposition to the Government; we mean also that the Liberal Party will supply men to hold office as Ministers, etc., in order to derive advantage, if any, including *personal* advantage, from even a very retrograde constitution.

Therefore there is an essential difference between Congress and Liberal principles and practice.

### *Mr. G. K. Devadhar's Presidential Address*

The revival of the annual session of the Indian National Social Conference in December last at Madras is a matter for congratulation—particularly as it could secure so able a person as Mr. G. K. Devadhar, who is both a thinker and a worker, to preside over its deliberations. In the course of his thoughtful address, he observed:

Social Reform so far in this country had naturally to direct its attack against the citadel of orthodoxy and conservatism in which all reactionary and one-sided factors of the so-called national advance remained perched but now, in my opinion, the time has arrived when social

reform could be freed from that narrow rut and placed on a wider and more constructive and less critical plane of social reconstruction in which several have been labouring without much moral support from the politicians. But luckily the spirit of the age and the shrinking of distances have caused even involuntary changes of heart and outlook, which would facilitate the work of amelioration of the society as a whole. In the past it was quite necessary to deal with elementary problems of social reform such as sea-voyage, women's education, abolition of caste, stopping of infant marriages, promotion of widow marriages, and of post-puberty marriages, and furthering the age of consent, intermarriage and even intermarriage, etc.

The bogey of untouchability and unapproachability still haunts us, but its days are numbered, as its foundations are unmistakably shaken by the most powerful influence of Mahatma Gandhi, whose work in this connection, I have always likened to that of a powerful and tremendous blast.

#### PROBLEMS OF WIDER AND BROADER SOCIAL REFORM

While, therefore, not neglecting work in these above-mentioned directions, we must now begin to concentrate our attention on problems that embrace wider fields and touch the bottom and the top of the society. The justification for such widening of the outlook of Social Reform work lies clearly in the imperative necessity of flowing with the world currents of the rapidly advancing tide of what we call civilization—not necessarily a disease according to Edward Carpenter.

He proceeded to dwell on the failure of science to supply guidance as to the principles, methods and lines of social advance, on social experiments, on women's problems, on the need of bringing politics and social reform in line, on the problem of caste and creed groups, on Japan's anti-caste noble action, on rural reconstruction, etc. Of Japan's noble action he said :

There was in Japan a class in existence called "Ita and Hinins" whose degraded social position was considered so low in their social polity that even a different set of numerals was used in counting that class corresponding to some such phenomenon in our part of the country in counting units of indigenous sports and games. But Japan woke up more than fifty years ago to this enormity of great scandal perpetrated on human nature and abolished all those barbarous distinctions among human beings by an edict in a moment. Cannot India do any such thing under the new Reforms now by state legislation ?

#### *Social Reform Legislation*

The resolutions passed at the last session of the Indian National Social Conference ranged over a large variety of subjects. They included untouchability, the temple-entry Bill, voluntary welfare work, social programmes, study of social science, age of

marriage, age of consent outside marriage to be raised to 18 years, unequal marriages, marriage expenses, widows' rights on re-marriage, woman's rights in property, Purdah, domestic science in women's colleges, suppression of immoral traffic, temperance, poverty and unemployment, vocational education, labour legislation, cruelty in the name of religion, divorce Bill, civil marriage Act, enforcement of Children Act, and birth control clinics.

#### *Indian Women's Conference*

At the All-India Women's Conference held in Calcutta last December Lady Abdul Qadir dwelt in her presidential address at some length on the unsuitability of the present system of education to the needs of women. She urged that the education that is to be imparted to Indian girls should be such as will fit them for their duties as wives and mothers, besides giving them some general knowledge which would widen their vision. That is true. But it is to be hoped that it will never be lost sight of that women like men are also citizens and members of society who require a liberal education.

The Conference did well to pass a resolution asking that every child should be guaranteed free primary education as a matter of right and that compulsory physical training by qualified instructors be provided for all children from the primary stage onwards. Other resolutions related to labour legislation, factory labour, maternity benefits, minimum age of employment in factories, unemployment, child marriage, indigenous industries, beggar problem, women's franchise, legal rights of women, immoral traffic, untouchability, birth control, capital punishment, rural uplift, and the Indian Women's University.

It is noteworthy that the leaders of the Indian Women's Association have all along clearly demanded a system of joint electorates at their annual conferences and in their representations to the Government and to the Lothian and Joint Select Committees.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Indian Women's Conference did not discuss and pass a resolution on crimes against women, though urged to do so. It is not a communal

question. For both Hindu and Muslim girls and women require protection from scoundrels, who, whatever their names may indicate, are miscreants of whom all religious communities have reason to be ashamed. It is some consolation that the Bengal branch of the Indian Women's Association has taken up the question.

### *The late Prof. Chabiani*

The death at a comparatively early age of Prof. Chabiani of the Delhi University has deprived Sindh of one of her ablest and most brilliant public men. He was a scholarly economist who had rendered signal service as head of the Indian economics department and the first secretary and organizer of the Board of Secondary Education. He was throughout consistently opposed to the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency and had all the facts, figures and arguments against such separation at his finger-tips. He was an able and eloquent advocate of the causes he took up and was always calm and self-possessed, never losing self-control in spite of causes of irritation and excitement. His death at this juncture is a great blow to Sindh—particularly to the Hindus of that region.

### *Untouchability in India and South Africa*

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, practically the Government of India's envoy to South Africa, has told the white ruling people of that Dominion some home truths, however unpleasant they may be to them. According to *Indian Opinion*, published in that country, he recently observed in the course of an address on "Untouchability" delivered to the Wesley Guild in the Wesleyan Church Hall, Boksburg:

"We Indians form one per cent of the total population of the Transvaal and you speak of us as a 'menace.' How can one person in a hundred be a menace? You say that the Indian is a trader. Of course he is. What else can he be? He cannot be an engine driver, or own land as he can in his own country. There is no country in the world—and I have travelled myself in over 30—where there are so many restrictions against Indians as this great country of yours."

After explaining the untouchability

question in India and the great strides made within the last few months in abolishing the evil by the great reform work done by Mahatma Gandhi, the Kunwar went on to say:

"We are doing something for our untouchables, and the work which is being done in India will never go back. The reforms being carried out can never be negated in the future. But what about untouchability in this country? In India, untouchability has a religious sanction, and you know how difficult it is to remove anything with religious sanction.

"But what have you done in your enlightened and progressive country, for it is truly progressive? I believe I have many sympathizers in this country but they keep their sympathy hidden. I need open sympathizers. You are too timid, you have to take a little more action, a little more courage and you will find that what was bitter is sweet and what was sweet bitter.

"Teach your children not to despise people because they are five shades darker in colour. Everyone of the religious teachers of the world were men with dark skins, Moses, Jesus Christ—I have seen and known the classes from which they were born—Buddha, Confucius, who has many millions of followers in China. What was his colour and what the shape of his eyes? Mahomed and all the great religious teachers were Asiatics, and forgive me if I say it—were born and lived among the dark-skinned nations, the Asiatics.

"How can you say that progress or culture depends on the colour of a man's hair or how his eyes slant? I do not know if there are any Municipal Councillors here to-night, but I would ask them to spend a few hundred pounds—no one gives more than a hundred pounds or so to the Asiatic—on the improvement of the Asiatic bazaars. We have some very decent fellows living in them. All Indians are not bad lots. And let us do something to help this untouchability in our midst."

### *Russian Winner of Nobel Prize in Literature*

According to the *American Tribune*, although the 700,000 francs which the Nobel literature prize brings him is no small addition to his resources, Ivan Bunin, Russian writer whose works have been translated into almost all European languages, does not intend to make any changes in his manner of living. He will continue to reside at his Villa Belvedere in Grasse, surrounded by the little coterie of disciples who have joined him in this sunny city on the French Riviera.

In spite of the unexpectedness of the announcement Bunin has said candidly that it was not a surprise, since he knew that he was being considered, but since it was the first time a Russian had ever won the award he considered it a particular honour.

"I think the prize was awarded to me particularly for my latest book, *The Life of Arseniev*, which has been translated into Swedish," Bunin said.

Ivan Bunin, who was born at Voronezh in 1870, is known in England for translations of his novels "The Gentleman from San Francisco," "The Well of Days," and "The Village," and of his short stories. His work is notable, in the case of "The Gentleman from San Francisco," for its indictment of modern civilization; and in the case of other works for what he himself has called a depiction of "the Russian character without adornment, the Russian soul, its peculiar complexity, its depths, both bright and dark, though almost invariably tragic." Since the Bolshevik Revolution he has lived in exile.

### *Nobel Prize in Physics*

The 1933 Nobel Prize in Physics has been awarded jointly to Professor P. H. M. Dirac, of Cambridge, and Professor Erwin Schrödinger, of Magdalen College, Oxford, for having furthered a new and fruitful development of the atom theory.

The prize for physics for 1932, not hitherto awarded, was given to Professor W. Heisenberg, of Leipzig, for his discovery of allotropic forms of hydrogen. The prize for chemistry for 1933 was reserved.

### *Nobel Prize in Medicine*

Dr. Thomas Hunt Morgan of the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena has been awarded the Nobel Prize in Medicine. He is the first to receive the award in medicine who is not a physician. He is a Professor of Biology and is reputed to know more about what makes the human body tick and how it got that way than any other living researcher. Like all of the really great, Dr. Morgan is modest.

Among notable achievements of Dr. Morgan and his associates recently was the compilation of a chart that sheds new light on the exact locations in the germ cells of the hundreds of microscopic units, or genes, reactions of which determine an individual organism's inherited characteristics. A possibly fantastic dream of science is that this and similar discoveries some day may give man power to control heredity at will by altering certain genes by treating them with X-ray beams.

That scientists are now approaching the era in which humans may be able to lift them-

selves to a higher plane "by their own bootstraps" is revealed in recent comments and addresses by Dr. Morgan.

### *Great Japanese Endowment for Scientific Research*

In announcing the gift of 30,000,000 yen (£3,000,000 at par) to establish a foundation for public purposes the Mitsui family state that cultural and welfare institutions in town and country are to be supported, but the first place is to be given to scientific research and technical experiment.

The Mitsui family, the wealthiest in Japan, are the owners, after three centuries of trade, of one of the largest business aggregations in the world, including trading, banking, mining, and insurance corporations. The object, according to Seishin Ikeda, the present managing director, is to develop essential industries, such as aeronautics, where private enterprise is insufficient.

### *A Foreign Tribute to Rammohun Roy*

We print below the greater part of a letter on what the followers' of Rammohun Roy are doing in India, which recently appeared in *The Manchester Guardian*.

To the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Sir,—It is surprising that your correspondents who have lived in India seem to know so little of Rammohun Roy and the Brahmo Samaj (Society of God), which he founded more than a hundred years ago. The centenary of his death has recently been celebrated in all parts of India, and he is universally honoured as the Father of Modern India.

A few years ago I visited twenty-two of the centres (founded by his followers) which exist in all parts of India. In Lahore a conference on social questions would have given points to many such held in England by the enlightened views expressed. In Indore the up-to-date High School for Girls, organized by the Director of Education for the State, was doing remarkable work. In Cocanada orphanages and Rajamundry Homes for Widows (those unfortunate creatures cast out by their orthodox relatives) were doing a truly Christian work; in Pithapuram was a hospital for women, supported by the Rajah and staffed by Canadian medical women; in Bengal the fine work done in the villages by the school and college founded by Rabindranath Tagore. In Darjeeling are Girl Guides and an up-to-date High School; in Calcutta a Home for Destitute women and a most remarkable Social Service League, whose teaching by posters and diagrams might well be imitated by us for the ignorant voters in our large towns. All this work and

much more is initiated and supported by members of the Brahmo Samaj.

Highly educated and enlightened men and women free from all restraints of caste and creed and working only for the uplift of their fellows should not be ignored by those who desire the best for India and for the British Commonwealth; but, alas! there is so much British racial and caste prejudice.

It is so true what Mr. Nevinson said in his article of the civil servants' "un-selfish consideration of the people's welfare, as they understand it." Alas! they understand so little and ignore the best work that is being done in India by educated Indians themselves. - Yours, &c.,

ANNIE BEARD WOODHOUSE.

25, Broadway, Withington,  
Manchester, December 3.

### *Hindu Mahasabha's Reply to League of Nations' Letter*

The following is the full text of the letter sent from the Hindu Mahasabha head office to the League of Nations, Geneva, in reply to their letter of the 1st December, 1933 :

I have the honour to acknowledge your esteemed letter No. 1-2216-2216, dated the 1st December, '33, (together with annexed documents) and am directed to reply as follows :

The Hindu Mahasabha acknowledges the courtesy of your letter and the consideration you have bestowed on its communication to you. It is fully acquainted with the fact that the League is not empowered to enforce the Minorities Treaties and Stipulations except against those States who have signed them.

But the point of the Mahasabha is that though India is one of the originators and authors of the Minorities Treaties, the British Government of India is itself violating the principles of those Treaties in the treatment of Indian Minorities in a manner which is subversive of the State itself and of its solidarity. The British Government's scheme for the protection of Minorities in India seeks to protect them by means of Separate Electorate and Representation, and in some cases even by giving them, at the expense of the majority community, a weightage of representation out of proportion to the natural weight in number or influence of the Minority concerned. There is even a proposal to protect a favoured Majority by establishing for it a statutory majority in the Legislature. You will agree that if this system of Minority Protection finds its way into Europe, it may lead to a serious conflict between its more militant communities with all its evil consequences and ultimately to a general war which the

Minorities Treaties were framed to prevent. It is because the system is a menace to Peace that the Hindu Mahasabha invoked Article XI of the League Covenant in its letter under reference.

Again, although India was a party to it and had voted for it, the British Government in India is flouting the special Resolution meant for the non-signatory members of the League which, as you point out, was first passed in the Assembly of 1922 and re-affirmed in that of 1933. This is showing scant courtesy to the League and its work and the ideals it stands for, on the part of a great State which is an original member and one of the founders of the League itself, and as such is expected to be the custodian of its authority and prestige. No member of the League can deny the moral obligations which the Resolution in question was adopted and repeated to establish and emphasize. Mr. Arthur Henderson, presiding at the League Council meeting of January, 1931, went so far as to declare that "This system of the protection of Minorities was now a part of the public law of Europe and of the World."

The object of the reference of this matter to you by the Hindu Mahasabha was to seek your good offices in suggesting or securing ways and means by which it may be brought up for discussion by the League Council. Such a discussion, the Mahasabha trusts, will not be discouraged by those British statesmen who represent the Government of the United Kingdom on the League and are sufficiently League-minded to lead one to expect that they will recommend the adherence to the aforesaid Resolution by the Government of India, which is subordinate to that Government.

I am to add that the Mahasabha will be glad to send a delegation to confer with you informally and quite un-officially on the whole subject sometime in summer.

I am directed to submit to you a few brochures issued on the subject by Doctor Radhakumud Mukerji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History at the University of Lucknow, and one of our Vice-Presidents, and other literature of the Hindu Mahasabha on the subject, which is being forwarded by the ordinary mail.

The Mahasabha confidently hopes that you will give this matter the consideration it deserves.

Thanking you again for the courtesy and fulness of your reply,

Yours faithfully, etc.  
GANPAT RAI, B.A., LL.B.,  
Hon. Secretary.

### *Bill for Fighting Terrorism in Bengal*

Before these lines meet the eyes of the reader a Bill will have been officially introduced in the Bengal Council the statement of whose objects and reasons says: "The Bill seeks to supplement the existing criminal law so as to enable the local Government to grapple more effectively with the terrorist movement." This is what has appeared in the daily papers. The Bill with the statement of its objects and reasons, as officially published, is not before us. But even if it were, it would be futile to criticize it in great detail, if the object of such criticism were to influence the Government. It appears from what has been published in the papers that

Clause 3 of the Bill proposes to inflict death sentences for manufacture, possession or sale of arms ammunition or military stores but this will be confined to offences committed in circumstances indicating that the offenders intended to use the arms for the commission of murder or abetment or knew it likely that the arms would be so used. The necessity for this provision will be found in the fact that several cases of use of country-made arms by terrorists have recently come to the notice of Government.

On whom will lie the burden of proof of intention and likelihood?

There is a widespread movement in the civilized world for the abolition of capital punishment even in cases where murder has been actually committed. But in Bengal death penalty is going to be provided even when murder has not been committed or attempted, on the ground of "intention to murder;" which is difficult to prove, or of knowledge of likelihood of murderous use!

It is stated that the necessity for this provision will be found in the fact that *several* cases of use of *country-made* arms by terrorists have recently come to the notice of Government. Were such arms used for committing murder? Was murder actually committed? Is the illicit use or possession of *country-made* arms a more heinous offence than the illicit use or possession of foreign-made arms? It may be argued that if the illicit manufacture of arms in India and their subsequent unlawful use be not stopped by drastic punishment, such malpractice will increase. But country-made arms are not more destructive than arms made abroad. So, it is not clear why the use of foreign arms by

terrorists in *many* cases did not necessitate the provision of the death penalty, whereas the use of country-made arms in *several* cases proves the necessity for the provision of such penalty. The illicit manufacture and use of country-made arms and the illicit smuggling and use of foreign arms should have been treated alike.

The Bill seeks to make the existing temporary Criminal Law Amendment Acts of 1925 and 1930 permanent, as in the opinion of the Government "Terrorist Conspiracy has unfortunately gone past the stage when it can be regarded as an ephemeral movement, and temporary legislation keeps alive the hope in the minds of those concerned in the revolutionary conspiracy that Government will before long be deprived of the power to continue against them the special measures which they from time to time put in force."

Severe punishment is provided in the *permanent* penal laws of all civilized countries for heinous offences like murder, robbery, etc. Yet the mere fact that the laws are permanent does not prevent or diminish these crimes, or increase the efficacy of those laws. Murders, etc., continue to be committed in full knowledge of permanent penal laws. Moreover, before making these laws permanent, Government ought to consider, whether they have been efficacious in suppressing terrorism, or have rather caused irritation, thus indirectly facilitating the recruiting work of terrorists.

Governors-General and Governors have occasionally said that the root causes of terrorism must be removed, if the movement is to be crushed. But in practice little has been done in that remedial and constructive direction, so that Government appears to depend for success entirely on enacting more and more drastic laws and on prolonging or perpetuating the life of such laws.

Dealing with the Press the statement says that since the passing of the Press Act of 1931, direct encouragement of murder or violence has perforce been abandoned, but recourse is still freely had to indirect methods, such as the expression of undue concern and sympathy for detenus in the Detention Camps and convicts in the Andaman Islands, commemoration of terrorist convicts and detenus and the publication of laudatory accounts of revolutionary movements in other countries—all of which are bound to have the effect of putting revolutionary ideas into the susceptible minds of the young.

The Bill proposes to amend the Indian Press Act relating to Bengal empowering Government to demand security or forfeit security or forfeit the Press for publication of prohibited information. The Press is also made liable for publication of



identity of witnesses before special courts when this is forbidden.

Though the detenus were never brought to trial and their guilt established, journalists are required to take it for granted that they are criminals. Even if there is reason to apprehend that they and convicted criminals are not receiving such treatment as they are legally entitled to, no concern or sympathy is to be expressed for them. The Executive Government, that is, practically the police, are to be the judges of what is due and what undue concern. It is idle to expect that the prevention of the printed expression of concern and sympathy will kill such concern and sympathy when they are natural.

The police and the executive are also to be judges of the character of the changes of government described in history, past or contemporary, and the damatory name of revolution given to any such movement must be considered sufficient for preventing the publication of an account of it in *Bengal newspapers*, not in other Indian newspapers. All revolutions are to be held to have been bad. The super-historians or critics of history in police offices are also to be judges of what is or is not a laudatory account of such events. Bengal newspapers are not also to publish prohibited information—what is to be prohibited being apparently left to the discretion of the Government. Fine newspapers they would be which could not publish news of all kinds which are usually published. The fetters on the Press are going to be tightened, made heavier and more galling.

There is also a clause in the Bill which makes a person liable to imprisonment for three years and fine, if he has in his possession any newspaper, book or other document which had been prohibited under Sea Customs Act, declared forfeited to the Government, etc.

This is not the first time that legislation of this description is being attempted. On previous occasions, such attempts were baffled or given up. But the present Bengal Council is such that no such result can be expected.

Few there are, if any, who can remember the names or contents of all proscribed, prohibited and forfeited books, pamphlets, leaflets, etc. Hence, on the passage of the clause

Government of Bengal to publish a consolidated list of such publications for free distribution and issue supplementary lists from time to time. The Postal Department of the Government should also be bound not to deliver to anybody such publications sent by post. In newspaper offices many packets remain unopened for a long time or, if opened, unread for days, weeks and months. It would be unreasonable and unjust to punish persons to whom the Government's post office has delivered such packets unasked and who are unaware of their contents.

Magistrates are proposed to be given many powers of the Provincial Government. The superiority of governance by definite and uniform law to governance according to the will of one or more individuals lies in this that the former ensures equality of treatment to a greater extent than the latter. But even when a Government has some discretionary powers, there is some equality of treatment for the time being. When, however, discretion is given to District Magistrates, they being not one but many, there is likely to be little of the reign of law, of which civilized rulers are or should be proud.

But enough.

### *Salt Industry for Bengal*

At a public meeting held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, under the presidentship of Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, the following resolution moved by Mr. B. N. Sasmal, urging the Government to continue its policy of protection in the interests of the national salt industry, was unanimously adopted.

"That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta and the people of Bengal resolves that in the interests of the national salt industry the present policy of protection be continued for a sufficiently long period to enable the indigenous salt industry to grow and prosper and that it also urges upon the Government to give all facilities and assistance pecuniary (out of the provincial additional import duty fund) and otherwise for the growth and development of all Bengal salt concerns."

Moving the resolution, Mr. Sasmal said that much had been said about import of salt into Bengal before the advent of the British in India. That was a myth. Salt was manu-

factured in Bengal and other provinces and it could now be manufactured. He urged that money be paid out of the additional duty to Bengal concerns for experimental purposes, and if then they failed to produce salt commercially, they would then have the consolation of having tried their best without effect.

Mr. Sarker said that, "so long as we, Bengal Salt Industry, are not self-supporting, let the protection continue; but we should realize that the prosperity of the industries of other provinces would not solve the burning question of Bengal's unemployment. Nobody could render better help in this direction than the joint efforts of the people in organizing the thousand and one small industries which would throw open their doors for the unemployed. He also warned the authorities concerned not to send somebody of Karachi or elsewhere to Bengal when the question of local distribution of agency came in.

### ***Bhai Parmanand and the White Paper***

As president of the recent All-Bengal Hindu Political Conference, Bhai Parmanand tried to explain why at the Ajmer session the Hindu Mahasabha did not condemn the White Paper as a whole but only the Communal "Award" which forms a part of it. Said he :

"We are opposed to the White Paper just as much as anybody else, but our reason for specially protesting against the Communal "Award" is that while the safeguards and powers that are reserved to be used by the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors in the White Paper could only be used in times of emergency and were in a way to serve as the last line of defence by the Government, we have got in the very nature of the Communal "Award" the first line of defence which could be of service to the Government in normal times."

We do not think this explanation will bear scrutiny. For even for *normal times* and as part of the first line of defence of the British imperialistic citadel, the White Paper provides complete reservation of Defence and Foreign Relations, financial and commercial safe-guards, the supremacy of the British Parliament and the impossibility of amending the constitution without its sanction obtained every time, safe-guards for the Services, etc.

### ***Bengal Hindus and the Poona Pact***

The following resolution was passed at the All-Bengal Hindu Political Conference :

"This Conference of all sections of the Hindu community of Bengal is of opinion that if the Communal Award is thrust upon the Hindus of Bengal, then in the interest of the political progress of this Province, the Poona Pact, so far as it relates to Bengal, should be revised so as to provide a system of joint electorates with reservation of seats proportionate to the population strength of the sub-castes which might ultimately be scheduled as 'Depressed.' This Conference appoints the following committee (with power to co-opt) to bring about such revision of the Poona Pact (preferably by amicable settlement among the different sections of the Hindu community of Bengal) in consultation with the Bengal signatories of the Poona Pact."

This resolution is quite reasonable and worthy of support.

The committee includes members of both those castes which are considered high and those which have been officially scheduled as "depressed" provisionally.

### ***Crimes Against Women***

Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, than whom no prominent public man in Bengal has laboured more earnestly and unremittingly to safe-guard the honour of womanhood, presided over the recent All-Bengal Women Protection Conference. In the course of his presidential address he said that during the six years from 1926 to 1931 there had been 7,000 cases of abduction and other crimes against women in Bengal. Of the women victimized 3,513 were Muslim and 3,495 Hindu. "People say," he observed, "that it is only Mussalmans who commit crimes against women; but that is not correct. About a thousand Hindu women were victimized by Hindus alone."

The conference passed several resolutions, one demanding the sterilization (by vasectomy or castration ?) of the men proved guilty and the condign punishment of men and women who aided and abetted such crimes, another requesting the Government to amend the penal laws "to exonerate from criminal liability women who may chance even to kill their assailants to save their honour," and a third thanking the Governor of Bengal for the active interest he has been taking for the suppression of crimes against women.

### ***Extravagant Educational Expenditure !***

The Viceroy's reply to the address presented to him by the Benares district board contains the following amazing passage :

"While I give way to none in my desire to promote the growth of learning, I have noticed that the cause of education sometimes flourishes at the expense of other equally deserving objects."

If His Excellency had been bound to answer questions, we would have asked him where in India generally and in the United Provinces in particular had he noticed education *flourishing* and that at the expense of other equally deserving objects. We are afraid his desire to promote the growth of learning has been largely an unfulfilled desire, and, therefore, he may have to give way to numerous persons in that desire against his will. Further comment is unnecessary.

### *Prospects of Peace in Eastern Asia*

A *Reuter's* telegram, dated Moscow, January 28, runs as follows :

The phantom of war revenge overshadowed capitalist countries, declared M. Stalin, who in a report submitted to the Communist Party Congress predicted another world war.

The Sino-Japanese war in Manchuria and Japan's advance in North China had aggravated the position, while the growth of military and naval armaments in Japan, United States, Britain and France was a result of the struggle for possession of the Pacific Ocean.

M. Stalin denied that the Soviet was responsible for the breakdown of negotiations for the sale of Chinese Eastern Railway and stressed that the Soviet would strive to obtain improved relations with Japan.—*Reuter*.

Just a month ago, on December 28, 1933, M. Litvinoff delivered a speech at a meeting of the Soviet Executive Committee held at Moscow. In that speech he stigmatized Japan's policy as the "darkest and most threatening cloud on the international political horizon." He referred to "the impudent and provocative activities" of the Japanese authorities in Manchukuo, and added :

We had no recourse except to strengthen our frontier, transferring there necessary forces and taking other military measures. But while we take exclusively defensive measures Japan feverishly prepares for a war which can only be offensive, because no one threatens the safety of Japan. "

When he concluded his speech with the following militant note, he received a great ovation :

We will strengthen still more our Red army, fleet and air force. In the defence of every inch of Soviet land will participate not only the military forces but the peoples of the Soviet Union, who under the leadership of the communist party and its leader Stalin, will certainly win military victories equal to their peace-time victories.

There may be a blaze in the Far East any moment.

### *Independence Day Arrests*

Independence Day, January 26, does not seem to have been widely celebrated this year. Arrests are reported in papers in provinces other than Bengal in a small number of places, *viz.*, New Delhi, Allahabad District, Bombay, Lucknow, Poona, Lahore, Cawnpur, etc.

### *150th Anniversary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

The hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was an event of outstanding importance. A remarkable feature of the occasion was the collection of spontaneous unsolicited congratulatory messages from 36 learned institutions from 15 different countries. The Society has a considerable amount of antiquarian and scientific research in various fields to its credit.

The conversazione held in this connection in the Indian Museum on the 15th January last gave an opportunity to the public to get acquainted with the harvest of research and exegesis reaped in India by numerous scholars in different branches of knowledge. Exhibits were sent by departments of the State, the University and individuals.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Imperial records keeper, has lent a number of documents which students anxious to follow the thread of the British period of the Indian history may with advantage utilize, *e. g.*, under the head of 'The Dewanny and Administration' there are on view amongst other documents three copies of *Firman* for the *Dewanny* of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (dated September, 1765).

The Botanical Survey of India have sent some of the original paintings of William Roxburgh who was a surgeon in the Company's Madras establishment and was the first superintendent of the Royal Botanical Garden (from 1793-1813).

Prof. S. K. Chatterji has sent a number of stone relics of Indian civilization collected by him from Siam and Java ; while the departments of Chemistry and Physics of the Science College, Calcutta University, have also lent a number of scientific exhibits.

One of the most important and interesting groups of exhibits is those lent by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, superintendent of Archaeological Survey, eastern circle. They consist of finds from New Palaeolithic and Neolithic sites in Mysore, Hyderabad and Madras presidency. There is on exhibition pottery from the graves at Juttanali, Bangalore. They belong to the Early Iron Age

and the most remarkable feature in one of them is the incised lines round the neck produced by thread and the four small jugs like those of late Bronze Age pottery of Central Europe. Another interesting point is that most of these bear potter's marks. Antiquities from Satyapeerer Bhatta, Paharpur, Bengal, where the biggest Vihara in India has been excavated, will interest many.

To the students of the social history of the mediaeval period the copper-plates on view at the exhibition will appear to be of exceptional importance as it proves the hollowness of the tradition that there were no Brahmins in Bengal before Adisura who is credited to have imported into Bengal five Brahmins and Kayasthas from Kanoj. There are a copper-plate in Brahmi inscription from Mahasthan, Bogra, and antiquities from Mathura also on view.

The Geological Survey of India have sent a number of Palaeontological specimens, including an exhibit of giant pre-historic Rhinoceros of India and Beluchistan. The exhibits consist of the casts of the skull and jaw of Beluchitherium, which lived in Oligocene-Miocene times and outvalled the elephant in size, being one of the largest known land mammals that inhabited the earth. Among others the fossilized remains of giant reptiles called Dinosaurs that lived in India during the Cretaceous period about 70 million years ago, are also on view.

Many beautifully coloured Arabic and Persian manuscripts from the Asiatic Society's library are also exhibited.

Dr. Satya Churn Law has sent some birds of Habitat group and some colour drawings of some Indian birds.

The School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene has sent among other exhibits samples of indigenous drugs.

The Anthropological section of the Zoological Survey of India, have sent the personal attire and ceremonial objects of the Kafir tribes of the Hindu Kush mountains, which are very interesting. These objects were procured from the Kafir tribes by Dr. B. S. Guha of the department, in 1929, in connection with the scientific expedition sent there by the Government of India to work in collaboration with Prof. G. Morgensterne of the Norwegian Institute of the Comparative Research in Human Culture.

There is exhibited the Termite Queen, which is pointed out by the experts to be a characteristic species possessing an enormous size of abdomen. It hardly moves and all its needs are attended to by other members, which are known as soldiers and workers. Its function in the colony is to produce young ones and even its nursing is done by the workers. There are on view Cicadil Bugs, which are well known for having voiceless wives. Only the male insect of this group can 'speak.'

The means of defence adopted by insects against the attacks of their enemies is exhibited in another section. Of these, mimicry and having warning coloration are profoundly interesting. Many palatable insects, it is pointed out, avoid the attacks of enemies by resembling other and biologically distinct kinds which are distasteful on account of their possessing a sting or bad taste or smell. Many distasteful insects warn their enemies of their being such by having very conspicuous colour or type or colour markings. Several insects showing the phenomena of mimicry and warning coloration are also exhibited.

### *So-called All Parties Conference*

In a circular letter signed by Sir C. H. Setalvad, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the (so-called) All Parties Conference it is stated that "at this conference, the Communal Award and the questions arising therefrom will be excluded from consideration. Similarly, what action should be taken, if the minimum political demands on which there is general agreement are not conceded, will also be outside the purview of this conference." It is said that "the Executive Committee decided after great deliberation to exclude these questions from the agenda..." That may be. But it is obvious that, if the White Paper scheme as a whole or any part of it is considered sacrosanct, there cannot be a real All Parties Conference. There are very many Nationalists in India who are convinced that the White Paper can be usefully improved only by being rejected lock, stock and barrel. Apart from the fact that the Communal Decision is a fundamental part of the scheme, it does great injustice to the Hindu majority, reducing it to the position of an impotent minority. Therefore, the Hindu Mahasabha and those who see eye to eye with it in this matter cannot take part in a conference which takes it for granted that this iniquitous decision cannot be scrapped or changed. There may be and are those who think that the Mahasabha is a small and weak party. Assuming the truth of that view, it must be conceded that the Mahasabha is a party, and, therefore, a conference in which it cannot take part cannot be an All Parties Conference either in name or in reality. Again, the Communal Decision goes against all ideas and ideals of nationalism and democracy. Hence, no one who is a nationalist or democrat of any sort can have anything to do with a conference which treats the Decision as sacrosanct.

The Conference can only do some tinkering. But no amount of tinkering can convert the White Paper scheme into one for giving India even the constitution of a British Dominion, not to speak of one which would make her free like the free and independent countries of the world. Hence, genuine seekers of Dominion status or of independence can have no use for the proposed conference.

Nevertheless, it may serve the purpose of ascertaining and telling the world what changes in the White Paper scheme are desired by those very accommodating politicians of India who can put up with the Communal Decision and a constitution which transfers no real power to Indians in their and their ancestors' motherland. But this is a small purpose. And the gaining of this object loses further in importance when it appears almost certain from the circular letter that, even if the British Government did not concede the minimum demands of the conference, there would be many among the promoters and adherents of the Conference who would work and accept office under the new constitution, whatever it might be.

### *The Indian States' People and the White Paper*

As president of the Rajputana States' People's Conference Mr. Amritlal Sheth has appealed by telegram to Mr. George Lansbury, leader of the opposition in the British parliament, and Sir Herbert Samuel, the Liberal leader, to try to defeat the White Paper Bill, on the ground that "the White Paper refuses elective representation and fundamental rights to the States' people and increases the power and influence of the already autocratic Princes." The appeal is quite just. Throughout the constitutional inquiry, ending with the proceedings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the people of the Indian States have been treated by the British Government as non-existent and the Princes as all in all, though these people number twice as many as the inhabitants of the British Isles.

### *The Princes' Protection Bill*

The States Protection Bill now before the Legislative Assembly is really a Bill for conserving and increasing the autocracy of the Princes. In the Indian States there are not and cannot be any newspapers which enjoy even the little freedom which Indian newspapers in British India can exercise. So within their States the Princes cannot be adversely criticized. The Bill seeks to protect the Princes from effective criticism on the part of newspapers in British India too.

Perhaps this attempt to safe-guard and increase the autocracy of the Princes is offered as a further inducement to them to join the so-called Federation. And they are wanted in the Federation to check and counteract the forces of nationalism in British India.

The special session of the Indian States' People's Conference which is proposed to be held early this month in Delhi to protest against the retrograde Bill will be most timely. It ought to be very largely attended by influential representatives of all the States and also by leading citizens of British India.

### *Mahatma Gandhi and some Provincial Governments*

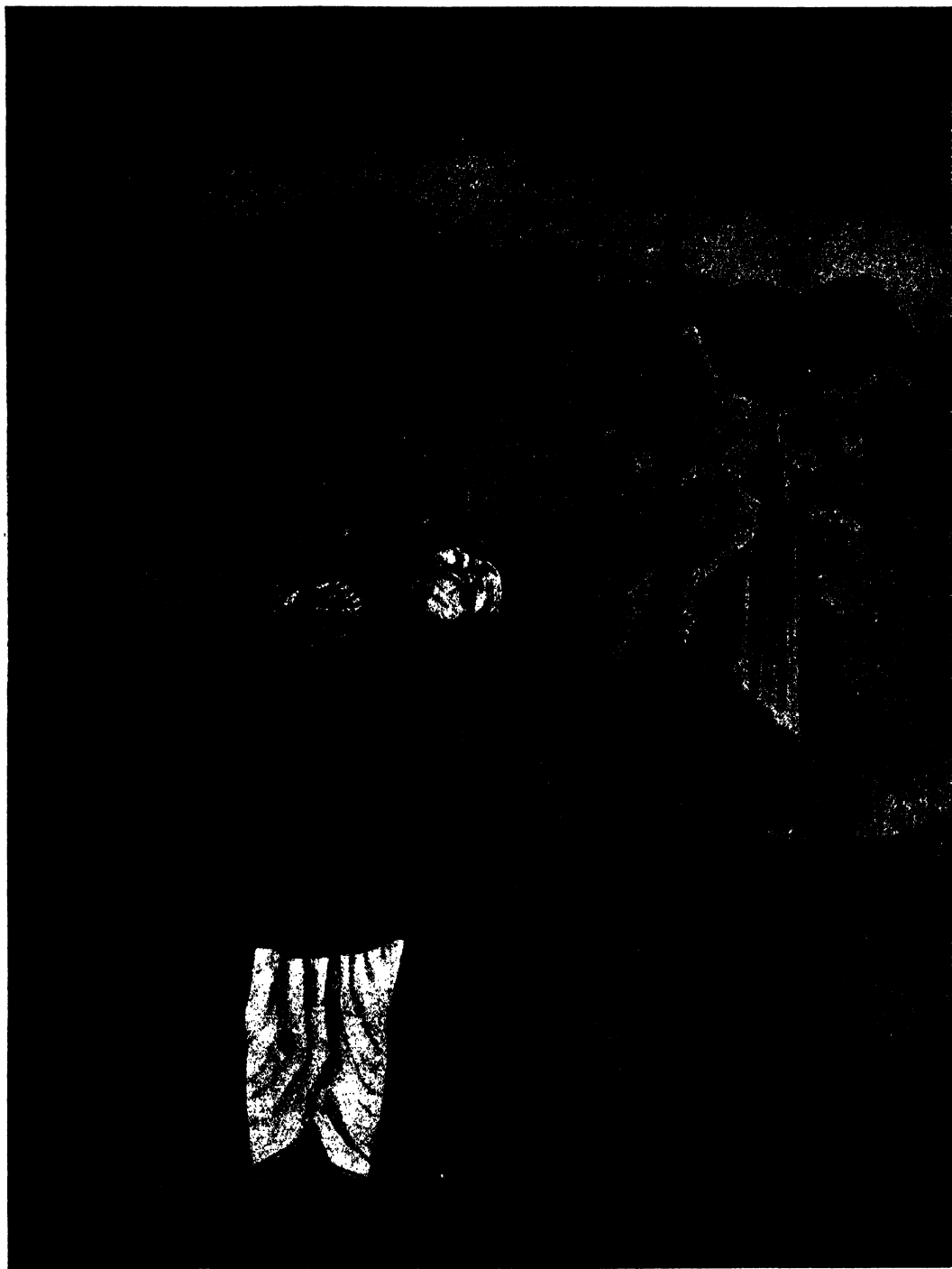
Mahatma Gandhi has been touring India for the uplift of the depressed classes. Government professes great concern for the welfare of these classes. But as the Mahatma is the greatest political leader of India and not in the good books of the Government, there must not be any co-operation between him and Government servants even in a movement meant for the social and educational advancement of these classes. That is the plain meaning of the Madras Government's circular to public servants for their guidance in connection with the Mahatma's tour, telling them in effect not to participate in meetings and demonstrations connected with his visit. It is some consolation, however, that they appear to have been told that "they need not put obstacles in the way of Mahatma Gandhi's tour, or do anything which would be construed as an interference."

In the Central Provinces also "public servants," which means Government servants, not necessarily servants of the public, have been enjoined to non-co-operate with the Mahatma in his humanitarian work.

### *Social Legislation in Baroda*

Recent legislation in Baroda intended to secure to Hindu women their just rights to property and the right under some circumstances of asking for a divorce, conferred by the Hindu Divorce Act, which has been in force in that State since 1931, will place women there in a far more advantageous position than in British India.





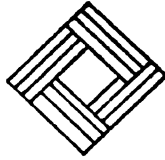
## THE PILGRIMS

By Manindra Bhusan Gupta

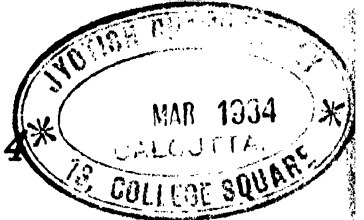
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## LALA LAJPAT RAI

### III. Discussions Regarding Indian Reconstruction

By Sr. NIHAL SINGH

#### I

**L**ALA Lajpat Rai returned from the United States of America, at the beginning of 1920, a far different man from the one who had gone there some five years earlier. The change loudly proclaimed itself the moment I set eyes upon him and heard him speak.

He looked different. Ten, probably fifteen years, seemed to have been taken off his face and figure. There was spring in his step, vigour in his movements and vitality in his voice and gesture.

The tired, pale look that I had noticed on the eve of his departure in 1915 had disappeared. What was even more remarkable, the feeling of depression that sometimes swept over him had left him. He was cheery—not in a forced sort of way, but genuinely.

"The United States has certainly agreed with you, Lalaji," was my greeting when we met for the first time after years of separation.

"It did indeed," he replied. "The climate was invigorating. The food was good. The people were cordial. I thoroughly enjoyed myself."

#### II

Not only were his looks different, but so also was his speech. He had picked up the Yankee twang that one associates particularly with people from the Eastern States comprised

in the American Union. He seemed to talk through his nose rather than through his mouth.

His speech had changed in other respects. He had fallen victim—a willing victim, it seemed to me—to Americanisms.

Phrases such as "I guess so" or "I guess not," frequently fell from his lips. He spoke of a "block" of paper instead of a "pad," as the English would put it. He had learnt to call the chemist a druggist, and the chemist's shop a drug-store.

I particularly remember his asking a maid at 29, Rollscourt Avenue, Herne Hill, in south-eastern London, where we then lived, to bring a vase. He pronounced the word in the American way—to rhyme with "lace," and not "vaaz," as the English articulate it. The poor servant—an English woman who had come down in life—was puzzled. But only for a moment. She saw that he was carrying a bouquet of flowers in his hand and being intelligent, brought the best looking vase we had in the house, which she had, of her own accord, filled with water. She took the flowers from Lalaji's hand and neatly arranged them in it.

The English do make marvellously good servants!

In using American slang Lalaji, I soon found, occasionally "slipped up." I remember, for instance, hearing him say: "You are a



limit." An American would have said: "You are *the* limit."

I told Lalaji that his Americanisms carried me back to my early days in America. I, too, had found the American atmosphere exhilarating—intoxicating. When I called upon Lord Morley at the India Office early in 1910 he, perhaps taken aback at my manner and matter of speech, remarked:

"You speak, Mr. Singh, what our cousins in America call English." Lajpat Rai heartily enjoyed the joke directed against myself.

### III

Nor were the changes merely of a superficial character. The secularist tendencies of which I wrote in the preceding article had, for instance, become very much more pronounced. He was quite definite in his opinion that religion, as it was professed by our people, was the root cause of the trouble in our Motherland.

The Arya Samaj phase had ended. Between his life in India prior to 1915 and his return there in 1920, his stay in the States constituted the "great divide."

Difficulties did not seem to daunt him. Obstacles stood in the path of political progress, he recognized. Many of them were formidable, he admitted. But he felt certain that they could be moved out of the way—could be blasted away if necessary.

The five years that he had spent in the New World in association with people filled with optimism had given him a feeling of confidence of the kind that works miracles. In all the talks that I had with him—and there were many of them, even though his stay in England was brief—that note was unmistakable.

### IV

He would come down to Herne Hill late in the afternoon by when I would be free—or would make myself free—from my journalistic work. We would sit in the study in the back of the house, opening directly on to a piece of ground enclosed by a high brick wall, in front of which stood a row of tall, slender, graceful poplar trees. The house to which we had shifted from East Dulwich during his absence was somewhat

larger and more easy of access. But it did not command the lovely, long, widespreading vista that had opened out from my study windows in our former residence.

He generally came about tea-time and stayed to dinner. Sometimes between the two meals we would go out for a ramble. There were several parks and open spaces in the vicinity, loved by Ruskin and Mendelssohn. Not far from our home there were lanes that still preserved a countrified aspect.

Whether we stayed at home or walked during a part of the time, we spent hours together, chatting and chaffing. Almost every phase of India came under review—the political phase, being the key phase, more than any other.

### V

Now that he is gone, I am happy that I had all those talks with him at that time. He had just returned from his long exile in the United States of America. There he had deeply pondered Indian problems and debated them with men and women of high intellectual calibre who had no selfish interest at stake in our country and could therefore take a dispassionate view of men and matters. His views were so broad and refreshing that I wished that every Indian who aspired to be a leader could be compelled to live away from India for a time.

The determination to engage in the reconstruction of India had driven everything else from Lalaji's mind. He did not think very much of the Government of India Bill that Mr. Montagu had, with great exertion, got through the two Houses of Parliament. The opportunity it afforded for creating a new order in India was, he felt, very limited. He had however made up his mind, without taking much time to deliberate over the matter, to make the fullest possible use of every opportunity that that Legislation provided.

### VI

Howmuchsoever we might regret the limitations and shortcomings of that Act, we must, he said, recognize that the Act made it necessary for us to change our

attitude—our methods of work—our entire life. We must take the maximum advantage of every opportunity that had been given to us, no matter how small it might be.

I asked him what he would have our countrymen do. He replied in one word—“Organize—Organize !”

“How ?” I enquired.

“Most important of all in organizing at the present moment,” he replied, “is for the leaders to get down from the pedestals on which they have been standing. They must identify themselves with the people—the common people—the commonest people. They must talk to them as if they were ordinary people themselves—not talk *at* them—not preach to them in pretty platitudes. This was no time for sugary talk. The people must be approached in their own language. The profoundest principles of political economy must be stated in the homeliest phrases—in Indian similes and metaphors.”

His stay in the States had democratized him. The common people—a phrase often in Abraham Lincoln’s mouth—mattered to him more than the intelligentsia.

“Our countrymen and countrywomen are uncommonly shrewd,” he said. “Only we have shown them the cold shoulder. When we have tried to interest them we have forgotten that they—and we, too, were Indians and therefore the figures of speech and the illustrations that we employed should be Indian—not Addisonian English. If we are to make a success of the new era in India we must ‘come down from our perch,’ as they say in America. We must learn the language of the electors and give them political economy in a form that they can digest and assimilate.

“The centre of propaganda must be the village, so long as the village remains the unit of life in our land. If I could have my way I would have the so-called ‘educated Indians’ settle down in villages and take up agriculture and crafts.

“I would not draw the line even at boot-making. It would, in any case, pay them far better than clerking and they would be healthier. Even when I left the Panjab in 1914 it was very difficult to get a carpenter at one rupee a day, while educated young men

found it difficult to secure work in office at a salary of fifteen rupees a month.”

Lalaji emphasized the fact that he did not wish educated men to settle among the villagers because it would help to raise their financial status. That was merely by the way. On the contrary, he would have them do so in the interest of nationhood.

Only by some such sacrifice could the general level of intelligence in India be quickly raised. And our future could be safe-guarded only by a rapid rise in the general level of intelligence. He would even say that this was more important than all the other factors put together.

## VII

He placed great emphasis upon the economic development of the country.

“The importance of the economic factor must never be permitted to be obscured,” he warned me. “India is poor—horribly poor. So long as she remains horribly poor we cannot expect to succeed politically or in any other way. We must somehow manage to raise the general economic level of the people. That can be done only by means of intelligent and vigorous organization.

“Providence has richly dowered our land. We have large deposits of minerals. We have extensive forests containing almost every variety of wood. Our soil is rich as a rule and even when it is not, it yields large crops if properly fertilized and irrigated. We have plenty of materials with which to feed the soil and great resources for irrigation. We are so rich in all kinds of raw materials that foreign countries look to us to supply them with the means to accumulate vast wealth. We have abundant labour which, when trained, will not be inferior to labour elsewhere in the world.”

Lalaji was happy that the development of industry had been made a “transferred subject” in the provinces. He feared however that the interested Britons would use their influence to have that provision whittled down in formulating the rules.

## VIII

In his optimism he had not lost sight of the difficulties with which we would be confronted. He, on the contrary, warned me that

we would find ourselves terribly handicapped by the amount of illiteracy existing in India when we attempted to organize to raise the economic—or even the general—level of our people. He said:

"Life is, in the last analysis, indissolubly one. When you come to tackle the economic problem in India, you will find that you must have more and better education. When you endeavour to provide more and better education you will find that you must have more money. It is necessary for us therefore to organize all along the line—giving each department of life its due share of attention and starving none.

"More than likely we shall find, when we come to tackle the business of reorganizing life in India, that we shall need many foreign advisers. Japan found that she had to import them."

"She however never brought in a foreign expert when a Japanese could be found who would fill the requirements. Japan moreover always secured the services of a foreign expert on the tacit or distinct understanding that the most important part of his duties would be to eliminate himself as soon as possible by teaching a son of the soil to take his place."

## IX

Lalaji agreed with me that India's future was entirely in Indian hands, to make or to mar it as they might choose. He declared:

"I have felt for many years that real reform must come from within—not from without. The only progress that can be abiding is progress that is built upon our national characteristics and traditions. Only by being true to ourselves can we possibly become a great nation—a nation that will make original contributions to the progress of other nations and not be a mere parasite upon others.

"I would have the best brains in the country take up research work of every description. I would have them burrow deep into the past—give us reliable history. I would have them study economic and social problems. I would have them thrust the probe deeply into disorders of every kind and discover and apply remedies that will cure those disorders.

"Indians alone can have the requisite interest to make a thorough investigation and to

puzzle out the right solutions of Indian problems. First and last, the responsibility is ours. The honesty and vigour that we put into the discharge of that responsibility will decide the rapidity and character of our progress."

## X

Lalaji had, at that time, great hopes of help from the Labour Party. Its star was then in the ascendant.

During the war many things had happened to give that Party prestige. Members of it who had begun their life at crafts regarded as humble had served as Cabinet Ministers. Labour had had representation even in the War Cabinet that controlled affairs during the most critical period of British history.

Lalaji had had the far sight to realize that the day was probably not far off when this party, composed of workers—mostly manual workers—would come into office. He also saw that the Liberal Party was doomed and that many Britons who had been proud to wear the Liberal label would join the Labour Party.

For these reasons he believed that it would be politic for Indians to cultivate the Labour Members of Parliament. In that matter his views coincided with those of Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel, as I noted in another article.\*

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was of a similar mind and had made a contribution from the Congress funds to the Labour Party's chest.

## XI

I felt that in this matter Lalaji had been carried away by the emotional appeal made by Colonel Josiah Clement Wedgwood. The Minority Minute that that redoubtable fighter, whether with the guns in Gallipoli or with only verbal ammunition on the floor of the House of Commons, had insisted upon appending to the report made by his colleagues of the Commission that enquired into the Mesopotamian *debacle*, had created a profound impression upon Lajpat Rai's mind.

\* This article was entitled: "A Fearless Fighter for Indian Freedom: A Pen-Picture of Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel," and appeared in *The Modern Review* for December, 1933.

From what he or Wedgwood—I now forget which—told me, the two had got into correspondence soon after the publication of that document which, it will be remembered, shook the entire Governmental structure of India to its foundations. Mr. (now Sir) Austen Chamberlain resigned his post as Secretary of State for India, as a point of honour, so I believe, he put it. His place was given to Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu, who, from the Opposition Benches, had delivered a withering attack on the Government of India, describing it as “too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for the purposes we have in view.” (I quote from memory.)

The pronouncement of August, 1917, followed. Since it was not known, except to a small coterie of persons whose lips were sealed, that this declaration had been in hand before Mr. Chamberlain left the India Office, it was credited to Mr. Montagu, who, it was expected, would usher a new heaven and a new earth into India. The report that he issued in collaboration with Lord Chelmsford and others, belied those hopes. The Government of India Bill as Sir James (now Lord) Meston, Lord Sydenham and other friends of India, permitted it to be placed on the British Statute Book, proved to be an even greater disappointment.

But the impression prevailed that a beginning had been made by Mr. Montagu. Later, when Labour came into power, as it had been confidently expected it would before long, India would be given the opportunity at long last to manage her own affairs.

Wedgwood, who had become a recent convert to the Labour cause, certainly held such views. He often talked to me in that strain, sometimes at our house, sometimes at his flat and more often in the House of Commons. He must have poured the same tale into Lajpat Rai's ears.

Only those who know Colonel Wedgwood can form a correct estimate of his ability to infect others with his enthusiasm. He can be—and often is—very eloquent. If one attempt fails, he will make another and yet another until he has scored success. He will wait until he catches a person in the right mood.

I always have had an idea that Wedgwood

had had no difficulty in making Lajpat Rai feel that Labour, when it ruled, would give Indians all they desired in the way of power to manage their own affairs in their own way. He would have found his Indian friend, after his return from the United States, in the right mood for it.

## XII

Ben C. Spoor, too, would have exerted himself in the same way had he been in London. He had, however, gone to India accompanied, I seem to remember, by Holford Knight and one or two other near-M. P.'s, soon after the passage of the Montagu-Chelmsford Bill. “Uncle Arthur” Henderson, the Secretary of the Labour Party, had appointed him a sort of ambassador. He was to attend the Indian National Congress and there was some talk of the Congress making a considerable contribution to the political funds of the British Labour Party. I have a recollection that he secured the promise of a large sum of money: but the actual contribution was disappointingly small.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had not yet come out of the valley of the shadow of ignominy into which his pacificism had plunged him during the War. His trouble seemed to have made him kin to sufferers in every part of the globe.

Of the disabilities of our people he appeared then to be more acutely conscious than at any other period of his life. I remember his taking down from a high shelf in his study a dust-covered sheaf of manuscript one day when I was calling on him in his modest home in Belsize Park in north-west London, not far from a house I had once occupied there. It contained such caustic denunciation of the bureaucracy in India that when it was published the book was proscribed by the Government of India; and the ban was not lifted until Mr. MacDonald had for months been the Prime Minister of Britain.

It was therefore not at all presumptuous for an Indian publicist to feel that if Ramsay MacDonald should dominate the Labour Party instead of Henderson and the other Labour leaders, who, during his fall, had risen to heights theretofore unscathed by men of their party, he would befriend India. Lala Lajpat

Rai certainly expected that he would do something if he ever came into power to rid the Government of India of the shortcomings with which he charged it and assist Indians to reach their political goal.

### XIII

Probably journalism pursued for many years in Britain had made me *blasé*. By bringing me into intimate contact with many persons who were making history, it had taken away from me the capacity to become enthusiastic about them or their performances. Having seen how the Liberals behaved towards India when they came into power, I feared that Labour might do no better when it got the chance to implement the promises freely being given to Indians by men who could rightfully speak in its name.

I put this point of view before Lalaji: but he appeared to be completely under Wedgwood's spell.

I admitted, for the sake of argument, that if the Labour Party were composed entirely of Wedgwoods, and that Party were in power, the problem of Indian Swaraj might no longer be a problem. But that Party was not composed of Wedgwoods—unfortunately both for Britain and India. That I had cause to know.

Lalaji talked a great deal about the vested British interests in India. The owners of factories in Lancashire and other industrial counties of Britain had built up a large and paying business after their people gained political power in our country. They were naturally anxious to preserve it as long as they could.

He seemed to forget however that if a factory in Britain had an owner, it had workers, too. There were a hundred and perhaps a thousand workmen for each owner. They were as much interested in the Indian market as their masters. For these reasons, when the time came to give India self-government they might be as much opposed to doing so as the capitalists. They would fear that Indians might use the power given to them to put tariffs on British goods—to alter the exchange ratio between the rupee and the pound. When the time came for action the Labour Party might hesitate as much as the Liberals and Tories.

### XIV

Lalaji found it impossible, upon his return to India, to put into effect the ideas and schemes that he and I had discussed in my study at Herne Hill. Our people were disappointed and enraged at the way His Majesty's Government had permitted the officials implicated in the Panjab horrors to escape almost scot-free. The special session of the Indian National Congress held with him as its President decided to non-co-operate with the authorities.

Lajpat Rai felt that the British Government had committed a great blunder. In more than one letter that I received from him from Lahore he urged me to exert myself to secure justice for the Panjab.

He started a newspaper from Lahore and called it *Bande Mataram*. It was to be conducted in Urdu. Some of his Arya Samaj friends must have been disappointed that he did not choose Hindi as the medium for the purpose. Others may have felt that a paper in English would have been of greater utility.

He had other views however. A paper conducted in Urdu, he felt, would enable him to reach the masses in the Panjab more effectively than one printed either in Hindi or in English.

He had meant, in any case, to have also an English organ. *The People*, which he started a little later, was to be a high class weekly which, like the *Nation* of New York or its namesake in London, would play an important rôle in moulding Indian opinion in the cause of freedom. He expected to receive literary support from his friends and make it into "a first class periodical." That, he gave me to understand, was his ambition.

### XV

In one of our numerous conversations I had told Lalaji that it was ridiculous that editors of newspapers in India should depend upon non-Indians for their London letters. "How are we to convince the British of our ability to run our own affairs in India?" I asked, "if we cannot be self-sufficing in a matter like this?"

There might have been some excuse for hiring non-Indians to do work of this description a generation or more ago, when there

were few Indians in Britain. But this was no longer the case.

And where are we to find a man like William Digby in this day and age?

I recalled to his mind Japan, where he had spent some time. "Would the editor of a newspaper of any importance in that country delegate such a task to a non-Japanese in Britain or the United States of America?" I asked him.

Lalaji agreed with me as to the incongruity of hiring non-Indians, however sympathetic they might be, to select and to purvey news affecting India to the Indian public.

The talk ended there. I forgot all about it the next moment.

Not so Lalaji however. As soon as he had started the *Bande Mataram* he asked me to be his London correspondent.

I found myself in a difficult position. I was up to my eyes in work—much of it of a highly remunerative character. Yet how could I refuse my friend's request, especially when he reminded me of what I myself had said on this subject some years earlier.

## XVI

I kept up the connection as best I could, until I pulled up stakes in London in the autumn of 1921, to set out on a comprehensive tour of Ceylon and India. I got to Lahore about the middle of the following February, by when Lalaji was behind the bars.

Through the courtesy of Sir Edward MacLagan, the then Governor of the Panjab, I was enabled to see him in prison. I had known Sir Edward for many years and liked him so much that I had used all the journalistic influence I possessed through the columns of British newspapers to counter a sinister move that was directed against him in 1920. Some powerful British reactionaries had suggested that he was too weak a man to be placed in charge of the Panjab so soon after the terrible events of 1919. They insisted that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's term of office must be extended to enable him to deal with the delicate situation there. I was very happy that Mr. Montagu refused to listen to such perverse counsel.

Sir Edward readily acceded to my request. I was lunching with him and

Lady MacLagan at the Government House in Lahore at the time. He rose from the table, went to the telephone and personally arranged for me to meet my friend.

When my motor drew up outside the jail gate, the Assistant Jailor met me and conducted me to Lalaji, who had been told that I was coming and was expecting me. I spent the best part of the afternoon with him.

His cell was small, bare and uncomfortable, though quite clean and rather well lit. He had some books to read: but so far as I can now recollect, no newspapers.

Before I left, the afternoon meal was served to the prisoners. The *roti* issued to even the "political prisoners," judging by the specimen I was shown, was coarse and poor. I should not like to feed it even to cattle.

I was so shocked that I took a bit of the leather-like bread away with me to show to Mr. Montagu when I returned to London. Alas! that object was never fulfilled. Before I returned he, poor fellow, had fallen out with Mr. Lloyd George and had been hounded out of office.

So far as I could learn, Lalaji was treated well in jail. The prison officials were all deferential in their attitude towards him. He told me that he received every consideration and that the jail regulations were administered with leniency so far as he was concerned.

But he complained that he was not officially recognized as a "political prisoner." He felt that as a matter of principle, he should have been. And above all he was a man of principle.

He told me that the "inside knowledge" of prison life that he had gained from imprisonment in the Central Jail in Lahore was most revolting to him. He gave me this bit of information in front of the Assistant Jailor who was acting as my escort and added that when he was released he meant to work for prison reform. This he did.

## XVII

This proved to be my first and last meeting with Lala Lajpat Rai in India. I had to depart almost immediately for western and southern India, where work was waiting for me. By the time it was finished, my health was completely undermined. I was practically

carried on board the *S. S. Morea* bound for England, in June, 1923. My continued ill-health kept me travelling here and there until 1926, when, upon a flying visit to London, I found Lalaji was also there for a few days.

He had by this time changed his policy of non-co-operation to the point of going to Geneva as a Labour representative at the International Labour Convention. His action gave umbrage to many of our people. Strongly-worded protests were made. They cut him—ever hypersensitive—to the quick.

One evening we dined together at the National Liberal Club. My wife told him that we were contemplating going to Ceylon, where friends were trying to persuade him to take over the editorship of a daily paper.

Lalaji chided me in the strongest terms for even contemplating such an idea. He could, he said, quite conceive my remaining away from India for the sake of engaging in "foreign work," in behalf of the Motherland, as I had been doing for so many years. He attached great importance to that work, he said. But if I had grown tired of world-wandering I should, he insisted, settle down somewhere in India, and not in Ceylon. He always spoke of that land as "Ceylone," as if the last syllable was the same as the English word "tone."

"India has the first claim on you," he scolded. "You must not think of going to Ceylon, and assuming an editorship there. Promise me that you will not go. Give me your word that you will withdraw from any arrangement that you may have made."

He proceeded to enlarge, in his inimitable way, upon the opportunities for service to our country that would be open to me were I to settle down in India after my many years of journalism in Asia, America, Europe and Africa.

"Why," he declared, "you could have as many newspapers in India to edit as you might wish. If you tell me how many lakhs you would need to start a paper of your own, or a string of papers, I will guarantee to collect the money for you without any delay. Not that you stand in need of such help from me or from anyone else."

Even now, eight years later, I still feel the power of his appeal. I felt like saying: "All

right, my friend. I will give up all the plans for touring America and the Far East and go straight to India."

The commitments that I had made however steadied me. I told him that I had gone too far with my plans to cancel the tour on the spur of the moment. But while I was on my way to Ceylon I would think over the matter in the light of what he had said and if conditions in Colombo did not please me upon my arrival, I would not permit myself to become entangled in editorial responsibility there.

"That is a promise, then," he cried. In his emotional way he held out his hand and shook mine with great warmth in token of the bargain. He was not through with the subject however. He referred to it again a little later and made me give him my word that if, perchance, I took up the editorship in Colombo, which he was now convinced I would not, I would let him send one of his men to me to be trained in journalism. "You will have to pay at least that price for your perverseness," he said, laughing. I readily assented.

As matters turned out, I perceived, on reaching Colombo in March, 1927, that I would be making the mistake of my life if I accepted the editorship that I had been persuaded, against my better judgment, to consider. The friend who had been so determined that I should take up the work kindly released me. Lalaji's will prevailed in the long run.

## XVIII

Lajpat Rai was as fond of ices as a school-boy. He had, in fact, managed to retain the enthusiasm of youth despite his detention in Mandalay, his incarceration in the Lahore Jail, his continued ill-health and his great responsibilities as a publicist. He tried to tempt me to have a third ice—with some strawberries—or at least to share another one with him. Suddenly he remarked:

"In one way I am glad that you are going to Colombo. That will give me an excuse to visit Ceylon."

My wife immediately extracted from him a promise to come and visit us as soon as we had settled down there. We three, she declared, would set out on a journey of exploration—in the footsteps of Sita, Rama and Lakshmana.

Ceylon had interested me for a quarter of

a century. I had for years wished to study the people who, with a few exceptions, were of Indian descent. I was anxious to discover what use they had made of the cultural nucleus they had received from Mother India. There were nearly a million Indians in the Island, mostly engaged in work for which the indigenous population had no stomach. Or was it that they lacked the backbone for it? I desired to learn all there was to know about them.

Constitutional changes were, moreover, impending. I wondered if Ceylon would fare better than India in that matter.

I decided therefore to remain for some time in the Island and make a thorough study of it and its inhabitants, be they Indian or the near-Indian Sinhalese. I found the country so lovely and the people so ingratiating that I actually stayed there a little more than three-and-a-half years.

Lalaji repeated his promise to come to us for a visit. When he went to Malabar in 1928 Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I fully expected that

he would fulfil that promise. It, however, was not meant to be. He wrote me a letter in which he explained:

"I do plead guilty to the charge you have brought against me of not having visited Ceylon while I was so near it in April last. The fact is that it was so hot that I repented having ever accepted an invitation to visit (the) Madras (Presidency) in those days. I am very much desirous of coming to Ceylon for a few days, if not more, and of course your presence there is an additional attraction. But I do not know when I will be able to do so, as I am always busy in something or other."

Not long after that letter was received, the *lathi* blows fell upon my dear friend, hurling him into eternity many years before his time. Five years have come and gone. His place in my heart and in Indian public life is still empty.

How lavishly he gave of his best to Mother India!

## POST-WAR CHANGES IN ENGLAND'S FOREIGN TRADE

BY SASADHAR SINHA, B. SC., ECON., PH. D. ECON. (London)

**E**NGLAND'S economic crisis today is in many ways unique. Although its high watermark has coincided with the present world depression, it should be borne in mind that her economic malaise has been more or less persistent for the last ten years. The presence of unusually heavy unemployment, which since 1922 has never fallen below a million and which recently reached nearly three millions, is the most striking indication of the seriousness of Britain's economic ill-health. A fact of equal importance is the gradual shift of her economic centre of gravity from the North to the South. The decline of the industrial North, the backbone of England's prosperity in the nineteenth century, is a clear warning that her economic structure is in the grip of a radical transformation. A glance at the distribution of unemployment among the various industries during the last decade will bear testimony to

this fact. Between 1925-30, for example, a typical northern industry, coal, which represents about one-tenth of the insured population, was responsible for nearly one-sixth of the total unemployment. It is well to remember that since the War the character of international demand for manufactured goods has undergone an important change. The tilting of the balance in favour of the South partly illustrates this shift in demand. It is the home of England's modern industries like automobile, electrical engineering, etc. Indeed, it is one of the reasons why throughout the depression the South has been relatively prosperous and the number of unemployed in this region is the lowest in England. None the less Britain's chronic unemployment not only shows that her new industries have failed to compensate for the losses of her older industries, but that their progress has not been commensurate with the



progress made by similar industries elsewhere. "Today what is really important and significant in England is not the depression of the depressed industries, but the relatively small progress made by the relatively prosperous."\*

It is necessary to go back a little in history to realize the real nature of the change that has overtaken the internal economy of England. Until the War, England's industries were unsurpassed. Although her visible balance of trade continued to be unfavourable, it was the natural consequence of her prosperity, for as the largest investor of capital abroad she held the world to fee; but her industrial pre-eminence was still the basis of her economic strength. Already before the War there appeared causes for anxiety—the growth of rival centres of industry was one of them, but—as long as she continued to prosper these were not taken seriously. The advent of the War and the post-War industrial boom by affording false security only served to postpone the inevitable day of reckoning. The following figures (*cf.* Macmillan Report) will show that the volume of England's foreign trade, far from making any progress, has even failed to retain its pre-war level.

	1913	1930	percentage increase (+) or decrease (-) in volume
Imports	£659 millions	£958 millions	+ 18 p. c.
Exports	£525     "	£571     "	— 32 p. c.

Since the War England has reached a new economic equilibrium. The prosperity of her export trade has been replaced by adversity. Almost imperceptibly she has become dangerously dependent on her shipping, overseas investments and other commercial and financial operations. "Invisible" exports now occupy greater prominence in Britain's trade balance-sheet.† Thus, although her

incomes from the "invisible" items have enabled her to finance her imports and undoubtedly contributed to her economic stability, this has been possible only at the expense of the total credit balance available for re-investment. Furthermore, with the shrinkage of the export trade, industrial profits have steadily decreased; consequently contrary to the pre-war practice, for capital development Britain's domestic industries find themselves at the mercy of the financiers. This has involved a corresponding decrease in investments overseas. The pre-war position has been exactly reversed.\* Indeed, the direct monetary liability undertaken by the financial interests in the industries at home is a significant post-War development. There is little doubt that the recent fiscal changes in England have been considerably facilitated by this circumstance. Self-interest has driven the City, proverbially free-trade, into the arms of protection.

"One cannot help remarking" says M. Siegfried "that England usually looks abroad first for the cause of her difficulties—always they are the fault of someone else. If this culprit or that would reform, then England might be able to regain her prosperity." This attitude lies at the root of the tardy and often grudging recognition of Britain's unsound economic condition. After the War it was for a time the fashion to ascribe all her difficulties to the collapse of Europe.

	1929 (in millions of pounds)	1930	1931
For shipping	130	105	80
As net income on overseas investments	250	220	165
As short interest commissions, etc.	80	70	40
As excess of receipts from other Governments	24	19	16
Total	1301	1075	830
Due from U. K.			
For goods imported and retained	1112	957	798
For bullion imported	71	95	107
Total	1183	1052	905
Net Balance due to (+) or from (—) U. K.	+118	+23	—75

(*Cf. Tariffs: The Case Examined*, Longmans, 1932).

\* *Issues made on the London Market*  
(in millions of pounds)

	1913	1923
English	£ 35 (18 p. c.)	£264 (74 p. c.)
Colonial & Foreign	£161 (82 p. c.)	£105 (26 p. c.)

\* Loveday: *Britain and World Trade*, Longmans, 1931.

Between 1925-28, for instance, British exports of artificial silk increased by 13 p. c. only, whereas those of the Continent by 150 p. c. In the same period British exports of radio apparatus increased by £90 thousand only, while those of Holland by £1,800 thousand.

	1929 (in millions of pounds)	1930	1931
Due to U. K.			
For exports of goods	730	571	389
For exports of bullion	87	90	140

Subsequent events, however, showed that she had maintained her position best on the Continent. Her greatest losses were sustained in Asia and America. The continental currency depreciation was the whipping-boy for a time, but this also proved illusory. According to Mr. Loveday, since the War England has lost everywhere, "to the great and the small, to the financially pure and the financially reprobate, but primarily to the United States."

In any true estimate of the causes of Britain's industrial changes the fortuitous must be separated from the permanent. Among the latter the first place must be given to the fact that she no longer occupies the unique position she once held. The supremacy of her coal, Britain's largest export in bulk, has been challenged by oil and hydro-electricity. Rival centres of iron and steel have sprung up in three continents. Her cotton and woollen industries have been similarly assailed. The world's productive capacity has enormously increased, but not so the population of the world. England finds herself faced with younger rivals everywhere.

The rigidity of her economic organization too must bear its fair share of blame for the arrested economic development of England. Her major industries are old-fashioned. Coal is a classic example. Its scale of production is often too small to be economic.\* Even at this late hour the short-sighted individualism of the coal-owners makes a thoroughgoing rationalization of the industry impossible. In the second place, the overvaluation of the pound in 1925 impaired England's competitive position by increasing the cost of production. But, as Professor T. E. Gregory has pointed out, it would be misleading to hold the exchange position as directly responsible for all her difficulties since England's return to gold. "A most complicated economic and political situation cannot be so simply explained." (*The Gold Standard and its Future*, Methuen, 1932). Finally, the rigidity of wages in face of falling prices further handicapped the British employer. The

"defeat of the cheaper by dearer peoples, the victory of the man whose food cost four shillings over the man whose food cost four pence," as Dilke wrote nearly forty years ago, is only partially true of England today. By a curious irony, in the twentieth century, his own country has lost ground to countries belonging both to dearer and cheaper peoples. England's industrial efficiency has no doubt improved, as the Macmillan Report has noted, but clearly it has neither been uniform nor has it always kept pace with the rise of wages, though the balance has been partly restored since England's departure from gold in 1931 combined with the policy of retrenchment.

In recent years the growth of economic nationalism has added to England's embarrassment. The multiplication of tariff barriers by cramping the free movement of international trade has jeopardized her economic recovery. England is on the defensive. The dream of Joseph Chamberlain has at last come true. She has turned to protection. Instead of overhauling her economic structure to answer present-day needs, by substituting flexibility for rigidity, she has deliberately set her fate against the world outside the Empire and entered upon a phase of Imperial co-operation based upon mutual reciprocity. But the absurdity of the situation is obvious. For, "statesmen who describe the pouring in of foreign goods into Britain as if the goods were a destructive pest to be kept out by defences, and in the same speech urge development of imperial trade as a mutual enrichment, may not be conscious of how much mental agility they have." (*Tariffs, etc., op. cit.*) To the degree that the self-governing Dominions themselves are developing their own industries under protection, they cannot, indeed will not, grant any real preference to England; nor can England forgo her trade outside the Empire unless she is convinced that her losses outside will find adequate compensation within the Empire. England knows only too well that the Ottawa Agreement with the Dominions has been a costly adventure. England's huge international trade ill goes with whole-hog protection; nor is her internal market large enough even partially to compensate for her loss of markets abroad. The reaction of tariffs on England's shipping and entrepôt

\* Compare England's 1400 independent undertakings working 2000 or more pits with a dozen companies controlling 90 per cent. of the production of Westphalian coal.

trade, affected as they already are by the decline of her foreign trade and the post-war tendency for manufactureres to deal directly with the producers of raw materials, on the other hand, will deprive her of huge incomes and further dislocate the labour market.

With the passing away of the world-wide depression England's economic position will gradually improve in common with the rest of the world. But for the present purpose the symptoms of a more permanent disease, which has afflicted her, even during the relatively prosperous period ending in 1929, are more important. It is possible, indeed probable, that certain industries, notably textiles, will never see the return of their hey-day. Coal also is not expected to regain its former prosperity. The almost national jubilation over the recent plan for production of synthetic petroleum from coal is thus due as much to the desire to find an alternative use for coal

to compensate for its loss of market abroad as to the desire to see the country independent of foreign supplies of oil in times of war. To more discerning observers it is already clear that the future of England as an industrial nation is bound up with the fortunes of her newer industries—automobile, electrical engineering, etc. True, in her desperate desire to protect her declining industries against foreign onslaughts she has sought the remedy of tariffs, but with the departure from gold there has ceased to exist even a theoretical justification for this step. England's greatest need today is greater flexibility of economic organization—greater sensitiveness to world demand. "Protection is at bottom always a policy of resisting change, of accepting and condoning rigidities." In the long run it will make the process of readjustment all the harder for England.

## RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

By SIR BRAJENDRANATH SEAL

In the panorama of modern culture and civilization three peaks stand out prominently. The first is represented by Rammohun Roy. He was the harbinger of the idea of Universal Humanism. Though Voltaire and Volney had a glimpse of the rising sun of Humanism, they distorted the view by pitting the East against the West, and minimizing and traducing Christian culture. There was a militant humanism, as opposed to the Rajah's synthetic and universalistic point of view. It is interesting to note here that a third stage was reached on this line in the creed of Neo-theophilanthropy conceived as a new love of God and man. The second peak is represented by Tolstoi and Gandhi with their gospel of passive resistance and non-violent non-co-operation. The third peak in this panorama is represented by the modern movement of scientific humanism leading to cosmic humanism.

Let us take these movements in the order just mentioned. The first is represented by Rammohun Roy's idea of Universal Humanism. As I have said elsewhere, Raja Rammohun Roy was a Brahmin of Brahmins. He was also a Muhammadan with Muhammadans and a Christian with Christians. He could thus combine in his personal religion the fundamentals of Hindu, Christian and Islamic experiences. In this way he was, strange to say, multi-personal. But behind all these masks there was yet another Rammohun Roy, the humanist, pure and simple, watching the procession of Universal Humanity in Universal History.

He strove to reconcile opposites. In the sphere of speculation he sought to reconcile individual reason with collective wisdom and scriptural authority, while in the sphere of social construction he aimed at the reconciliation of the good of the individual with the

good of the greatest number. Thus he tried to harmonize individualism with socialism. This harmonization, which is a necessity of life, has been attempted in different cultures in different ways. I may mention, *en passant*, that this balancing of what may be termed in a general sense individualism and socialism was a fundamental note of certain early civilizations, for example, the Dravidian and the Aryan. In the former, an original leaning towards socialism was corrected by a counter-emphasis on individualism, while in the latter a radical stress on individualism was tempered by socialism. The same process of counter-balancing is observable today in the capitalistic and socialistic polities of the West, where capitalism is being corrected by socialistic legislation and taxation (as in Britain and America), and on the other hand socialism, where it has been adopted as the basic principle (as in Russia), is being tempered by individualistic principles.

While Rammohun Roy was thus laying the foundation of the comparative method as applied to the study of Religion and Culture history, he made two profoundly original contributions of high practical import:

- (1) He helped to establish public education in India on the basis of real and useful knowledge, more particularly of science and the application of science to industry.
- (2) He made a forecast of the future political history of India and her relation to Great Britain on plantation (or, colonial) lines. Indeed, he would even welcome high-grade European settlements in certain parts of the country as a tentative measure to hasten this consummation. But the march of history has annulled

the practicability as well as the value of this suggestion.

The second peak, as I have said, is represented by Tolstoi and Gandhi (though Shelley had anticipated them). Here the fundamental principles are Passive Resistance, *Philosophical Anarchism* and Non-violent Non-co-operation. It was Tolstoi who interpreted Christ's teachings as embodying the quintessence of passive resistance as applied to the whole of life. This has been followed by the concept of philosophical anarchism which rejects the very idea of government, and it does not merely confine itself to Herbert Spencer's principle of mutual non-interference as the basis of legislation, but is so interpreted as to imply a total rejection of all legislative authority and sanction. Gandhi rejects this philosophical anarchism and has crystallized passive resistance into non-violent non-co-operation, rejecting all use of force and preaching the doctrine of suffering as the only means for the conversion of the resisting factors. Thus, it is claimed on behalf of this triple movement that it has promulgated a new gospel of deliverance for Universal Humanity.

I may here note that the Rajah's survey of religion can find an easy place for all these later varieties of belief and experience.

We now come to the third peak. This represents a new religion—the Religion of Man. Here (as for example in Julian Huxley's attempted rehabilitation) we shall find the usual paraphernalia of religion with divers symbols, rites, observances and dogmas, replacing the existing religious institutions and codes. It aims at placing the internal relations of society on a positive scientific basis, ousting the Gods of the extant credal religions; and it is confidently asserted that it will form the creed of a universal humanism based on Science. Eddington, Jeans, Bertrand Russell and Whitehead are the British protagonists of these movements of thought which seek to liberate man from the dominance of the old creeds and dogmas.

Here also it may be noted that the Rajah's survey of religion can find an easy place for all these varieties of belief and experience.

But Science is not the whole of life: other phases—the emotional, the socio-ethical and the spiritual—must also be given a proper foundation and structure in the organization of life. Thus, scientific humanism is only the vestibule of the cosmic humanism of the future.

Such would be the outcome of the Rajah's survey of human history. And it was Rammohun Roy who had a glimpse of this rising sun. It was he indeed

who viewed from dizzy heights the procession of universal humanity in universal history.

And in the end, as I have said elsewhere, there came to this prophet of Humanity on his death-bed the vision of a free, puissant and enlightened India, the civilizer and enlightener of Asiatic nationalities, a golden link between the Far East and the Far West, a vision as emblematic of the past, as it was prophetic of the future history of humanity.

But the old order changes and the race grows evermore. Yet Rammohun Roy shall be honoured as the prophet and precursor of Universal Humanism.

### Retrospect And Prospect.

#### RETROSPECT.

But there are deeper reaches than all this. For, what enters into the norm of modern life is not merely emotional exaltation, not merely imaginative transfiguration, not merely a disinterested criticism of life, but also, in and through them all, the creation of a personality with an individual scheme of life, and an individual outlook on the Universe. And it is only faint streaks of a new light that we see on the horizon.

#### THE COMING ORDER

The individual personality will grow more and more multi-personal. The hero indeed will be transformed. In this process, the idea of mass-consciousness will be the first stage, wherein everything in life and art will be evaluated in terms of the mass life. In other words, the needs of the masses, and not of the individual, will be the primary and guiding concept and measure of value. In the next stage this will develop into the concept of the Community-consciousness, wherein the life of the community will be the guiding principle of all life constructions. This community-consciousness is the consciousness of a more organized body than the masses. The next stage in this development will be the concept of Race-consciousness, in other words, the idea of the race as the centre of all values and organic constructions. The final step will be reached when all these elements will be synthesized and concretized in the concept of the Age (and the march of ages) as embracing the whole field of life. This will transform the entire panorama of life and art, bringing on a transvaluation of all values and elevating art to new heights and undreamt of altitudes. \*

\* This Address was delivered at the last Centenary Celebrations of Raja Rammohun Roy.



# THE PROGRESSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF POETRY

THE SPIRITUAL SHELLEY

BY ELIZABETH GILLESPIE

**I**T is not only on the physical globe that a Columbus in the Middle Ages, a Shackleton in the nineteenth century and a Piccard in the twentieth, can discover new worlds. In the universe of literature also adventurers essay voyages of exploration in the world of song created by master minds.

When artists are recognized as having been born "before their time," it is reasonable to expect that their works will reveal their true value increasingly as time passes by. The expectation has been abundantly fulfilled in the history of literature. One especially expects to find still unsounded depths in the concentrated, almost cryptic, art of poetry.

Leaving aside Shakespeare, whom the world has been exploring for three hundred years, Blake, Browning and Whitman are still subjects of research, and repay their investigators with "re-visions of the ruby and the rose."

Percy Bysshe Shelley, however, has been more thoroughly spurned and more heartily loved than probably any other English poet. Yet, from his entrance into publication in 1812 right up to today, there has been a distinct evolution of understanding and knowledge of this master poet, a process of unfoldment of his meaning and message parallel with the growth of higher consciousness in the reading public, and with increasing freedom from prejudice in the critics and a finer quality of literary criticism.

Shelley is, in an even larger sense than Edmund Spenser, a "poet's poet," and needs a true poet-critic as his exponent. But, with a couple of inadequate exceptions like Matthew Arnold and Stopford Brooke, his outstanding critics and commentators have not in the past been themselves poets. It has remained for an Irish poet resident in India to discover to the world a new Shelley in the book which has inspired this article. In "The Work Promethean" Dr. James H. Cousins shows

Shelley as himself the Prometheus of his great drama, the bringer of illumination and warmth into the darkness and cold distrust of his time. In view of the high place that this new work is sure to take in the world of literature, it is a matter for gratification to Indians that its author has elected to give it to the world through an Indian publishing house; and a novel feature of the interpretations and applications of Shelley's poetry which Dr. Cousins makes is the constant reference to Indian lore and experience of things of the spirit.

Shelley himself realized that one aspect of the work Promethean would be a growing capacity in humanity for interpretative exposition of symbolism in nature, art and literature. "The progressive understanding" of any great creative artist or work of art is in itself an alluring theme apart from the specific personality chosen for study. Can one read more into a creation than its creator knew? There has recently been much exploration into the "fountains" (AE's phrase) of literary genius. There is still a school of English literary thought which does not consider it "the thing" for a poet to be a philosopher, to have a message or a vision or a mission. "Art for art's sake" is not yet an out-of-date slogan. It is "bad form" in European society to wear one's heart on one's sleeve, to speak of God or the soul, or to plead guilty to possessing a spiritual ideal. In the sessions of the League of Nations such words as spiritual, religious, eternal, are taboo, and if used exceptionally are translated as moral or ethical. But the major artists are always true fundamentalists—probers into problems, philosophers and preachers, like Wordsworth, Francis Thompson, Dickens, Wells, Shaw, Leonardo, Wagner, Scriabine, Tagore. It was Shelley who claimed the poets as "the unacknowledged legislators" of mankind. He felt that his own poetry

Might shake the anarchy Custom's reign,  
And charm the minds of men to Truth's own sway.

It has been the happy fate of Dr Cousins to discover, and to display in literary criticism of the rarest quality, what Shelley took to be Truth. The Irish poet-critic uses the X-ray apparatus of his own intensive knowledge of every line that Shelley wrote, operated by his own spiritual wisdom and intellectual culture, not merely to lay bare the significance of Shelley's poetry, but to trace back through the foliage of beauty to the root-Shelley, Shelley the Thinker. Through his own sight of that root each reader of Shelley may realize from what essential Being have come forth the immortal flowers of lyric and drama which now command a premier place in English poetry, though they were truly valued by perhaps fifty people at his death just over a century ago.

Dr. Cousins has made a character in his own lovely drama, "The King's Wife," exclaim: "Only a poet is jealous of a poet." But that must only hold true in the case of poets contemporaneous in place and language. One remembers, on the other hand, the enthusiasm of Yeats for Tagore, of Shelley for Keats; and it is the enthusiasm of the poet Cousins for the poet Shelley that gives the bright energy which pulses through a literary study which might easily have been heavy or dull.

The richness of Dr. Cousins' own mystical, poetic and creative nature enables him to bring to view the hinterlands of thought behind the words used by Shelley. Many a lover of Shelley may realize and rejoice in Shelley's affirmations of "the vision splendid" and yet not be able to express that appreciation. To such this volume will be a God-send, for the critic brings to the life-work of the poet the searchlight of his careful, thorough study of materials, his intuitive flair for interpretation, his mystically endowed mental equipment, his own wealth of wisdom and beauty of expression, all expressed in choice language and vivid and epigrammatic style.

Literary criticism is by its nature derivative; yet its subject may set up such an induced current of inspiration that the critique itself becomes a piece of creative literature. This will certainly be the verdict passed by all but those who are bound to the vested

interests of traditional criticism, on this always profound and often dazzling interpretation of the basic Shelley.

The vast allegorical poem-drama, "Prometheus Unbound," was the flower of Shelley's genius into which he put the very essence of his life; and Cousins wisely bases his analysis of the fundamentally spiritual Shelley on this work, with reinforcing cross-references to others of Shelley's great poems. Mary Shelley had given the clue to the drama by writing of it: "It requires a mind as subtle and penetrating as his own to understand the mystic meanings scattered through the poem. They elude the ordinary reader by their abstraction and delicacy of distinction, but they are far from vague."

Dr. Cousins is the proverbial fighting Irishman in this new elucidation of the supreme genius of Shelley and interpretation of his major works. He tilts at high and low among the former evaluators of Shelley. He marshals his men in chronological orders from Thomas Carlyle to Sir Henry Newbolt and Aldous Huxley. He proves by convincing quotations how the passage of time raised Shelley from being the expelled Oxonian "atheist," then the "ineffectual angel," later the "hectic, shrill and pallid being," after that the writer of "romantic love affairs," until W. B. Yeats, a true interpreter of the spiritual Shelley, closes "Prometheus Unbound" as a "sacred book." Having put the critics in their ascending grades of inadequacy, Cousins himself starts off from Mary Shelley's clue and piles up evidence and interpretation which cause Shelley to emerge as one of the order of world-liberators with a gospel that "Love, not man, is superior to law, and only when Man-in-the-highest, Man Promethean, is governed solely and completely by Love can he safely be set free from Law (Jupiter)."

Shelley is disclosed in "The Work Promethean" not as a visionary, but as a man with a vision, a seer, a prophet, a preacher, clear and plain to his own mind, capable of being seen equally, clearly by readers of the calibre of his latest eulogist and interpreter, and by lesser minds who now have this "open sesame" in their hands. Not only so, but Shelley is shown as his own ideal of Prometheus in his exposition of how his formula of regenerated society would

act, and so we are guided to the Veda of Shelley in its application to aspects of life—love, thought, freedom, will, equality—by this Irish-Indian Upanishad.

The unique chapter of interpretation, cosmic general and individual, of "Prometheus Unbound" is so closely knit, so intellectually presented, so beautifully expressed, and goes so much deeper than previous expositions in its masterly interpretation of the ancient Promethean myth as resung for the modern and future world by Shelley, that it must be read as a whole at one sitting, and no student of Shelley or of the advancement of humanity can afford to remain without knowledge of it.

Shelley is shown by Cousins as a worshipper of a Being

Which wields the world with never wearied love,  
Sustains it from beneath and kindles it above,

and later in the poem that Being is definitely called "Almighty God" and "Merciful God." Thus falls away the label "atheist", which so long damned Shelley. The label "pantheist" is also removed by quotations which show that Shelley clearly voices the retention of individuality after death even when he sings of Adonais as being "a portion of that loveliness once he made more lovely" but immediately follows it with the assertion that

he doth bear

His part, while the One Spirit's plastic stress:  
Sweeps through the dull dense world.!

As a thinker, even in the realm of physical science, Shelley is shown to have been a pioneer of the scientific doctrine of evolution, ante-dating Darwin by thirty years; stating, as Cousins says, "the clearest science, but stating it gloriously, on the wing." The discovery of evolution in "Adonais," of the three *yogas* of India in "Prometheus Unbound," and of the Shelleyan aesthetic in an "unrhymed sonnet" in that same poem, are proofs of literary and philosophical acumen of a unique kind.

It is part of the charm of this new way in literary criticism that over and over again we see the working poet of today with all the experience of a creative artist making us realize the importance of each word, each nuance of expression, in Shelley. "In the realm of poetry," Cousins writes, "whose appeal is less to the emotions and more to the

mind than music, clarity of statement is an essential quality. Yet there is a stage beyond which the demand for clarity in poetry may be a demand for something other than poetry; a stage where external expression is incapable of carrying the whole offering of inner meaning, and words have to bear on one shoulder the image immediately invoked, and on the other the sometimes shadowy, sometimes shining, shapes of thoughts and feelings seeking incarnation in the always inadequate bodies of speech."

Poets crowd whole realms of thought into single words in special connotations. Theirs is a more synthetical art than the musician's. The latter is inspired with a seed melody, and unfolds it by sequences and contrasts; but the poet keeps pressing the *multum* into the *parvo*: his is the art of literary synthesis,

Compacting to an instant's glance  
All that through sight the senses stirred  
Hushing life's myriad utterance  
Back to the all-enfolding World.

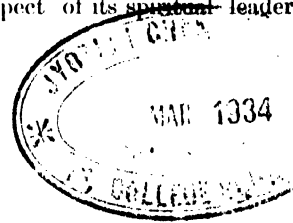
It is only those who realize this by exercising the poet's craft themselves, or by being in close contact with poets, who can most valuably interpret the words and expressions which Shelley economically and eclectically chose.

"At the stage of interpretation," says Cousins, "verbal sounds take overtones of intuitive assumption, tinctures from a myriad forgotten feelings, memories of long-dismantled edifices of thought, undertones of unrecorded experience." Shelley himself expected the future to expand to an adequate understanding of the implications of closely packed thought. He spoke of the augmentation of significance which would accrue to high poetry. The wealth of original exposition which "The Work Promethean" contains proves the correctness of Shelley's prophecy. A special instance of this is the discovery of the already mentioned "unrhymed sonnet" in "Prometheus Unbound" as the chalice holding the full expression of Shelley's ideas on the arts, their origin, their function in the cosmic operation, their relationship with humanity, and the conditions of their progress." The transmutation of this "scanty plot of ground" into Cousins' Japanese miniature garden of exposition, is an act of literary magic with allurements all its own. And closing it is the

explanation of the æsthetical pleasure of creative literary analysis: "There is a special joy of the spirit in mentally separating the apparent complexity of the garden into its several plots for the fuller enjoyment of each, and for attaining through this analytical process the paradox of an ultimately simple and radiant understanding."

It is appropriate that India should be the place of birth of this new discovery of the essential Shelley, for Shelley knew the spiritual stature of India, and knew also of its characteristic doctrines, such as rebirth, the world of the celestials, the One Life, etc. It will

be a novel experience for Western students to find India elucidating and corroborating the English poet. Dr. Cousins is uniquely equipped for such hemispherical cross-references by his Celtic nature, which delights in myth and its interpretation, and by his long residence in India and his "identity of spirit" with India and Shelley. Perhaps such an exposition of the progressive understanding of poetry as is this volume is just the kind of world-service that this deeply spiritual country can make as an aspect of its spiritual leadership of the world.



## THE PROBLEM OF IRRIGATION IN BENGAL

BY SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M.A., PH. D.

IN describing the present condition of Bengal villages Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das once remarked :

"Today that peasant is gone—his breed extinct; gone too is that household with its ordered and peaceful economy of life. The granaries are empty of their golden wealth; the kine are dry and give no milk; and the fields, once so green, are dry and parched with thirst. The tanks have dried up; their water has become blackish and unwholesome and the peasant has lost his natural freshness and gaiety of temperament."\*

Such is the condition of health and agriculture of Bengal villages. The problem of their reconstruction is enormous and complex. They were not unhealthy half a century ago. They were prosperous and held a high position in agriculture, trade and commerce. The main cause of this deterioration is the insidious attack of Malaria.

"The excessive prevalence of Malaria as a whole can be attributed to the great facilities afforded to the breeding of mosquitoes, by the perseverance in and around the villages of dirty tanks, ditches, marshes and canal water in every direction, and to the *Bils* and dead rivers acting in the same way in some cases. In its turn, the presence of so much water is due to the want of natural drainage in the country, owing to its position in a deltaic tract, where the process of

land-building is still going on. The rivers are gradually heightening their banks and beds, until the drainage is away from instead of towards them. The sub-soil water is unable to drain away rapidly, remains long at a high level after the wet season, and prevents the soaking in of rain-water resulting in casual collection of water remaining for long periods in every hollow, natural and artificial. It is the combination of these two factors, the high sub-soil water and the jungles and insanitary condition of the villages, that results in so high a Malaria rate. The pits, hollows and jungles in villages would in themselves be insufficient to account for so great a prevalence of the disease, were they not combined with lack of natural drainage, which allows the surface collection of water to remain for so long a time."†

The means advocated now, draining and filling up the cess-pools which are the haunts of Anopheles, are like treating symptoms of the disease, the root cause of which is not being tackled. Some of the experts say that the time of the beginning of E. I. Railway lines synchronizes with the beginning of the epidemic breaking out in an explosive form, that railway lines and high roads have obstructed drains and unless there are remedies for that it is wasting money and energy in solving the question of Malaria. These experts also say that the mighty rivers of the Gangetic system are gradually getting silted

\* Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das's Presidential Address at the Bengal Provincial Conference in 1917.

† Vide Drainage Committee Report of 1909.



up and a large number of them have become already silted up, and that these are contributory causes of Malaria. Unless these are put in order, no amount of effort spent on village improvement will do any good. There is not the least doubt that a good amount of harm has been done by obstacle to drainage by high embankment and also due to shallow borrow-pits excavated all along the railway lines. In most cases, it is due to the ignorance and negligence of the railway engineers of the elementary laws of sanitation. Again there is not the slightest doubt that the deterioration of the river system is a predominant factor in producing Malaria.

There is a considerable amount of evidence to support the view that railway construction has been largely responsible for the disastrous change that has come over many parts of the delta in the last seventy years. Before the advent of railways, there were few roads and although river embankments existed in certain districts they were rarely efficient in preventing inundation, because breaches were common and more often than not the embankments were deliberately cut to let river water into the *bils* and on to the fields. As there were few roads to impede the free passage of the floods across the surface of the country, the water flowed from field to field, choosing the natural lines of drainage, and eventually made its escape through the network of *khals* and channels that existed in every part of the delta. But this natural process of flood and flush was destroyed by the advent of railways, which required embankments for their tracks and a system of feeder roads to convey passengers and produce to their stations. For the periodic inundation of the country naturally tended on occasions to destroy the continuity of the road and railway communications and it became necessary therefore to make the river embankments secure against breaches; and in consequence flood water was shut out from the country, the natural system of deltaic irrigation was interrupted, drainage was impeded and the natural network of channels which used formerly to be fed by the spill water from the great rivers became silted up and in many cases entirely destroyed, rendering boat traffic difficult and in many cases

impossible. The embanking of the country and the shutting out of river water from the surface of the delta was further marked by the simultaneous occurrence of appalling epidemics of Malaria, a serious decline of agriculture and the progressive depopulation of the affected areas. There are grounds for believing that the multiplication of roads and railways has been a cause of land actually going out of cultivation. The effect of embankments upon the fertility of cultivable land has to be considered in this connection, and a passage quoted below from the Bengal Census Report of 1911 has special bearing on this question:

"There is no doubt that in areas liable to inundation the embankment does frequently alter the drainage of the country. On the one side, floods are deeper and last longer than before, and the soil becomes water-logged; on the other, the land does not receive the same amount of moisture or the same fertilizing deposit of silt."

In the deltaic portions of Bengal, cultivable land, ordinarily subject to inundation with river water, never requires to lie fallow whereas other lands do. Fallows, therefore, may be taken as an index of soil impoverishment. In proportion to the cultivated area, fallow land is five times as common in both Western and Northern Bengal than in Eastern Bengal, and in Central Bengal the proportion of fallow land is just ten times as great as that in Eastern Bengal.\* From a comparison of railways, roads and fallow lands in the above four parts of Bengal, it is clear that the multiplication of railways and roads in the deltaic portions of Bengal is to be regarded with grave misgivings. The embankments exert a most baneful effect upon the fertility of the soil, thus causing a serious decline in the agricultural production of the areas they serve. Roads and railways afford, no doubt, excellent facilities for the transport of goods and the rapid transit of passengers. But if the construction of necessary embankments brings about in course of time enormous reduction in the agricultural outturns of whole districts, and turns healthy areas into hotbeds of Malaria and eventually leads perhaps to

\* C. A. Bentley, *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, page 33.

† A comparative statement is given in Bentley's work, page, 34.

the destruction of a large percentage of their total population, then the advantages must necessarily be said to be most dearly purchased.

Says C. A. Bentley :

"Recent observations have shown on numerous occasions that, following the construction of embankments, there is a very great local extension of Malaria on both sides of the embankment, accompanied by a rise in the local mortality, an increase in the proportion of fever cases and fever deaths and a rise in the spleen index. Changes of this kind have been noted and specially reported on in detail in the case of the railways from Ketwa to Sahibganj, in Birbhum and Murshidabad, in the case of embankments connected with the Sara bridge and in the case of the Sara-Seraiganj Railway. A considerable rise in the fever-index has also been noted in the case of railway construction in Mymensingh."

Prior to the shutting of the Damodar floods, the condition of the affected area in Bengal was one of almost unexampled prosperity. In 1760, Bardwan which then covered an area of 5,174 square miles and included the present districts of Hooghly and Howrah, was described by the officers of the East India Company as the most productive districts within the whole province or Subah of Bengal. It was also spoken of as "a garden in the midst of a wilderness." But within a century and a half the population in Burdwan and Hooghly has fallen, according to Lt. Col. Crawford, by about 50 per cent, and the decline still continues, not only in these areas but also in many other parts of Bengal that have been similarly affected, and the Census of 1911 revealed the fact that during the previous decade depopulation had taken place in many *thanas* in different districts. The decline of population is most extensive in Western and Central Bengal, where there are most embankments and where agriculture has suffered the greatest deterioration. In almost every case also the decline of population is associated with the extensive prevalence of Malaria. It is significant that the decline is the least in Eastern Bengal, which is not so well provided with embanked roads and railways and where the country has not been protected from inundation by marginal river embankments. Where in a few areas depopulation is occurring in Eastern Bengal it is associated with the embanking of the country, a local decline in agriculture and a coincident increase in Malaria.

This decline in agriculture and increase in

Malaria can be checked, according to Sir William Wilcocks, by the restoration of the ancient system of overflow irrigation of Bengal and also, according to Dr. C. A. Bentley, by canal irrigation along the embankment lines of the railway. How this old system of irrigation came to be neglected in Bengal has been described at length by Sir William Wilcocks and this description bears repetition here. By 1815 the zamindars and tenants of Central Bengal had neglected the clearing of the canals and the repairing of the banks with the silt so cleared, a work known as "Pulbandi." This negligence began in Bengal in the troublous Mahratta-Afghan wars, and the early English who were traders and sailors knew nothing about irrigation. Seeing many waterways neglected and unused after the wars, they thought the canals were meant only for navigation and they left them alone. This negligence made Central Bengal in 1815 cede the place of honour it held in 1660 to Burdwan whose river, the Damodar, was much better placed for irrigation than the Ganges. Decay had begun in Central Bengal, and it began later in Burdwan where the canal clearances were neglected on the canals which took off from the river, and there remained nothing but filling up of the breaches made in the banks of the Damodar itself. As the uncleaned canals took less and less water, more water remained in the Damodar and it became a menace to the country. The Damodar banks now assumed a fresh importance. These banks were known as "Zamindari banks." They were breached by the peasantry when the fear of an inundation had passed or a breach had occurred elsewhere; and in this way the old canals, now called definitely "dead rivers," were filled with water and the country irrigated more or less perfectly. Then it was imagined by everybody that these "Zamindari banks" were only flood protective works, and that they were kept up solely for that purpose. The "Zamindari bank irrigation" which was practised when the breaches or "Kanwas" were made and the canals or "Kanas" were filled with water, was considered as non-existent. The "overflow canals" were called "dead rivers" in places and "drainage lines" in others, but the word "irrigation" was never mentioned. Irrigation still went on, however,

because the zamindars and tenants made secret breaches in the banks and irrigated their lands when they could. These breaches were considered by the authorities as breaches made by the uncontrolled floods of the rivers and the Government set itself to put an end to such discreditable occurrences. It never seems to have struck anybody that the breaches were made secretly by the peasantry for irrigation. And yet it ought to have been evident that 40 or 50 breaches in a heavily embanked river of inconsiderable length in a single year could not possibly have been made by the river itself.\*

The meteorological conditions in Bengal render irrigation necessary. The chief characteristics of the rainfall here are its unequal distribution throughout the seasons and its liability to failure or serious deficiency. This province, indeed, presents a greater variety of meteorological conditions than any area of similar size in the world. The second important characteristic of the rainfall is its unequal distribution throughout the seasons. By far the greater portion of the rain falls between June and September. During the winter months the rainfall is comparatively small, while the hot weather is practically rainless. Consequently it happens that in one season of the year the greater part of Bengal is deluged with rain and is the scene of the most wonderful and rapid growth of vegetation; in another period the same tract becomes a dreary sunburnt waste. Hence sometimes in the year, cultivation without irrigation becomes practically impossible and agriculture consequently ceases to depend upon the rainfall and relies wholly upon water obtained from other sources; again sometimes without proper aqueducts agriculture becomes impossible in the same tracts which are flooded with water and become the breeding places of mosquitoes and other worms. Therefore, something needs be done by the construction of reservoirs, to conserve the monsoon rainfall and extend its benefits over the other seasons of the year.†

An adequate supply of soil water for the plant is the first condition of success in crop production. Without this the plant cannot

make full use of the natural fertility of the land. Hence is the dependence of the crops of India on the monsoon and the importance of a well-distributed rainfall to the country. The monsoon is the dominant factor in rural India. The well-known uncertainty of the monsoon produces other effects besides limiting the annual harvest. The character and outlook of the population have been affected. The people feel that the monsoon is in command. The villager is convinced that he has to accept what Providence has seen fit to provide. Hence comes the well-marked fatalism of the people, the general stagnation of village life and the absence of any desire on the part of the cultivator to improve his condition. The Bengal monsoon has produced two other results besides influencing the outlook of the people and often reducing the supply of moisture for the crops. In the first place, the heavy falls of rain, which often occur, lead to constant erosion and to the loss of the most fertile portion of the soil. In the second place, the duration of the monsoon is so short that only rapidly-maturing varieties of low potential yield can be cultivated. The annual loss of soil which takes place in India by erosion is immense and is an important factor in reducing the annual harvest. Except in the rice-areas, soil-erosion takes place all over the country. In these tracts, the scientific control of surface drainage does not yet exist. Much of the rain is received in heavy fall; a large portion of the water runs off the surface towards the drainage lines, carrying with it the most valuable portion of the soil—the fine particles and a large part of the organic matter. Sometimes this drainage from the higher land leads to the water-logging of lower areas before it reaches the rivers. In other cases the surplus water runs to waste so rapidly that there is no time for it to soak into the soil. The crops then suffer and the reserve of water in the sub-soil is not replenished. All these adverse factors—soil-erosion, water-logging and a shortage of soil moisture—occur because there is no control of the rain after it reaches the ground. Examples of the evil consequences which result from the want of control of the surface drainage are unfortunately only too abundant.

\* Sir William Wilcocks, *Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal*, pages 21 & 22.

† *Irrigation in India* by D. G. Harris, pp. 2 & 3.

Thousands of acres of valuable land have been destroyed by the formation of a network of ravines which produce little more than a crop of grass in the rains. These gullies have been carved out of the soft alluvial soil by the uncontrolled drainage in the past. Every year they extend further and further from the river, until they measure many hundreds of yards in length. Villages, which at one time were surrounded by fertile fields, now lie in a network of useless ravines. The real remedy for such damage is prevention by irrigation—the control of the drainage in the first instance. In matters like this, little can be hoped from individual cultivators, as they are too intent on their small areas of land besides being so poor and so ignorant that they cannot execute a drainage scheme for the country-side.\*

Hence all efforts to effect agricultural improvements will be fruitless if facilities for irrigating the land are not forthcoming. In the old rural economy of Bengal, there was a carefully planned system of regulating the rain-water so as to lead the water from lands on a higher level to a lower level, but owing to the construction of railway and road embankments and the neglect of the water channels, these have disappeared in many cases, with the result that water-logging takes place in some parts, while soil-erosion occurs in others. During the monsoon season the rainfall in the Gangetic Valley is fairly heavy and this water, if it is not properly controlled, has a tendency to run off the surface without percolating into the soil after washing away the most valuable part of the soil. The result is loss of moisture in the soil and gradual permanent loss of fertility. The left bank of Jumna has lost thousands of acres of fertile land owing to the formation of ravines as the result of erosion.

"These ravines," says Howard, "have been carved out of the soft alluvial soil by the uncontrolled drainage in the past."† Every year the damage is greater and greater and unless some remedy by irrigation is at once effected, most villages in Bengal will more and more lose their fertile fields and will be

surrounded by useless ravines in the near future.

Water control must be carried on with a view to economizing the volume of water supplied to different crops according to their necessity. Dry crops like wheat, cotton and maize do not require much water, while rice and jute are in need of a large volume of water for quick growth. There are some varieties of rice which require a larger amount of water than others. The wants of these different crops and their varieties will have to be studied and water is to be regulated accordingly.

Irrigation will increase soil fertility by silt deposit and improved drainage, thus encouraging cultivation of the land, increasing the food supply of the people, and promoting the prosperity of the country as a whole. Under the system of land tenure common to the greater portion of Bengal, whereby most of the land is held by small tenant cultivators, irrigation will tend to check decline of population and will increase especially the prosperity of the agricultural classes, who form the bulk of the rural population. In the conditions peculiar to deltaic areas and which exist in the greater part of Bengal, irrigation and the wet cultivation, including the cultivation of rice, promise to reduce the number of *Anopheles* mosquitoes and thus lessen the prevalence of Malaria.\* In other words, as Dr. Bentley says, "Irrigation must be the watchword of Bengal."

The ancient kings and peoples of Bengal knew the advantages of irrigation and constructed a system of irrigation the distinguishing feature of which was that: (i) The canals were broad and shallow carrying the crest waters of the river floods, rich in fine clay and free from coarse sand; (ii) the canals were long and continuous and fairly parallel to each other, and at the right distance from each other for purpose of irrigation; (iii) the irrigation was performed by cuts in the banks of the canals, which were closed when the flood was over, these artificial cuts are today called "Kanwas" in Bhagalpur. The irrigation of Bengal was done principally by rainfall and the river water was used to manure the

\* *The Development of Indian Agriculture* by A. Howard and G. C. Howard, page 16.

† A. Howard, *Crop Production*, page 12.

\* C. A. Bentley, *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, page 174.

infall and kill the mosquitoes or deprive them their malignity.\*

While trying to tackle the irrigation problem of Bengal one has to admit that no general survey of the irrigation possibilities Bengal has yet been made. The Linlithgow Commission rightly pointed out that "the problems that await solution in Bengal, if solved, all the problems presented can be completely solved, are thus complex in the extreme." The complexity of the irrigation problem in Bengal has been admitted on all hands. First, there is the question of rainfall and conservation and regulation of both surface and sub-soil water; next is that of the effect of embankments on irrigation, drainage,

sanitation and public health; then that of the condition and behaviour of deltaic rivers; then follows that of navigation.

The necessity for irrigation in Bengal is self-evident. The manifold advantages of irrigation can very well be summarized by concluding that irrigation means better economic conditions; means small farms with greater productive power, and ensures homes with greater comfort and health for men of moderate means. It means more intelligence and knowledge applied to farming,—more profit from crops, more commerce—because special products of higher grade and better market value will be enhanced. Irrigation will finally solve the great labour question and fortify against the alarming increase of city populations.

\* *The Overflow Irrigation of Bengal* by Sir William Wilcocks, pages 5 and 6.

## ABOLITION OF THE "SUTTEE"

An Unknown Tract of Rammohun Roy

*The tract reproduced below was written by Raja Rammohun Roy and published by him in England in 1832. It has not so far been found in any edition of his collected works. It was discovered by Prof. U. N. Ball of Lahore in the library of the Forman Christian College, Lahore. The story as to how it came there has been told in the January number of this Review (p. 110), where the inscription on its cover in Rammohun's handwriting presenting it to Lady Johnstone was reproduced.*

*This unknown tract on the "Suttee" will be included in the Collected Works of Rammohun Roy shortly to be published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. The Editor of the "Modern Review" will act as General Editor to the Parishat Edition of the Raja's Works. Ed. M. R.*

### SOME REMARKS

In Vindication of the Resolution passed by

THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL

In 1829

ABOLISHING THE

PRACTICE OF FEMALE SACRIFICES

IN INDIA

REMARKS, ETC., ETC.

THE practice of burning Hindoo widows, on the funeral piles of their husbands, was abolished by the Government of Bengal, on the 4th of December, 1829, in consequence of which these unfortunate and deluded persons have been completely saved from destruction, for a period of two years and upwards. Certain Hindoo inhabitants of Calcutta, who find this humane measure detrimental to their own interests, have under the advice of an attorney of the Supreme Court, at the Presidency of Fort

William, thought proper to bring the subject before the Privy Council, with the view of having the Regulation rescinded and the practice renewed.

2. Par. As to the propriety, or justice, or humanity of re-establishing such a cruel usage, it may safely be left to the wisdom and discretion of exalted individuals, before whom in this Christian country and enlightened age, the subject is to be discussed.

3. Par. With regard to the question of policy, which to many statesmen seems paramount to justice, humanity, conscience, law and religion; it might have been alleged that the abolition would be an interference with the religious rites of the Hindoos, and would cause insurrection, perhaps revolution in the country, and terminate in the loss of the British possessions in India. On this point I beg to offer a few remarks.

First. If there had been any chance of popular commotion being excited by such abolition, it might have been expected immediately after the measure was adopted in the latter end of the year 1829. About two years and upwards

however passed, and no accounts have been received that any widow has been burnt, in opposition to the regulations of Government, or even that any attempt at commotion has ever been made.

Secondly. From a reference to the printed official returns, (laid before Parliament) of the number of Suttees within the territories of the Presidency of Fort William, from 1815 to 1828, inclusive, it appears that within the province of Bengal, including the city of Benares (to which place an immense number of the Bengalees, male and female, retire, from religious prejudices, to end their days,) and Patna, which is adjacent, and has been long united to Bengal, by political connection as well as by close and constant intercourse, the number of female sacrifices has mounted to 7911, whereas in the whole extent of the upper provinces, classed under the head of Bareilly, we find only 203 in a period of 14 years, (on an average about 14 in each year: consequently had there been any chance of popular commotion, it might have been dreaded in Bengal particularly, where the practice chiefly prevailed. But it is well known that from education and want of physical energy, the natives of Bengal are the last persons in the world to be expected to rise against public authority.

Thirdly. Even in Bengal a greater number of the most intelligent and influential of the natives, landholders, bankers, merchants, and others, felt so much gratified with the removal of the odium, which the practice had attached to their character as a nation, that they find united in presenting an address of thanks and congratulation, on the subject, to the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, on the 18th of January, 1830,\* and in like manner, when his Lordship, in his progress to the upper provinces, arrived at Buxar, (situated between Patna, and Benares,) persons of the highest rank and respectability, supported by numerous inhabitants, presented another address, expressive of their satisfaction at the abolition of the horrible custom, as will appear by the *Calcutta Government Gazette* of November 15th, 1830.

Fourthly. It was not religious devotion alone which prompted the generality of the natives of Bengal, who carried on the practice of widow burning to such an extent; nor is that their motive for wishing its re-establishment. But it is their wordly interest, which many wish to serve under the cloak of religion. Since according to their law of inheritance (the *Dayabhaga*) a widow is entitled to inherit the property of her deceased husband, without regard to his

condition in life, and therefore is a comp bar to the claims of the father, mother, brothers and daughters of the deceased, who is all consequently a direct interest in the destruction of the widow. But in the upper provinces where the *Mitakshara* is respected as the law of inheritance, according to which the rights of the surviving wife are more circumscribed, relatives of the husband are not much interested in her death; and in these provinces it is found that the Suttees are comparatively very rare.\*

Fifthly. Hence, it is obvious, that as adherence of the Bengalees to this practice generally springs from selfish considerations of wordly nature, the abolition of such a fertile source of intrigue and calculating cruelty cannot excite any apprehension of religious enthusiasm in those persons who are conscious of the worthiness of the cause they advocate; even the Bengalees had possessed physical energy, and a war-like education. These considerations (as many others might be added) are sufficient to shew, that policy by no means requires the re-establishment of the open perpetration of suicide and murder.

4 Par. It might be alleged, that the British Government has pledged itself not to interfere with the religious rights of its Indian native subjects; but, it must not be forgotten, that according to common sense, as well as from reference to precedent and the dominion of India, it is clear, that this rule was always unequivocally meant to apply to religious observances which are considered incumbent on the people, according to the principles of their own faith, and which are not a nuisance and an outrage to public feeling. On this principle, the Government, from time to time, prohibited various practices performed in the name of religion such as the perambulation of the streets by Nagas, (or naked devotees), infanticide and suicide under the car of Jugganauth, the self-destructive and public burning of leper, human sacrifices, etc. etc.; it being found that these practices were only partially observed and consequently merely optional, not incumbent, since the omission involved no loss of civil rights, nor did it bring reproach on those who failed to observe them; while their observance was highly offensive, a nuisance to the public and a reproach to a civilized government. The case is precisely the same with respect to widow burning. For, first, in regard to the

\* *Vide the Bengal Hurkaru, or the India Gazette* of the 18th of Jan. 1830. "The whole wealth of a deceased husband, who has no male issue," shall belong to his widow, though there be brothers of the whole blood, "paternal uncles, (daughters) daughter's sons, and other heirs." Colebrook's translation of the *Dayabhaga*. Chap. 11, sec. 1. Art 3rd.

\* A wife being chaste takes the whole estate of a man who being separated from his co-heirs and subsequently reunited with them, dies leaving a male issue. Colebrook's translation of the *Mitakshara* Chap. 2. Sec. 1. Art 39. It should not be overlooked that amongst the Hindoos, brothers very generally or almost always, live in joint families, and are often first and second cousins also; consequently the qualification of non-separation has almost annihilated the rights of the widow.

number of widows burning in the province of Bengal, only one widow out of perhaps thirty, and in the upper provinces, one out of nine hundred and ninety-nine could be prevailed on to perform this horrid sacrifice; while all the rest lived in the enjoyment of their civil rights and social respect (as shewn by thousands of judicial decrees): and again, on the score of nuisance, it is a source of greater offence and disgust to the public than the rest, from its being performed of human beings expiring under the greatest sufferings. Therefore, a regard to consistency and its own character compelled the government to deal with this practice as they had done with the others before mentioned.

5 Par. In addition to its local observation of the option exercised by widows, of either living an austere life, or of burning themselves with the corpse of the husband, Government was furnished with the verdicts of the Pandits of the Sudder Dewance Adawlut, and of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; who, notwithstanding their enthusiastic zeal in favour of the practice of coneremation, felt compelled by the force of truth to acknowledge, that at most it was entirely optional; nay, that an austere life was more meritorious.

First. In reply to the question submitted to the Hindoo Law Officers of the Sudder Dewance Adawlut, in March 1817, it was stated (p. 174), that "the woman who wishes to accompany her deceased husband, let her ascend the funeral pile." In some cases, the widow may be laid on the funeral pile, before it is lighted, by the side of her husband. But, (p. 175) if she be then destitute of the wish to perform the act of *sahagaman* (coneremation) she must be lifted off." Again (page 175), "If having arrived at the place of burning, she determine to burn, the ceremony of depositing the widow must be again gone through." "If she afterwards express a wish to rise, she must be lifted off."

Second. The Pandit of the Supreme Court (Mrityoonjay) states, (p. 178) that according to the *Jutta Mala Bilas* "ascending the funeral pile is a voluntary act, and not an indispensable one" (p. 182). The alternative of leading an austere life being mentioned and "any objection adverse to it, being removed by the comparison cited in the text, this alternative seems evidently to be recommended by the favoured side of the argument" (p. 182). "In a person who is careless about absorption and desirous to obtain a paradise of temporary and inconsiderable bliss the act of "anoogaman (following the husband) is justifiable, but from this "reasoning it appears evident that the leading of a virtuous life is preferred as the superior alternative, and that the act of 'anoogaman' is held to be of inferior merit." (p. 182). No difference prevails with regard to the propriety of leading a life of "austerity" (p. 183). "Not the slightest offence attaches either to "the women who depart from

their resolution (of burning) or to those who persuade them to relinquish their intentions" (p. 183).

6. Par. If we look further into the consequences arising from the successful exertions of European Orientalists, in translating Sanscrit works, in various branches of literature, into the English language, of the Brahmans, in the interpretation of the Hindoo law, and Religious doctrines. For example, the translation of the institutes of Menu, by Sir William Jones, which is before the public, and which work, is a system of duties, religious and civil, and of law, in all "its branches, which the Hindoos firmly believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of time by Menu the son or grandson of the oldest only, but the holiest of legislators, a system so comprehensive and so minutely exact, that it may be considered as the institutes of Hindoo law." (Sir W. Jones's works, Vol. VII, p. 76, Preface.)

7. Par. This great legislator, in prescribing the duties of widows, thus ordains: "Let her (the widow) CONTINUE TILL "DEATH, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women, as were devoted to one only husband." (Chap. V, Verse 158, p. 271.) "And like those abstemious men, if after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity (Ver. 160.) But a widow "who from a wish to bear children, slights her deceased husband, by marrying again, brings disgrace upon herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord." (Ver. 161).

8. Par. Here Menu by the expression "let her continue till death," imperatively commands the widows to live a life of virtue, piety and austerity, discountenances her marrying again, and does not admit the idea of any such alternative as that of burning with the corpse of her husband.

9. Par. It cannot be alleged that the Ved may have justified the practice and superseded the authority of Menu; since the Ved itself declares that "whatever Menu pronounced, was a medicine for the soul." (Vide Sir W. Jones's works, Vol. VII, p. 83, lines 21 and 23.)

10. Par. Nor can it be alleged, that Ungira and some other legislators who recommend widow burning, and also profess to found their doctrines on the Veds, should be considered of equal authority to Menu; since on the Ved itself in the text above quoted, the authority of which all acknowledge to be supreme, sanctions every precept of Menu, and in addition to this, Vrihaspati declares, that "Menu held the first rank amongst legislators; because he had expressed in his code the whole sense of the Veda; that no code was approved which contradicted Menu." (Sir W. Jones's works, Vol. VII, p. 83, line 25.)

11 Par. Therefore any quotation from other authorities or detached passages attributed to Menu, but not to be found in his code, and inconsistent with it, cannot be considered as of any validity. Then, whence, it may be asked arose a practice so repugnant to reason, and so contrary to the most ancient, and highest legislative authority of the Hindoo? Only (I reply) from the jealousy of their Princes, who were unable to tolerate the idea of their wives proving forgetful of them, and associating with other men after their deaths, and their dependants were induced to follow their footsteps, actuated by the same motives, and also by the influence of example; while their surviving relations did not fail to encourage the practice, for the reasons above explained, to promote their own interests, and literary men of similar feelings have not been wanting, to support their views, by interpolations and inventions, under the name of traditions, and quotations, from the Poorans and Tantras, which all acknowledge to have no limit, or certain standard. But unfortunately it is an established rule, that every doctrine founded on these, is to be rejected, when on a fair critical examination, it proves to be inconsistent with Menu, the only safe rule to guard against endless corruptions, absurdities, and human caprices.

R. M. R.

FINIS

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#### APPENDIX

It cannot, I think, be irrelevant to the subject, to bring under the notice of the British public, that the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoo Widows alive, on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, was a measure not indiscreetly or rashly adopted by the Governor General of Bengal, but it was recommended and officially suggested to Lord William Bentinck, by the members of the Supreme Council—by the judges of the Sudder Dewany, and Nizamut Adawlut, who are most deservedly entrusted with the power of life and death, over the millions of the Natives of India,—by the officers of Government, holding responsible situations, and possessed of the best local information, as well as by the long-resident Europeans of the first intelligence and unquestionable respectability; with the exception of six individuals out of the whole British public living in India.

#### AUTHORITIES FOR THE ABOLITION

1. Members of the Supreme Council
  1. Lord Combermere, Commander-in-Chief
  2. The Hon. W. B. Bayley.
  3. Sir Charles Metcalfe.
2. Judges of Nizamut Adawlut, or Supreme Criminal Court
  - W. Leycester, Esq., Chief Judge

A. Ross, Esq., Second Judge  
C. F. Sealy, Esq., Third Judge  
R. H. Rattray, Esq., Fifth Judge

3. Officers of Government holding responsible situations, Military, Judicial and Revenue, and long-resident Europeans of high respectability.

1st. Those of persons in favour of an immediate and total suppression of the Rite by the authority of Government.

1. Lieut.-Colonel Richard Andree
2. Major W. S. Beatson
3. Colonel R. H. Cunliffe
4. Major R. L. Dickson
5. Lieut.-Colonel J. Doyeton
6. Brig. General F. Duncan
7. Lieut.-Colonel W. Dunlop
8. Lieut.-Colonel C. Fagan
9. Lieut.-Colonel W. C. Faithful
10. Lieut.-Colonel J. Kenedy
11. W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.
12. Lieut.-General G. Martindell
13. Captain J. B. Neufville
14. Lieut.-Colonel C. Poyolen
15. Brig. General W. Richards
16. Captain S. Riley
17. Captain D. Ruddell
18. Major General Shuldham
19. Lieut.-Colonel E. Simons
20. Lieut.-Colonel H. T. Tapp
21. Captain C. Thoresby
22. Lieut.-Colonel L. H. Todd
23. Major F. Walker
24. Captain G. Young
25. J. Young, Esq.

2nd. Recommending the immediate suppression of the Rite by the authorized interference of the local Magistrates.

J. Dunsmore, Esq.

3rd. Persons who recommend a total and immediate prohibition of the Rite by Legislative enactments, as expedient, safe, and practicable.

1. W. W. Biers, Esq.
2. R. M. Bird, Esq.
3. G. F. Brown, Esq.
4. James Calder, Esq.
5. W. Ewer, Esq.
6. Robert North Collicie Hamilton, Esq.
7. A. Stirling, Esq.
8. A. Trotter, Esq.

4th. Persons who recommend a gradual abolition of the Rite by the authorized interference of the Magistrates.

1. Major H. Hall
2. Major A. Hardy
3. Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Kemm
4. Major L. Land
5. Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Litter
6. Brig. General James Price
7. Lieut.-Colonel J. Skinner
8. Lieut.-Colonel B. Rope
9. Lieut.-Colonel E. F. Waters
10. Lieut.-Colonel E. P. Wilson



5th. Persons who abstained from giving any opinion on the subject at large, but apprehended no danger from a prohibition of the Rite, as regards the Native army.

1. Major T. Palmer
2. Brig. General R. Patton
3. Lieut.-Colonel W. Wilson

Parties who entertained sentiments moderately or directly different from those above stated.

1st. Persons adverse to a direct prohibition of the Rite by Government.

1. Brig. General J. W. Adams
2. Major General J. Arnold
3. Major Thomas Barron
4. Lieut.-Colonel Wm. Casement
5. Major C. Frye
6. Lieut.-Colonel C. P. Gilman
7. Captain J. Nicholson
8. Brig. General J. O. Halloran
9. Lieut.-Colonel T. H. Paul
10. Lieut.-Colonel W. D. Playfair
- Lieut.-Colonel H. Roberts

2nd. Persons adverse to a total prohibition of the Rite as being premature.

1. W. Blunt, Esq.
2. H. Douglas, Esq.

3rd. Persons adverse to every species of official interference with the Rite of Suttee.

1. H. H. Wilson, Esq.
2. Captain J. Cowslade
3. Brig. General J. R. Lumley.

4th. Persons adverse to a prohibition of the Rite, as being a departure from the principles of toleration, but who conceived it would be safe though productive of dissatisfaction.

1. T. Packenham, Esq.
2. W. Wilkinson, Esq.

Abstracted from the Appendix to the Statement submitted by the East India Company, to the King's most Honourable Privy Council.

Nichols and Sons, Printers, Earl's Court, Carnabourne Street.\*

\* This tract was to be reproduced in the February number of *The Modern Review*, but for want of space we had to defer it to this issue. —*Ed., M. R.*

## THE ORIENTAL STUDENTS' CONGRESS AND THE THIRD CONVENTION OF THE INDIAN STUDENTS IN EUROPE, ROME, 1933

BY AMIYANATH SARKAR

ON the occasion of the inauguration of the Italian Institute for the Middle and the Far East, which owes its existence to the indefatigable efforts of Prof. Tucci, Senator Gentile, Consul Scarpa and Baron Ricciardi, a Congress of the Oriental Students in Europe was invited at Rome during the last Christmas Week. Students from the different university towns of Europe representing Japan, China, Siam, India, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia (including Palestine, Syria, Lebanon) attended the Congress and their number was six hundred in all, the Chinese alone were 150 in number including many girls. The number of Indian delegates were 86 and they came specially to attend the Third Convention of the Federation of Indian Students in Europe. More than 30 Indian Christian students attended the Congress from the Pope's Propaganda College.

For the first time a Congress of this nature was organized and much credit is due to the Italian Students' Association and the Hindusthan Association of Italy who jointly took the initiative in organizing the Congress. The Italian authorities granted second class return railway tickets to the delegates within the Italian frontiers and the

delegates were the guests of the Italian Students' Association of Rome.

The authorities were lavish in their hospitality towards the delegates. In successive days they were received by the Oriental Institute, the Rector of the University, University Fascist Group, His Holiness the Pope and some individuals. Moreover, visits to important places, exhibition, and opera had also been arranged. To crown everything, Signor Mussolini himself came down to address the Oriental students on the opening day of the Congress which was held in the historic Julius Caesar Hall on the Capitoline Hill.

Though unfortunately there was no mention in his speech about India and China, and more attention was given to the Mediterranean Asia, a few lines quoted from Mussolini's remarkable speech might help us to follow the trend of the whole speech as well as to understand Italy's attitude towards the East. Mussolini in course of his speech said that he considered the trite saying

"East is East and West is West  
And never the twain shall meet."



Oriental Students laying the wreath on the Unknown Soldier's Grave.  
The Indian delegates are following the National Flag carried by Dr. J. B. Singh of Frankfurt-A-Main.



The Delegates to the Third Convention of the Federation of Indian Students in Europe, Rome, 1933.  
Inaugural Meeting in the Hall of the University of Rome.



Mussolini addressing the opening meeting of the Congress of the Oriental Students in the Julius Caesar Hall on the Capitoline Hill, Rome, December, 1933.

to be historically "nonsense." He continued :

"Twenty centuries ago Rome achieved a union in the Mediterranean between East and West which has been of tremendous importance in the world's history. Rome colonized the West, but in the East—in Egypt, in Syria and in Persia, the relationship was one of mutual creative understanding. This union was the corner-stone of our entire history and it gave rise to European civilization. This must now become universal once more or else perish."

\* \* \*  
" . . . the new currents of traffic, the increasing flow of gold, and the exploitation of rich and distant countries gave rise to capitalism as the basis of a new civilization of a materialistic and exclusive character, with its seats far from the Mediterranean."

It was then that all intercourse between East and West came to be placed exclusively on a footing of mere subordination and was restricted to a purely material sphere. Every spiritual link tending to a creative collaboration came to cease and the belief became widespread that Europe and Asia must be antagonists. And the cause of all this was merely a type of mentality existing in some parts of Europe which was incapable or unwilling to understand Asia, which considered Asia as a market for produce and as a fountain-head for raw materials."

At the close of Mussolini's speech the President of the Congress spoke thanking the Duce and heartily reciprocated the sympathy for Asia expressed by him. He was followed by an Arab, M. El. Djabri, the Vice-President of the Congress, and then Sreemati Bharati Sarabhai spoke on behalf of the Indian delegates.

The Congress had a successful session and it formed its Executive Committee with two delegates from each nation and Mr. Kisan Jehanghani, an Indian, was appointed Joint Secretary to the Congress. Before dispersing the Congress resolved to start a permanent bureau in Rome for continuing the useful work done by the Congress for one week. An Indian student, Amiyath Sarkar, and a Chinese girl student, Mlle. Suzanne Liao, were appointed Joint Secretaries to the Bureau of the Federation of Oriental Students. The Bureau has already started to function.

Simultaneously with the Oriental Students' Congress was held the third Convention of the Federation of Indian Students in Europe. Sreejut Subhas Chandra Bose, who was invited to the inauguration of the Oriental Institute, was unanimously elected President of the Convention. S. J. Bose's presence in Rome not only contributed



Photograph of the Council of the Federation

*Sitting from Left to Right:* Messrs. Jaikumar Atal (Vice-President, Oxford), Gairola (Treasurer, Vienna), Khanna (President, Munich), S. Subhas Ch. Bose (President of the Conference), Dr. Katyar (Secretary, Vienna), Ali (Member, London).

*Standing Left to Right:* Amiya N. Sarkar (Convenor & Secretary to the Convention), Asoke Bose (Member, Munich), Pardhy (Member, Birmingham), Mathur (Member, Vienna), Kamdar (Member, Dransdatt), Sing, P. N. Roy (Member, Rome), D. N. Das (Rome).

very largely to the success of the Indian Students' Convention but it also had a benign influence on the work of the Oriental Students' Congress at moments of disagreement amongst the delegates of the different nations.

The Convention was inaugurated by H. E. Prof. Destefani, President of the Faculty of Political Science of the Rome University and Member of the Fascist Grand Council, who welcomed the delegates in very cordial terms. The meeting was also addressed by the Secretary of the University Fascist Group. Many useful resolutions, including one admiring the Congress for its work and another condoling the deaths of S. Sen-Gupta and Patel, were discussed and adopted. Mahatma Gandhi was elected the Honorary Life President and Sreejits Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose were elected the Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Federation.

It was decided to reorganize the central office of the Federation for this purpose and it was shifted from London to Vienna. It was also decided to hold the next Convention in Vienna.

In course of his presidential address in which S. Bose dealt at a great length with the various

problems of Indian students and suggested some solutions requesting the Indian students to come to continental universities and industrial centres instead of crowding in particular countries. The continental universities are as good as those of any other country and they are producing remarkable men. He also said in connection with the student movement in India.

"The Student Movement in India is intimately connected with the larger national movement in the country. I have seen the same manifestation in Germany and in Italy. Nevertheless, the task of the Indian students is much harder than the task of students in other free countries, because our students do not get the support of their Government. I mean, of the Government of India."

At the close of the Convention the delegates to the Indian Students' Convention were entertained at a tea party by the Hindustani Association of Italy and the function was attended by many Italian personalities. During tea, a debate was held under the presidency of S. Bose on the subject "What Indian students have learnt in Europe." The function was highly enjoyable and S. Bose wound up the debate with a nice little

Thereafter the newly formed Council of the Federation met and laid down the programme of work for the coming year.

It is very much hoped that this Congress of

Rome will really bring together all the students of the East who by their mutual co-operation and *camaraderie* will advance the cause of the re-awakened East.

## THE EXPORT DUTY ON JUTE BENGAL'S CLAIM TO IT

BY ABANI MOHAN KUSARI, M. A.

**T**HE Federal Finance Committee (1932) of the Indian Round Table Conference dismissed Bengal's claim to the export duty on jute in para 83 of its report which runs as follows :

"Bengal has frequently put forward a claim to a share, in some form, of the proceeds from the taxation of the export of jute. Assam, too, has recently claimed the excise duty on kerosene and motor spirit produced within its borders. These or any similar proposals raise highly controversial questions of principle; but as, in any case, they could only result in delaying *pro tanto* the provincial contributions, we have not felt able to take them into account for the purposes of our scheme."

It is apparent that the Committee did not go into the question of the justice or otherwise of Bengal's claim to the duty but dismissed her claim on the ground that it would delay the remission of provincial contributions.

Apart from the question whether or not the system of provincial contributions proposed by the Committee is a reversion to the iniquitous Meston Award, the following considerations may be urged on behalf of Bengal. First, the remission of the contributions will take place after a long period of ten years following the introduction of a federal system of Government in our country. Secondly, the contribution on the part of Bengal proposed by the Committee will be much less than Bengal's contribution to the Central Government in the shape of the duty on jute. In 1928-29, out of the total jute-tax of nearly 422 lakhs of rupees, Bengal contributed about 399 lakhs, whereas the proposed contribution of which Bengal will be relieved is only 205 lakhs. Bengal will be thus clearly a loser if she acquiesces in the Percy Award. Thirdly, between 1916 and 1930 the export duty on jute has contributed

nearly 50 crores of rupees to the Central Exchequer which must have lightened the burden of taxation in all provinces. But since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have been introduced Bengal has compared most unfavourably with the other provinces in regard to her deficits in budget, severity of retrenchments and unusual lowness of the scale of expenditure of public money per head of the population. (In 1931-32, the estimated expenditure per head was Rs. 2.3 in Bengal, Rs. 7.4 in Bombay, Rs. 7.5 in Burma, Rs. 5.4 in the Panjab and Rs. 3. 8 in Madras).\*

It is necessary to point out that the assignment of the power of taxing jute to Bengal does not conflict with any essential principle of federalism. In the same vein as that of the Federal Finance Committee writes a well-known Indian constitutionalist: "If the receipt from the export duty on jute be credited to Bengal, Burma's claim to the proceeds from the export duty on rice exported from it will be almost irresistible."† He also quotes Seligman in support of the fact that customs duties are almost everywhere kept for national or federal use. It is scarcely necessary to point out that Burma will comfortably enjoy the duty on rice as she is likely to remain outside the Indian Federation. But it is more significant to point out that the term 'customs duties' admits of various interpretations. Sir P. C. Mitter drew attention‡ to p. 139 of Mr. Donald Kerr's book, *The Law of the Australian Constitution*,

\* Report of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee (1932), para. 7, page 4.

† D. N. Banerjee: *The Indian Constitution* (1930), Appendix U, p. 616.

‡ Proceedings of the Indian Round Table Conference (2nd Session), Vol. II, Appendix IV., p. 1315.

in which is to be found the following quotation from Prof. Moore's opinion on the subject: "Duties of customs mean duties imposed upon the importation of goods into the Commonwealth from parts beyond the Commonwealth." Export duties are expressly prohibited in the constitution of the U. S. A., sub-section 5 of section 9 of which runs as follows: "No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State." So in the case of the U. S. A. the question whether or not export duties should be assigned to the centre does not arise at all.

It must also be said in all fairness that the present assignment of the duty on jute involves discrimination against Bengal. It can be safely assumed that most of the duty on rice will go to Burma when she will be separated from India. The remaining two export duties, namely, those on hides and skins, and that on jute, amounted to Rs. 499.2 lakhs in 1929-30, to which the duty on jute contributed Rs. 463.67 or over 92 per cent. It is thus apparent that at least 90 per cent of the export duties will be collected from Bengal for the benefit of the whole of India, including the Native States, when a substantial part of this sum is, as will be argued in a moment, paid by the tax-payers of Bengal and not by the foreign buyers of jute. That it is the duty of a federation to avoid discrimination between its units may be judged from section 51 (II) of the Australian Constitution: "The Parliament shall, subject to the Constitution, have power to make laws for peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to ... taxation, but so as not to discriminate between States or parts of States." It is true that a much too provincial outlook is a bane to the spirit of federalism. But jute being almost a monopoly of Bengal on the production of which the wealth and welfare of the majority of the Bengalees depend, to retain the present allocation of the duty on it would be sacrificing one unit at the altar of others; and this in a federal constitution has no meaning "except the meaning of exploitation."\* It is undoubtedly true that the claim of Assam to the excise duty on kerosene and motor spirit is

a strong one. But, as Mr. Ghuznavi has pointed out, the claim of Bengal cannot be nullified by pointing to other similar claims because mineral products, such as oil or petroleum, do not stand on a par with jute, which is the main staple crop of Bengal and with the fortunes of which is bound up the prosperity of millions of her peasantry.\*

The argument that jute is a monopoly of Bengal and hence the duty on it is paid by the foreign purchasers of jute has been put forward many times. Yet even the Fiscal Commission (1921-22) and the Taxation Inquiry Committee (1924-25) had to admit that "an absolute monopoly for which there is a stable demand is of rare occurrence and it may, therefore, be taken as the general rule that some portion, if not the whole, of an export duty falls on the home producer." Attempts to produce synthetic jute have not been very successful; but bulk-handling and the use of paper bags have diminished the demand for jute to an appreciable extent. Moreover, in the post-war days jute has not been a monopoly in the sense that its producers have been able to control its price. The total demand for gunny or hessian or loose jute has often been less than the amount manufactured or produced in Bengal, so that the foreign buyer has been able to dictate the price for them.† Even when the demand for jute has been large, the exporter or manufacturer of it has not raised its price by the full amount of the tax because it has been possible to buy jute very cheaply from the unorganized ryots who are ignorant of the conditions of trade. It is not difficult to see that Bengal has borne a heavy burden of taxation for the benefit of the centre.

That Bengal can claim the duty on jute, whether in the form of an export duty or a provincial excise, needs no further emphasis. The production of jute is, to a great extent, the cause of malaria in Bengal. But compared to other provinces the expenditure per head on medical relief is very low in Bengal. The Primary Education Act has not been given effect to for lack of Bengal's resources. Bengal

\* Memorandum by Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi to the Indian Round Table Conference (3rd Session).

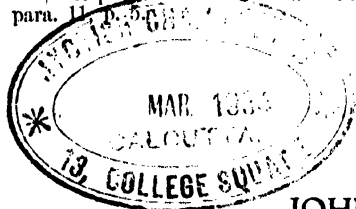
† Sir N. N. Sircar's Note on the Percy Report, submitted to the Third Round Table Conference (3rd Session).

\* Speech of Rai Bahadur K. C. Banerjee in the Bengal Legislative Council on August 10, 1932.

stands very low in the scale of expenditure per head on education in comparison with the other provinces.\* She is threatened with a minimum budget deficit of Rs. 2 crores each year in the immediate future.† We have already seen that Bengal stands very low in the scale of expenditure of public money per head of the population. The relatively backward financial position of Bengal does not improve substantially under the Percy Award. The approximate figures of revenue per head under the Percy Award stand at 2.5, 7.3, 4 and 2.7 rupees for Bengal, Bombay, Madras

\* Hartog Committee's Report (1929), *passim*.

† Report of the Federal Finance Committee, para. 11, p. 56.



## JOHN DAVISON ROCKEFELLER

American Multimillionaire and Philanthropist

By P. GOPALA KRISNAYYA, M. A., M. Sc.

**T**O be not only the richest of nearly two billion living human beings, but the richest human being of all time, is quite as phenomenal as to be the Himalayas or the Great Canyon.

No one but his own book-keepers and advisers—probably no single one of them—knows how big the Rockefeller fortune is. Probably no one else but Rockefeller's son will ever know, because he has parted with great shares of his wealth to his children. No law compels him or them to confess the size of their fortunes to the rest of the world. His last will and testament will not solve the riddle because it will not specify fortunes transferred during his lifetime. The fortune is partly in lands and buildings, partly in shares of railroads, oil companies and other business, partly in tax-exempt bonds. However uncertain we are about the fortune of Rockefeller, we know he and his foundations have till now given over \$1,000,000,000\* in charities.

John Davison Rockefeller of formal reference and John D. of popular parlance, the world's champion fortune builder and champion money giver, was born in an humble cottage, near Harford Mills, a village in the State of New York on July 8, 1839. His father was a sort

and U. P. respectively. The White Paper promises to Bengal at least half of the duty on jute collected within her borders. But this minimum of 50 per cent will, it is feared, tend to become the maximum for a long time to come. If that is so, the revenue per head for Bengal will be only 2.9 rupees. It is only the whole of the duty on jute together with the distribution of the income-tax on a suitable basis§ that can make Bengal approach the level of income and expenditure of other provinces, if not reach it.

§ The Percy scheme of distributing a part of it on population basis and the remainder on the basis of the amount of personal income-tax collected within the provinces gives Bengal a fair share.

of quack doctor and a "resourceful, active, aggressive all round man of affairs." His mother was a very pious and capable woman. "The result of her training and discipline is seen in the achievements of her children." John D. was the second of five children who lived. William joined him in business. Two sisters became Mrs. Rudd and Mrs. Briggs. The younger brother Frank did not seem to have got on well with his famous brother.

His boyhood was better calculated to cradle a village store-keeper than the world's richest man and "one of America's four greatest men," according to Ludwig, the famous biographer. He was born and reared on a New York farm and did what most village boys still do, milked cows and picked potatoes for a dirt farmer. He had very little education, attended a little school about a stone's throw from his home, spasmodically until he was sixteen years of age. He was a cautious boy. He was not quick at school—rather mediocre. One thing he was good at was mental arithmetic. He tells of an occasion in the 80's when his proficiency in this subject saved him several thousand dollars; he computed while engaging the seller in a running conversation on various subjects.

Rockefeller's boyhood gives few keys to his later success, though it does help us to understand

\* \$1 is approximately equal to about Rs. 3-8-0

## JOHN DAVISON ROCKEFELLER

why there was so little joy in his fortune building. Born and reared in stern reality, he started with a nature that easily became fixed in secretiveness and self-restraint. Hills shut him physically. The life around him and loyalty to his father shut him in morally and physically. As the eldest son he had not only to "mind" but to help to train two younger brothers to mind. The instinct of self-preservation, as well as family discipline, made him as secretive of his father's business as he was ignorant of his father's whereabouts. Undoubtedly he felt his mother's sufferings and appreciated her necessities. Religion played a prominent part in his life. He was a conformist. He believed in what was taught. He practised what it preached. Rockefeller believed that you had to be either for a habit or against a habit, for or against a social practice, just as his Bible and his preacher said you were either for the Lord or against the Lord.

Though the tallest business ladder of all time up to his final retirement in 1911, Rockefeller's business ladder really had but seven rungs.

September 26, 1855, when as an youth of sixteen he became an errand boy and clerk in a retail and wholesale firm in Cleveland, Ohio.

In 1858, at nineteen he bought a half partnership in a produce business that combined retailing with buying and selling on commission for out of town sellers and buyers. An old advertisement says it dealt in 'grain, fish, water, lime, plaster, coarse fine solar and dairy salt.'

In 1862 when twenty-three he branched into oil refining and marketing as an experiment but without burning his produce bridges behind him. Oil refining was but three years old. "Almost every one" was trying it. Rockefeller believed in taking the waves ankle first instead of head first.

In 1865 when twenty-five he went into oil for all he was worth and stayed there for the rest of his business life. To extend his business he borrowed with new capital he took in his backer's representative, Henry M. Flager, and later the backer himself, S. V. Harkness. He concentrated on oil. No other business took his thought. Not until the late eighties did other enterprises take any of his money. He was not a speculator. He invested in various industrial enterprises as an outlet for a surplus income not needed to expand the oil business.

In 1870 when thirty-one he organized the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, combining several Cleveland partnerships, with himself as president and master mind. He was undisputed oil king within two years. When absorbing competitors he scrapped unnecessary plants, but retained and enriched brains and executive ability, making every leader rich who went with him.

In 1882 when forty-three he organized the Standard Oil Trust with nine trustees and himself as president and master mind. He was now

world emperor of oil. For thirty years his oil trust was the dreadnought of the oil trade, the black devil of politics, the envy of predatory business, model for good and bad trusts, and stimulant in-chief of punitive and remedial legislation. His trust was intangible, unlocatable, unarrestable, owned nothing, made nothing, sold nothing, told nothing and trusted almost nothing to paper. Yet for a generation it ruled the oil world, the railroad world and much of the banking world, political world and newspaper world.

It was a point of view, a gentleman's agreement, "many souls with but a single thought." It evaded and broke old common law and specially made statute law like the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, but so subtly that even a trust busting era almost failed to prove its illegality. The same men owned many oil companies—usually but not always called standard—each of which had its own officers. They centralized vision, finance, policy. They decentralized execution. The power was central, the blame was local, the profits went to all stockholders. "It accomplished by strategy what could not be accomplished by assault... It did indirectly what it was prohibited from doing directly."

In 1894 when fifty-five and about to retire from active business he annexed a second huge fortune by extending his ownership of iron mines in Minnesota until his holdings became necessary to the success of the mammoth steel trust organized by J. P. Morgan in the twentieth century. In this master stroke Rockefeller did the final selling himself despite his alleged complete retirement.

In 1895 when fifty-six he tried letting his business ladder stand without his constant attention. He withdrew from active control of business affairs without, however, advertising the fact to the business world. He retained the presidency.

In 1911 when seventy-two after hearing the United States Supreme Court rule that he had been an unfair business builder for forty years he formally retired from even nominal contact with his business ladder.

Rockefeller's business ladder grew like Jack's bean stalk and carried him with it. There was no toilsome climbing round by round up a ladder all pitched and spaced when he began his climb. He started as Henry Ford did a half century later on a business ladder which mankind's demand for a simple utility rapidly pushed to the skies. Rockefeller like Henry Ford kept his balance at the top of this ladder.

•How he became oil king and the symbol of predatory business is a fascinating study. It is important here merely to record that his ladder was not made of silk and sprayed with the odour of rose leaves. On the contrary his road to riches and fame was thorny and malodorous. Few men in all history have weathered such storms and suffered such hatred as did Rockefeller while riding with his business ladder. From 1822 before



he was thirty-three until he was seventy-four in 1913, when the American Congress refused to charter his \$ 100,000,000 foundation, he was dreaded and condemned more than probably any citizen in America. He was investigated, re-investigated, investigated again, "dared" to "show his face" in the oil fields, treated with fear and respect when he did show his face, indicted for conspiracy and almost tried, but always "went along about his business" as his father had disciplined him to do. He did not defend himself. He did not carry the war into the Press. He kept still but kept right on making money and getting his fist around the world's oil trade. Those were sagaciously silent and widely opulent days.

What kind of man is Rockefeller? What is he like? What is his personality? Is he "taciturn and mysterious" as Emil Ludwig told the Press after a short visit in 1928 and after deciding to write a biography of Rockefeller. His deeds are a better personality sketch than any impressionist can paint or mould.

At ninety-four he is physically what you have seen filmed at the movies and photographed in newspapers. Many have been surprised that one who looks so old is really alive, playing golf, giving away new dimes\* and telling stories with swear words in them. One American editor wrote recently that "John D. must have started to be a tremendously old man at a very early age; he looks like a mummified hold-over from pre-historic times compared with his looks when he first got the world by the tail."

The following is today's Rockefeller's time budget or daily routine, carefully scheduled in advance :

6-30 A. M. gets up  
7-8 reads morning papers  
8 breakfasts  
8-30-8-45 plays numerica or chats  
8-45-10 attends to business affairs  
10-15-12 plays nine holes of golf  
12-1-15 takes bath and rest  
1-15-3 lunches, plays numerica  
3-5 takes auto ride  
5-7 rests, is read to or chats  
7 dines  
8-10 plays numerica, visits, listens to music by his valet or house guest, sometimes has radio or moving picture show.  
10 retires.

Other Rockefeller characteristics are told in many tales scattered through articles and biographies of him. His first personal biographer, a woman, sets the pace. His severest biographer, another woman, lauds his business characteristics. Friends, strangers and foes unite in photographing, painting and cartooning him as the following kind of man.

*Rockefeller is extremely simple in his living*

\* A dime is equal to about 4 annas.

and travelling, for a millionaire with homes scattered nearly all over the United States. Able to have anything in the world that money could buy, he leads an extremely simple life.

*Rockefeller is thrifty but not stingy.* "Were I a smoker I could not afford that" he told a wealthy friend who had just thrown away half a cigar. His economy is that of the conservationist, not the miser. He hates waste as nature abhors a vacuum and idealism a sterile life. He refuses to be imposed upon even in small purchases not because he cares for the money, but because his "money's worth" is as sacred as a moral principle.

*Rockefeller is courageous and self-confident.* It has taken courage to live his simple life, to give in the way he believes best, to flock by himself and to live his business life believing in his own uprightness and idealism as he says he always did. He rivalled Walt Whitman in being "a simple separate person . . . ultimate in his own right."

*Rockefeller is unexcitable, incapable of surface agitation.* His emotions knew no freshets or spring floods. He inherited a poker heart and face. At over ninety he has a heart beat of fifty-four. This psychological endowment he conserved, for it gave him control of himself and leadership of others. His partners "seldom knew what he was thinking but he always knew what we were thinking."

*Rockefeller is not intimate.* If he ever had talent for intimacy he curbed it. Intimacy means dependence and reciprocation. Neither could have built his fortune the way he built it.

*He is persistent.* Once having tasted railroad rebates, he never gave them up. Once having decided that he would change world hate to world adulation he "turned the trick" in little ways and big ways as thoroughly as he won in business deals. Told that he must play golf or die, he played golf and stopped doing or thinking or feeling whatever did not contribute to prolonging his life.

*Rockefeller is punctuality itself,* because, he says, "a man has no right to occupy another's time unnecessarily."

*Rockefeller is politeness personified.* Politeness was a system, an asset and a necessity in his case. Many a time his apple cart could easily have been kicked over by an absence of superlative politeness, while bad temper would have lost his leadership entirely. When pressed unsuccessfully for his trusts' minutes in 1888, he did not refuse or look ugly or snap satire. He graciously said :

"It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, there could be left some little thing that you did not expect of us; it would leave a lasting and pleasant impression of this day's experience!"

*Rockefeller is innately refined.* He likes nice clothes, nice manners, nice language, nice habits, nice relations even among intimates, all the

niceties of courtesy. He dislikes vulgarity, including the vulgarity of display.

*Rockefeller is loyal and inspires loyalty.* His old gate-keeper and his secretaries are devotedly loyal. His path to glory has not been strewn with scapegoats. His loyalty, however, was to co-workers who acknowledged his leadership. He felt no loyalty to oil pioneers and inventors. He never went to the oilmen's reunion.

*Rockefeller is dutiful.* From his first earnings he gave duty pennies to his church. He reiterated to his Bible class that it was "religious duty to earn all we can and to give all we can."

*Rockefeller is convincing.* He was a superior salesman, so obviously superior that he forces his extreme modesty to concede it.

*Rockefeller is generous in spots with small as well as large sums of money.* His giving dimes seems stingy and silly, but giving gold eagles from his fortune would be almost equally stingy, more silly and socially injurious to boot. But any way year after year since 1913 his public charities have on the average exceeded \$ 2,000,000 a year. They say in addition he does private charities, unknown even to his publicity agents on an average of \$ 100,000 a year. He has lacked the social sense and demonstrativeness to show where he might have been generous oftener without violating his own standards of justifiable giving.

Other characteristics of him are as follows. He is above social posing. His home has never been a scene of revelry and he is perhaps the one American man of wealth who has not 'hob-nobbed' with the titled and great of Europe. He is naturally militant. He wants what he wants, when he wants it but he does not want it until it can be had safe and sure. He can wait. His militancy is not violent. He is modest, retiring, almost self-effacing, by nature and by training. "Just a plain ordinary man," oil pioneers say. According to Joe Davison, the great sculptor for whom the oil magnate posed once, he is "sympathy compelling, a good listener and companionable once he admits companionship, not at all gloomy or uncheerful." He is optimistic by nature and by training. He calls optimism "seeing opportunity in every disaster" and pessimism "seeing disaster in every opportunity." He is exceedingly tolerant. He is "passionately fond" of music. He is an American first and last. World merchant, world benefactor, he nevertheless has remained surprisingly provincial and in Wall Street lingo, a "bull" on everything American. He is open-minded and progressive. He is a strict teetotaler and a prohibitionist. He is serious by nature, playful by cultivation. He learned to play after he retired from managing a world trust. He is honest-minded about his own greatness. He is self-disciplined, self-trained to stand without

hitching. He is keen of wit, though not witty in the popular sense of the word. He is Emersonially as "harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice."

Having dilated upon all the worthwhile characteristics of this really extraordinary man, let us see his other side. He is above all "a lone wolf." He is disingenuous, furtive, evasive, slippery, truthful in words but untruthful in meaning. He evaded legal perjury, but used moral perjury to get the same result. He is secretive and stealthy. "He would talk about anything except business," said an old associate, "business he would never discuss." He is inculpable, unmistakable and unrepentant. Never once has he publicly acknowledged a business wrong on his own part. In the American Senate enquiry, unperturbed he answered that he sought his country's greatness as well as his own. "Let none presume to measure the irregularities of Michael Angelo and Socrates by village scales." He is neither educated, cultured nor studious. Walter Page said "lacking in social versatility." If he has read little he has thought less. It is hard to understand his imperviousness to what goes by the names of "academic education" and "culture." Carnegie died of a broken heart because after all that he had done and hoped for peace, the civilized nations, including his own, had gone into a devastating and brutal world war. It is inconceivable that even Rockefeller's extreme eulogist could suspect him of ever suffering for an ideal or for other's suffering in any such way. He is essentially unimaginative, but yet creative in this sense, that out of other's imagination he has fashioned history-making organizations.

Master promoter of co-operation in business and philanthropy, he himself remains the spiritual catalyst,—he enables millions to co-operate but himself remains unchanged, unassimilated, a foreigner.

He is pathetically alone among his foundations and monuments. He even shuns the thought that his giving has earned for him and for mankind. He ends his life as he began it, in isolation, four miles from the City of New York.

Rockefeller is a symbol of modern life's routines and extremes, its rules and its exceptions. Every little village has a Rockefeller all its own; for Rockefeller is the full length mirror of his time. He symbolizes American opportunity. He represents America's rapid growth and its inability to improve its co-operation through governmental machinery rapidly enough to prevent a few men from gaining disproportionate unearned increments for their business skill and prowess.

Rockefeller symbolizes above all  
*Succes a l'Americain.*

# BOOK CENSORSHIP IN AMERICA

## Ban On Naughty Volumes

BY SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

**U**NDER the American system, where the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of Press and freedom of conscience, no individual or government has in theory the right to dictate to the adult what he shall read any more than what he shall think. One of the most familiar sayings attributed to Lincoln was that no man is good enough to be another man's master. Yet censorship, which has always been the tool of some sort of tyranny, is in full swing in America.

The United States Congress recently passed a law authorizing censorship of obscene or seditious literature by Customs officials. It prohibits importation into the United States from any foreign country of "any book, pamphlet, paper, writing, advertisement, circular, print, picture or drawing containing any matter advocating or urging treason or insurrection against the United States or forcible resistance to any law of the United States or containing any threat to take the life or inflict bodily harm upon any person in the United States, or any obscene book, pamphlet, paper, writing, advertisement, circular, print, picture, drawing, or other representation, figure, or image on or of paper or other material, or any cast, instrument, or other article which is obscene or immoral, or any drug or medicine, or any article whatever for the prevention of conception or for causing unlawful abortion, or any lottery ticket, or any printed paper that may be used as a lottery ticket, or any advertisement of any lottery." Thus America is saved again!

Under the new law over 700 books have been refused admission, 400 Spanish, 200 French, 100 English and a dozen in German and Italian. They include many of the classics of Europe. Defending the exclusion, an officer of the Customs Department said:

"In passing upon such literature the bureau of customs has considered, primarily, its evil influence upon the impressionable minds of those persons the

statutes, according to the courts, aim to protect—*i.e.*, the young and inexperienced. In examining the text it is sought to determine if the psychological effect of the language would be to create in the mind of the individual libidinous thoughts, and unduly excite the sexual functions or arouse the animal passions."

There is much difference of opinion as to what is obscene and what is not. Morality is relative. The Roman Catholic Church ordained in 1633 that Christendom should not take the moral risk of thinking that the earth revolved round the sun. Therefore, Galileo was censured and condemned. Some years ago the short clothes now worn by American women would have been considered obscene. Nearly all of the movies would have been considered obscene. Many books that now pass muster would also have been considered pornographic.

### WHAT IS AN IMMORAL BOOK ?

That customs officials should have authority to exclude from the United States any publication which seems to them of immoral character is preposterous. The principal weakness of censorship is that its limits are very difficult, if not impossible, to define so as to prevent abuse of power. There is a "twilight zone" in which opinion sharply differs as to what is censorable and what not. Many of the fights over censorship occur in this zone. Narrow persons would hang the charge of obscenity upon books, pictures, movies and plays which do not deserve it. Moreover, it seems rather foolish to be so concerned about keeping foreign obscenity out. The home product is worse—and there is more of it here in these United States. The plain truth is that foreign countries have not much on Americans in the way of indecent literature.

Hon. Bronson Cutting in a speech in the United States Senate declared that the American people should be trusted to take care of their own moral welfare and that no

bureaucratic guardian is competent to decide for them what they shall or shall not read.

"I admit that there may be those among us who will occasionally abuse those privileges," said Senator Cutting, "but I insist that the same men who would abuse those privileges would abuse the privilege of franchise. If a man is not capable of deciding what he may or may not read without injury to himself, then that man is not fit to be intrusted with the right to select his own representatives in the government. Some believe in the principle stated by Edmund Burke that the people have a right to be protected from themselves by the superior members of the community. That is the theory which is adopted by the government of Mussolini and the government of the Russian Soviet at the present time. But it should not be adopted by the United States as a governmental policy."

The late D. H. Lawrence's booklet "Pornography and Obscenity," which has just been published, is a treatise of power and passion on censorship. The brochure roundly denounces the American and British censorships and derides their conception of pornography. Why is pornography disliked? Is it because it arouses sexual feelings? Lawrence dismissed such a reason as canting hypocrisy. "Half the great poems, pictures, music, stories of the whole world are great by virtue of the beauty of their sex appeal."

The court has held that any book is obscene "which is unbecoming, immodest." This throws open the door to endless imbecilities, for it merely begs the question. Almost any printed allusion to sex may be argued against as unbecoming in this moral Republic, and once it is unbecoming it is also obscene. But "sex appeal" has become so much the commonplace of conversation that the sophisticated school and college girls in the United States refer to it as "S. A."

#### PROTECTING PLASTIC MIND

The moral gladiators of this country have not yet been able to answer adequately as to when a book is pure. It seems that most of the great literature of the West, with of course some exceptions, is "unbecoming and immodest." One can easily find naughty passages in Aristophanes, Lucretius, Petronius, Chaucer, Ben Johnson, Swift, Sterne, Fielding, Byron, Boccaccio, Rebelais, Voltaire, Zola, Maupassant, Belzac, D'Annunzio, Provst. Isn't there a good bit in Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," "King Lear," "Hamlet," and

"Romeo and Juliet" that won't do for the squeamish?

The Puritan gladiators full of characteristic pecksniffery swallow a camel, but strain at a gnat. I have not known any Puritans, even of the purest ray serene, to admit that the great classical offender against obscene language and improper stories is the King James version of the Holy Bible. There are many odd tales in the Book of Judges as there are in Chaucer. The story of Ruth, much quoted in the evangelical churches, is certainly spicy. And how about the voluptuous strophes of the Song of Solomon? In 1895, one Mr. Wise, of the State of Kansas, sent a quotation from the Holy Writ through the United States mails, and was found guilty of mailing obscene matter.

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, author and sociologist, in his important work *Twilight of Christianity* has included an anthology of scriptural obscenity, a few samples of which are reproduced below:

Genesis 19: 30-38. 2 Samuel 13: verses 12 and 14. 2 Samuel 16: 21. Genesis 30: 15, 16. Genesis 38: 14, 18. Leviticus 19: 29. Ezekiel 10: 15. Genesis 38: 8, 10. Genesis 12: 15, 18, 19. Ezekiel 14: 9. Jeremiah 20: 7, 4: 10. Deuteronomy 14: 21. Luke 1: 5-25. Esther 2: 12-17. Judges 19: 24. Genesis 19: 8.

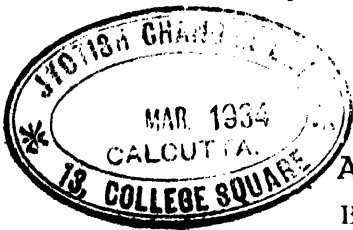
I do not believe that there should be censors to act as watch-dogs of our morality. But the moral experts, the professional sin-hounds, have not yet seriously advocated censoring and sterilizing the Christian epic. Perhaps the lascivious portions of it are too gross to be very dangerous to "civilized" Westerners. Anybody can borrow an unabridged and unexpurgated Bible, or go to a Y. M. C. A. library and read the Word of God, and verify the above references for himself to be convinced of the essential soundness of my observation. But why are the Christian theologues, generally loud in their demand for censorship, so magnificently silent on these points?

An important feature of the new censorship law is that it prohibits the importation of radical literature. There are many foreign books and pamphlets which for the most part contain elaborate discussions of far-reaching social and economic changes, which it is very desirable to read. Here and there the author

so impressed with the hopelessness of legal change in the present system that he advocates resort to force, if nothing else comes. That alone will render importation of the whole book impossible.

"Many of the classics of modern economics will be put on this new index expurgatorious," points out Professor Chaffee of the Harvard Law School. "The law will prevent a loyal citizen from obtaining from abroad the works of Marx, Proudhon, Bakunin, or Stirner. Even if we could wisely dispense with these left-wing books, much less radical publications will be excluded." For example, one of the sanest

discussions of contemporary political and social thought which has had a large sale in the United States is Bertrand Russell's *Proposed Roads to Freedom*. The further importation of this book from England would be forbidden because of its extracts from Communist Manifesto of 1848 and from anarchist songs. Manifestly, the censorship law assumes that the American people are so stupid that it is unsafe to let them read anything about revolutions, because they would immediately become converted. This seems a sad state of affairs.



## A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

### XLIII

IT was incredible, but it was true.

As the aeroplane shot up high into the heavens the first rays of the rising sun appeared in the east, the rosy mist curtain of Raba being in the distance and the glory of the sun-rise was before our eyes. But we had no eyes for any of these. We were looking at Narga. She was a little out of breath, her lips were slightly open, and her bosom was heaving gently. She must have come away in a hurry for the great wealth of her hair was loose and fell in a cloud over her shoulders and bosom. There was a look of fear, now passing in her eyes, mingled with an expression of relief. For the moment she was not the high priestess gifted with almost miraculous powers, but all woman, beautiful beyond the most wonderful dream of loveliness yet weak and timid as becomes one of the gentle sex. We knew that the priestess had been left behind at the monastery of Opi and we were carrying with us a fair woman who had sacrificed everything at the altar of love.

Maruchi and I exchanged a look and our lips simultaneously formed the words, "The living evidence!"

There was not the slightest doubt about it. It was now quite clear what Ashan the Master had meant when he had told us that we would carry with us a living evidence of our visit to the planet we were now leaving behind us. His prophetic vision had foreseen what was now an accomplished fact.

Narga was the living evidence!

If the Master had told us that Narga would join us, when we left Opi on our homeward flight it might have led to unexpected complications. Our bewildered astonishment might have found vent in some indiscretion, either of speech or action. The Master knew what was going to happen, but he would express no opinion nor would he do anything to interfere with the freedom of Narga's choice.

We might have searched every country in Mars and we might not have found another like Narga. She was not only incomparably beautiful but she had attained a wisdom and a knowledge which placed her on a level higher than our own, while her psychic powers were beyond our comprehension.

Narga, who was sitting on a low cane chair, stood up and stretched out her hands. "Raba! Raba! Raba!" she cried, "Thy handmaiden bids thee farewell for all time, for she will never again set eyes upon thy glory or be fit for thy service." The last words came as a wail of despair and she burst out in a passion of tears.

We were very much surprised and greatly distressed. We had never thought that Narga was like other women, or could be easily moved to tears. We had seen her in her confident strength, in her queenly imperiousness and in the possession of her strange power. Her present mood seemed quite inexplicable and we did not know how to comfort her. Orlon, who was taken quite aback, blunderingly said, "If you regret having come away with us—"

"I regret nothing that you can think of," interrupted Narga, wiping her tears, "I have no bonds

that can cause me any pain in breaking them. The wrench is in giving up all that seemed to matter so long, the higher life which alone seemed to me to be worth living. How can I help regretting what I have lost? Yet if I had the choice I would not go back to Opi. It has been a struggle that has torn me for months and my heart has conquered. And that heart is yours, my Orlon.'

She looked at Orlon with infinite tenderness and Orlon took her hand and pressed it.

Ganimet brought in some cups of tea and coffee and crisp biscuits. Our larder was well stocked and besides the large supply of specially prepared food we had originally brought with us and which was in perfect preservation we had replenished our stores with large quantities of fine fruits, nuts, beans and other wholesome food found in the places we had visited. Maruchi brought some fruit and offered it to Narga who thanked him and took one.

Maruchi's little cabin was the best on board our ship. He took out from it everything that belonged to him and placed all his things in Orlon's cabin which would be shared between them. Narga's bag was taken into Maruchi's room which was quite comfortable. There were a screwed down bed and an easy chair, a small wash stand and a mirror. Narga, who was now quite composed and had recovered her self-possession was invited to have a look at her room and she was quite pleased with it.

Coming out to what I may call the common sitting room Narga invited me to sit by her side. 'Sahir, my brother,' she said 'sit next to me.'

For the first time she called me brother and I felt very happy. Maruchi and Orlon sat on the other side of her.

Narga raised her eyebrows and smiled archly. 'Are you still angry with the spy, Jemel?'

We laughed. 'No,' I said, 'we are very much obliged to him. He was of great help in hastening our departure.' And then I told her of all that had happened after I had caught the man lurking in the wood and how Karos had been tricked when he endeavoured to take Jemel away from our company.

Narga was greatly amused and next wondered what would happen to the monastery. 'Karos is a good man,' she observed, 'but he is not very wise or strong, and the other monks may not obey him. The women will refuse to stay there and unless the Master puts some one else in charge the affairs of the monastery will not be properly controlled.'

I said, 'Narga, the Master knew you would come away with us.'

Narga did not look surprised but she appeared greatly perplexed. 'Did he tell you in so many words?'

'No,' I answered, 'what he actually said was we would carry with us satisfactory proof of our

visit to Heperon, but he refused to tell us anything more and left us wondering.'

'The master knows anything that he wishes to know, for nothing is hidden from him. He has even told me how it is done but I cannot explain it. There is some subtle power possessed by the higher adepts of throwing light into the darkness of the future and foreseeing events still to happen. What seems strange to me is that I have had no message from the Master, and I don't know what he thinks of me.'

'So far as we could understand the Master knew of this step that you have taken but he expressed no opinion and merely said events cannot be diverted from their appointed course. But how could the Master send you a message?'

'That is beyond your knowledge and your understanding. You know the Master possesses several powers for which you cannot account.'

'So do you.'

'Well, there are spirit and soul messages as well as those you send through ether.'

I asked no other questions and Narga became silent. She cupped her chin in her hands and gazed at the planet which we had left a short while ago and which was rapidly receding in the distance. The sunlight was now flooding the sky all around.

The veil of rosy vapour which hung over Mars was thick in certain places and thin in other places. The geographical features of the planet could be sometimes clearly and again dimly distinguished. We could see the mountain crests, white in some places with the snow flashing in the sunlight and red in others. The placid stretches of sea and lake were visible as through a pink glass, while the outlines of large cities could be made out.

Maruchi handed Narga a pair of powerful field glasses and Narga continued to watch the planet she had left through them. The aeroplane was travelling at a tremendous speed. Gradually the view of Mars became blurred and we saw only a large mass about which hung a rosy haze.

Narga sighed gently and put down the glasses. She looked at me and said, 'We are moving very fast. It must be very cold up here. How is it that I don't feel it?'

'The cold outside is so great that we should be frozen to death in a short time if we had no equipment for the production of artificial heat. Come and see.'

I first showed Narga how the airship had been made impervious to the cold surrounding it. The machine was in fact hermetically closed except for the aperture through which the air that we breathed was allowed to escape. This worked automatically and was so arranged that the cold could not enter the machine. I showed Narga how the heat was generated by electricity and how easily it could be regulated. We maintained a uniform temperature which was comfortably cool. I told Narga that we had not only to

keep out the cold but to produce air artificially so that we might breathe and live. Narga saw everything with the greatest interest and then spoke to Maruchi, 'You are a great and a wonderful people.'

Maruchi shrugged his shoulders. 'Yes, we are great as mechanics and inventors of machines but what do we know of the higher things, what do we understand of the powers that you and the Master possess?'

'True, but if it had not been for your marvellous inventions we would have never met,' and she smiled at us graciously.

After some time Narga retired to her own room. Ganimet, who had passed more or less a sleepless night, went to sleep as he would have to relieve Nabor in a few hours. Maruchi, Orlon, and myself discussed the extra-ordinary events of the last few days.

Maruchi said, 'Orlon, I have not yet congratulated you. Indeed, I find it difficult even now to believe that Narga is in this ship travelling with us to our own planet.'

'I can scarcely realize my own good fortune. Narga is so far above me that I cannot understand how she has come down to my level and agreed to share my humdrum life.'

'What strikes me as most wonderful,' I said, 'is that in his distant hermitage Ashan knew everything and yet he made no sign. He regrets this decision of Narga to come away with us for you will remember that when he spoke of a living evidence of our visit he said he wished it were otherwise, but he would do nothing to prevent things taking their course.'

Maruchi said, 'The Master must have had his reasons. We cannot conceive what they were, but the fact that he sent no thought message to Narga is significant. There is undoubtedly some great purpose behind this new turn in Narga's life.'

'You, Maruchi,' I said, 'dreamed of a marriage of the planets and your dream has been fulfilled.'

'I am delighted beyond words,' answered Maruchi. 'When Orlon marries Narga the two planets will be united in holy wedlock.'

'I pray I may prove worthy of her,' said Orlon.

When the day passed Narga sat with us watching the stars and peering into the blackness of such a night as is possible only in space. She spoke mostly to me, though her eyes occasionally strayed to Orlon. These two exercised complete control over themselves. There were no furtive glances, no whispered endearments, no squeezing of hands. They knew that at the end of our long voyage they would become man and wife and that knowledge was sufficient. Of course, the love-light sprang to their eyes when they looked at each other, but they were lovers who kept a strong hold upon themselves. Narga had demonstrated the greatness of her love by her unparalleled sacrifice. She had bidden farewell not only to Raba but to the planet on which she was born. Love had conquered all but Narga

was far greater than a mere love-sick woman and there were years of stern self-discipline behind her.

For a long time Narga remained silent and then she spoke slowly and thoughtfully without addressing any one in particular. 'The sea is called boundless because its shores cannot be seen when one is on the high seas, but what are all seas compared with the sea of space? We talk of a drop in the ocean but a world is less than a drop in this ocean. It is space that gives us a definite idea of the infinite. We may not be able to compass space but we can comprehend it and that is our first claim to the higher order of intelligence. To be able to navigate the sea without getting lost was regarded as a great triumph, but what words of praise are adequate for the navigators in the sea of space? Do you think we might get lost in this real shoreless sea, my wise brother?' concluded Narga, turning to me with a smile.

'We certainly would lose our way if there had been no landmarks. But infinite as is this sea through which we are passing it is dotted over with floating and flying islands for which we can steer when we seek a port. In one sense that part of space in which the solar system is whirling is a known sea for there are the planets we know and they may be worlds like yours and ours. If it could be possible for us to go beyond the solar system then we would find ourselves in an unknown sea, though even then there would be no question of losing our way.'

'That is the wonder of it all. Even in this fearful darkness you cannot get lost. There are lighthouses everywhere in this infinite sea not as warnings of danger but as harbour lights. And while everything else moves space alone is at rest.'

It was fairly late when Narga retired for the night. Besides the pilot we had settled that the three of us should keep awake by turns, taking a watch of two hours each. We were anxious that one of us should be waking and at hand in case Narga should feel nervous or want anything in the course of the night.

#### XLIV

The night passed uneventfully. Narga was a very early riser and she came out of her room after her morning ablutions and prayers. She greeted us cordially and then looked out through the closed mica panes.

In the growing light Mars, now a mass of a dull red, was vanishing from sight. The other planets and stars were also becoming invisible and the light of the morning sun was streaming through the clear ether.

After a light morning meal Narga took her seat near me and said, 'You have learned our language but I do not know yours. Please teach it to me so that I may be able to speak it by the time we reach your country.'

'Would you like to learn to read our language?'

'Certainly. But let us begin with the names of objects and simple sentences. Teach me first by word of mouth and then we can take up a book.'

And so the lessons began and Maruchi and Orlon watched Narga's progress with much interest.

As we all expected Narga proved to be an apt and a quick learner. I pointed out the objects lying about us and she learned their names at once. At first I avoided long words as she naturally felt some difficulty in acquiring our way of pronouncing these words, but she learned a large number of words and several easy sentences very quickly. It was not merely by repetition which is the usual method of memorizing that she learned new words and sentences. She had an extraordinary power of concentration. Whenever I mentioned a new word and explained its meaning she would listen with close attention and then fix her mind upon it for a moment. She knew and remembered the word at once. As we went on I tested her occasionally by putting a question about some word or sentence I had taught her a little while ago and her answer was invariably correct.

I expressed astonishment at the ease with which she was acquiring a new language and Narga smiled.

'You mustn't forget,' she said, 'that I was taught by the Master for five years and he has his own method for cultivating the memory. He despises all mechanical systems and he is not content by merely stimulating the intellect. In his eyes the mere repetition of words is nothing more than a parrot's education. He taught us wisdom and we read several books dealing with very profound problems. The only memory which the Master values is the memory of past existences, but this is possessed by very few.'

'Does the Master believe that this particular phase of memory can be cultivated?'

'To a very limited extent. It is in reality an individual gift. It is not an intellectual possession, for a person with intellectual powers may not have even rudimentary very high spiritual powers. The Master does not accept a merely clever or intellectual disciple. He has some means of forming an opinion of the past lives of the persons that approach him to seek instruction and he selects only those that appear to him to be the fittest by the trend of their previous lives.'

These were deep waters and in another moment I might find myself floundering beyond my depth. So I gave another turn to the conversation by saying to Narga, 'If you have no objection, we should very much like to hear all about yourself. We met you at Opi and we know that you studied with the Master. But tell us about your people and your life before you renounced your world.'

Narga laughed pleasantly. 'Since the rest of my life is to be spent in your land it is but right that you should know about me the little there is to tell. There is an ancient town, at one time the capital of a powerful kingdom, between Opi and Sipri. It is now a small town with many magnificent ruins all around it. My ancestors were allied to the royal family and had a great reputation for learning. They were in easy circumstances but not particularly wealthy. My father specially was greatly respected for his learning and wisdom. I was an only child and was brought up with great care. My mother who was a very beautiful woman and of a very gentle disposition, died when I was twelve years of age and I was left wholly to my father's care, and he treated me more like a son than a daughter. I was a very serious child and spent most of my time studying with my father. Children of my own age did not attract me much. Perhaps I was somewhat precocious for I remember that even as a little girl I used to ask my father many questions on intricate subjects and he seemed to be pleased that I had inherited the family tradition of a desire for knowledge. When I was about sixteen years old my father suggested that I should be married so that I might not be left unprotected when he was gone. I vehemently protested saying I would never marry as no young men attracted me and I had made up my mind that I would devote my life to the pursuit of knowledge. My father was somewhat surprised but he did not insist on my marriage and left me free to follow my own inclination.

It was about this time that Ashan, who in those days used to travel occasionally, came to our house and stayed some time with us. You have seen him and you know how great he is. He looked then as he looks now for the passing years appear to touch him very lightly. I was not only deeply impressed by his personality but I was also astonished by the reverence shown him by my father who himself was not an ordinary man. I learned from my father that Ashan was one of the great teachers who appear among men from time to time and he possessed miraculous powers. I felt strongly drawn to the Master, who at first looked upon me as a child, but was greatly interested when he found out that I was studious and thoughtful. He told my father that he was greatly pleased to find that I had made such good use of my time, though so young. After questioning me as regards the range of my studies he spoke to me on higher subjects and I found to my delight that he had a solution for the problems that so often perplexed me. I listened to him for hours with rapt attention for I had found a teacher whose wisdom was unbounded and to whom the deepest mysteries were like an open book. The doctrine of past incarnations fascinated me strongly. When I asked questions about the Master's possession of strange powers he said they came only to the



initiated and the adept, but they did not form the primary objects of knowledge.

While the Master was staying with us my father suddenly died after a very brief illness. Before his death he consigned me to the Master's care. I was overwhelmed with grief for I had lost both my parents and was left alone in the world. For a day or two the Master left me to my grief and then he spoke to me such words of consolation as helped to withdraw my mind from despair and set it thinking on the problem of life and death apart from my personal loss. I understood there is no such thing as death and relationships are casual. Some days later the Master said I should go and live with some relations as he was about to return to his hermitage. I said I would go with him as I wanted to be initiated as his disciple.

The Master was taken aback and tried to dissuade me on the ground that it would be a very hard life, that I was a girl and should be married and settled in life. But nothing would turn me from my resolve. I said there was no absolute law that all women should be married any more than all men; and a woman has as much right as a man to aspire to the fulness of knowledge. This the Master could not deny but he spoke of my personal attractions and pointed out that some one might fall in love with me. I was a rather petted and pert girl and told the Master that if required two whether for a quarrel or for love, and I knew perfectly well that I would love no man. I grew so bold that I rallied the Master saying that he was a very handsome man but he had not permitted any woman to fall in love with him.

The Master laughed and was then lost in thought for some time. Then he said slowly with great deliberation, and I remember his words to this day. 'Perhaps you are right. It may be quite possible that you may love no man here. But who can tell what the future may hold in its closed palm?'

The Master yielded to my earnest entreaties and I accompanied him to his hermitage. He was like a father to me and treated me with the greatest kindness. But as he told me there was no royal road to knowledge and after my initiation I had to undergo a very severe course of discipline. So great, however, was my desire to learn that I was never discouraged and my enthusiasm never abated. I forged ahead of the other disciples and needed no pressure of any kind to pursue my studies and subject myself to the rigorous self-discipline necessary for the cultivation of psychic powers. The Master was both surprised and pleased, and seeing how apt a pupil I was gave me more time than to my other fellow-disciples. He spoke to me at great length about the earlier teachers of our race and how they had advanced in knowledge from birth to birth, and how the past and the future were revealed to them like a book one has already read. I applied

myself assiduously to develop the spirit force inherent in us and in the course of three years the Master admitted me to the first degree of an adept and imparted to me more esoteric knowledge. Then he took me to Raba and I passed through the secret passage without help, following the Master with ease over the open chasms and going the round of Raba through the air. Two years ago the charge of the monastery and convent at Opi fell vacant and he sent me to fill the vacancy. The monks were at first somewhat surprised to find that a young woman had been placed in authority over them, but they afterwards approved the Master's selection.'

We had listened to Narga's narrative with great interest and when she had concluded I ventured to ask whether the Master had told her anything when she departed for Opi.

'Yes,' she answered gravely, 'he said I was more gifted than any one else he had taught but I was impetuous and impatient by nature and he was not certain about my future. He refused, however, to make any attempt to read my future saying it must be something quite out of the common and there was nothing to be gained by finding out what could not be prevented.'

We remembered that this was precisely what the Master had told us also. I felt doubtful whether this subject should be pursued. Noticing my hesitation Narga said, 'Ask me anything you will and I shall tell you all I know. Between us there can be no reserve and no secrecy, and I have nothing to keep back from you.'

Still I hesitated but Narga evidently waited for more questions. Then I asked, 'Have you any idea now as to what was at the back of the Master's mind when he spoke of your future?'

'I had no idea then, but is it not now evident what he was thinking of? But he resolutely refused to turn over the page of the future because what is written cannot be wiped out.'

I would not ask any other question, but Narga looked at Maruchi and myself, and she blushed as her eyes met Orlon's. If she had been an ordinary woman perhaps she would have felt shy and turned the conversation to some other topic. But Narga was accustomed to analyse her own thoughts and was quick to read the thoughts of others and we knew that she was frankly outspoken. She went on quite dispassionately, 'You are loyal-hearted gentlemen and you naturally feel this is a delicate subject since it refers to my present position. I am not sure what must be the thoughts of the Master but Karos and the others must be thinking me a shameless, fallen woman, and if they could get at me they would stone me to death without pity.'

Maruchi protested vehemently, saying that we held her in as great honour now as we did at Opi.

Narga smiled and said, 'Yes, because I am the living evidence of your visit to Heperon.'

We started. She was repeating the Master's

own words. Had she overheard our thoughts or caught the words as our lips formed them without uttering them? Narga went on as if she had not noticed our movement of surprise. 'How was it possible to foresee the future in my case? In our own town I had seen many young men, some of them quite good looking and had noticed the admiration in their eyes when they looked at me. But my heart was never stirred and love seemed to me to be a silly thing. What had I to do with love when I thirsted only for knowledge? When I had passed through the period of probation under the tutelage of the Master I was firmly convinced that the world held no bonds for me and my emancipation was complete and it remained only for me to advance along the path of wisdom and knowledge until the goal was reached. How could I dream for a moment that my fate was linked with another, a being from another world? When I gazed at night at the starry heavens, and I did so every night, I wondered what sort of beings peopled Lamulo and the other planets, but how could I imagine that men living up there would come down to our planet, or that the future course of my life was bound with one of them?'

A look of great tenderness came into her eyes

as she looked at Orlon, but she was not an ordinary woman whose lips could be closed by any notion of false modesty. She was no more ashamed of her love than she was of her wisdom and she proceeded calmly with her argument as if she had been discussing the affairs of another person. 'I do not for a moment doubt that what has happened to me is most wonderful, I know that much of what I have attained will be labour lost and the powers I have acquired will vanish. At the same time, I feel that a complete life is a rounded whole and there must be some gap which has to be filled up and I have to retrace my steps in the long journey from life to life in order that the gap may be closed and I may start afresh on my interrupted progression. When we renounce the ties of this life it means that those obligations had been fulfilled in some other life. There can be no hiatus, we have to tread every step of the road that stretches before us in life after life; there are no shortcuts and we cannot jump over any distance. The wonder is that the fulfilment of my destiny should be divided between two worlds.'

Narga ceased and fell to silent musing. We held our peace.

*(To be concluded)*

## DISASTROUS TWILIGHT

By VERRIER ELWIN

I sat beside the river bank,  
Where the great waters silently  
Flowed from the forest, silent, dank,  
The trees bent over me.

Across the sky there crept the night,  
And in the little village there  
They had not even candle-light,  
So very poor they were.

Then through the darkness distantly  
A song of women came to share  
The burden of their poverty,  
The measure of their care.

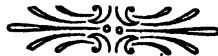
They should have sung of royalty,  
Lordship of elephants and gold,

Of lands that broadened as the sea,  
Hearts that were true and bold,

Of the great forest's liberty,  
Kingship of forest free and proud,  
Strong pride as of the tallest tree  
Lifted above the crowd.

They should have sung such royalty  
As gave their fathers wings  
To rise from dim antiquity  
Into a race of kings.

And yet those unseen women sang  
Only a tale of poverty,  
And all the darkened village rang  
With that strange tragedy.



# Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

## ENGLISH

**THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE PROBLEM OF PEACE:** By S. D. Chitale. *International Book Service*. 1933. Pp. 230. Poona, India. •

I have not read from any source a more clear, concise yet comprehensive, interestingly told, scholarly and fair-minded account of the world's present economic and political crisis (crisis as regards world-peace) than I find in this attractive book from a scholar in far-off India.

The claim is made by the author that the present crisis, the impending danger of another world-war, is the result of imperialism, or imperialism linked with capitalism. Given the imperialism and capitalism of the preceding half century, and the great war of 1914-18 was inevitable. Given the continuation of imperialism and capitalism as they still exist, and another world-war is certain to come. The author traces the origin of imperialism in its four most important modern developments those of Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia. In other words he traces the acquisition (theft) by those nations of vast territories in Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea, and the domination of those territories as "possessions" or "colonies."

The cause of the thefts was capitalism, or national greed. The instrumentality by means of which this national greed was able to attain its ends—that of stealing territories and thus obtaining colonies and foreign possessions was militarism—which means the creation of great armies and navies. The danger that all this would create was between these imperialistic nations was not very great so long as the thieving "was good," that is, so long as there were fresh possessions to be acquired. But when all the territory was appropriated (stolen), then the inevitable crisis came. Each nation was dissatisfied at not having obtained more. Each was envious of the other. Each wanted a larger place in the sun. Of course, this meant that they all must have bigger armies and navies to protect their loot, and to be ready to avail themselves of any possible opportunity to grab territory from the others. Thus it was only a question of time when they would fight one another. Hence the Great War.

When the war of greed was over, of course, the settlement the Versailles Treaty—was one of greed: how could it be anything else? The idea that such an imperialistic war, capitalistic war, greed war, war caused by thefts and waged to protect thefts, could "end war," could bring "protection to small nations," could "make the world safe for democracy," was the sheerest idiocy. That America could ever have been made to believe it, is one of the most amazing facts in all history.

After telling excellently well the story of all this, the author tells equally well the stories of the "Reparations," of "Lausanne," of the "Tangle of the War Debts," and of the effect of all these in creating the world catastrophe, the world collapse, from which all nations are suffering, and which he believes is certain to bring on another World War, unless some new way out can be found.

Where can another way out be found, and thus another war be prevented? Not by capitalism; not by imperialism; these will only plunge the world into deeper and deeper ruin.

He has no faith that the League of Nations can help, because that was created by the capitalistic and imperialistic nations; and is controlled by them, he believes, for their own ends.

He believes that in one direction and one only there is light. What he proposes is a world-wide organization of *peoples*, for world-justice and world-peace. It should take the form of a *popularly elected World Peace Committee*. Its members and managers must not be chosen by the nations as such, that is, by national governments, because all governments of the world, except that of Russia, are largely if not wholly controlled by capitalists, imperialists and militarists. They must be chosen by the peoples of the world themselves; because as he believes, the vast majority of the world's peoples do not want war, but do sincerely want world-peace and such world-justice as will maintain world-peace.

In addition to the World Peace Committee, and as its constant practical Executive, or Working Arm, the author would have a permanent *World Board of Judges* (from ten to thirteen in number) chosen from and by the World Peace Committee, whose duty should be to work constantly, in such ways as should

seem to them wisest, to promote the interests of peace everywhere. If differences arose anywhere between nations, or between parties or factions in any single nation, which seemed likely to lead to war, the matter should be taken up at once by the World Board of Judges, or if necessary by the World Peace Committee itself. If the contending nations or factions refused to heed the verdict and insisted on going to war then a world-wide economic-political boycott should at once be set in operation against them.

Such is the author's plan for preventing wars. Of course, the question arises at once: Is the plan practicable? Can it be made to work? *At least, is it not worthy of careful consideration?*

One of the unquestionable valuable incidental features of the book is that it points out the important place which India holds, and must hold, in the economics and the peace of the world.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

INDIA IN TRANSITION : *By D. Graham Pole. Hogarth Press, London.*

The English voters, it is often claimed, are the ultimate rulers and controllers of the destiny of 350 million people of India: viceroys, governors, and the rest of the political office-holders in India are merely the agents and emissaries of English citizens. As "trustees," so runs the story, it is the English electorate which is finally responsible for what happens to India's "voiceless millions." Yet the great mass of the English electors are either stupidly ignorant or cynically indifferent to Indian affairs, except on those few occasions when some sensationalized news of the so-called religious feuds or political murders in India find their way to the Londonese press and it starts its howlings. It is under this sad conviction that D. Graham Pole has written *India in Transition* and Wedgewood Benn, ex-Secretary of State for India, has contributed a Foreword. But I suspect that not many English voters will ever look into the book.

The author, however, has done his best. He has made a historical survey of recent political events and has also given an outline of the more important social and economic conditions. He tells about the machinery of Indian government, the workings of the recent political reforms, the results of the Round Table Conferences, the demands of the Indian National Congress, the Simon Report or rather the Simon travalgogue.

The material is drawn largely from official documents. The book lacks an index. Though somewhat sombre in tone, it is free from obfuscation and is quite readable. It is a straightforward account of Indian affairs and how they came to be in such a tangled mess. It reflects, on the whole, the viewpoint of the civilized minority of the British Isles. I cannot, therefore, undertake to say how long the book will be allowed to circulate unmolested either in India or in England.

The main thesis of Mr. Graham Pole is that the London Parliament should come to honourable terms with India without further delay and give the Indian nation a real self-government while there is yet time, and not "try to hold on until we lose everything, even respect." For nationalism, as is suggested, has already sounded the death-knell of imperialism. The situation calls for a new moral order.

Truth will prevail, all obstructionists to the contrary notwithstanding. That is the one reason why

I believe that the domination of one people by another cannot last for ever. At its core festers a cancerous lie. It gnaws at one's moral and spiritual tissue. A mind that does not see it is beyond the reach of reason and humanity. The mind of D. Graham Pole does see it; but most of his fellow-countrymen in their island home seem to have taken moral holiday, and are apparently even unaware that their holiday has become a sadist debauch.

It is a pleasure to commend Mr. Graham Pole's *India in Transition* to students of the Indian problem.

SUDHINDRA BOSE

THE INDIAN THEATRE, *its Origins and Later Developments under European Influence, with special reference to Western India. By R. K. Jainik, M.A., Ph.D. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1933. Pp. 281.*

The full descriptive title of the work is given above in order to indicate its object and scope, but one might complain after reading the work that the title is somewhat misleading. It is true that Part I of the work deals with the question of Sanskrit origins, but the author appears to be more concerned with its later developments, by which again is meant exclusively the modern vernacular theatre of the 19th century, produced almost entirely under the influence of the European rather than the Sanskrit theatre. But the author makes ample apology for this procedure. The Part I of the work is to be regarded merely as preliminary, for the book really attempts a fairly wide, if not exhaustive, survey of the activities of the modern vernacular theatres of India. As the modern Indian theatre has developed, at least in its earlier stages, somewhat artificially under direct European influence, the question of borrowing, adaptation and imitation of foreign models naturally receives the largest attention. The problem, however, is approached more from the point of view of its theatrical bearings than from its strictly literary aspects. The author has claimed that no relevant matter of importance has been overlooked. Judged with reference to the limitation which he has himself set to his task, it is possible to allow his statement. But his strictly limited point of view has naturally obliged him to give a rapid survey more of stage representation than of the drama and omit a detailed study of individual works and authors of importance. He has again placed a greater emphasis on the problem of direct translations, adaptations and borrowings, especially of Elizabethan in general and Shakespearean plays in particular. But the larger and more important problem of the assimilation of Western dramatic ideas and ideals does not appear to have received the attention it deserves. The question is not merely one of contact but of the moulding as much of literary form and expression as of its inner spirit and outlook. The earlier vernacular productions, to which the author has devoted the greater part of his work, contented itself with direct and obvious imitations, but when we come to later plays the influence is more subtle, because it is no longer a matter of mere borrowing but of deeper assimilation. It is nevertheless a question of much greater interest and undoubtedly deserves more careful study.

The author himself admits that Part I of the work, which deals generally with Sanskrit theatre and dramaturgy, is of different value, but it is retained for a certain continuity of treatment which involves an introductory exposition of the theory and

practice of the Sanskrit theatre. To the Sanskritist his part may not appear to have maintained a high level, but it is obviously meant for the general reader. It, even admitting this, its connection with the author's particular theme of the modern vernacular theatre has not been made very clear. It is given more as an historical introduction than as an historical background. It is true that the conditions of growth and expansion of the modern Indian theatre under direct foreign inspiration were entirely different, but a certain measure of the influence of the older Indian theatre, both popular and literary, still persisted and shaped some aspects of its form and substance. This phase of the problem does not seem to have received its proper treatment; and the connection, direct or remote, of the new theatre with the old should have been more clearly indicated in order at least to justify the inclusion of Part I.

The work is one which it is hardly possible to review in detail, especially when the reviewer's knowledge of vernacular productions other than Bengali is limited. As a pioneer work opening up a new ground of considerable interest, the reviewer has, however, no hesitation in extending to it a hearty welcome. It is impressive by reason of the large mass of scattered material examined and the amount of labour and skill that it has involved. Even if there are inaccuracies, which may be remedied, and gaps which may be filled in time when the vast subject is more completely examined, we have in this handy and well-printed volume a wide and intelligent survey which is undoubtedly full of interest.

S. K. DE

**INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON HISTORY :**  
by C. Narayana-swamy Mudaliar, Deputy Assistant Controller of Military Accounts (Retired).

The book is misnamed. It is neither a history nor study of religion, nor does it say anything as to how history has been influenced by religion. It is at best a summary of the author's readings about religious ceremonies and practices in different lands.

The present volume is only part I. Other parts are perhaps in the making. It has no chapters and no readings. It flows on like a great river with occasional meanders, *viz.*, sections. But even there, there are no headlines to tell of the subject-matter. And within the sweep of 154 pages, we have excursions into the religions of the Zulus and the Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Romans and what not.

The language of the book is florid but not conspicuous. We are told of a "mundane world" (p. ii), of "dumping ground of travellers," who see "travelling vision" (p. 75), and of how "vegetation applied the prolific imagination to ply its own messageful trade" (p. 127), and of "a very grand, sublime, pathetic and tragic spectacle" (p. 140), of indecent morality" and "true perspectiveness vanished" (p. 146), and we are also told of peoples who "left an indelible mark on the pages of the history of the world by their sanguine hopes in after-life" (p. 88), and last but not least, of how functionaries arose in Egypt to guide the laity through the difficult mazes of life successfully and to carry the ship of state sublimely to the shores where breathes a balmy breeze of sweet dawn and eternal peace" (p. 93).

Words and phrases are hurled at the reader with a merciless rapidity.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**THE GOLDEN BOAT: Rabindranath Tagore.**  
Translated by Bhānū Bhattacharyya, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Nov., 1932. 4s. 6d.

More than thirty selections appear in this volume, culled with taste from the writings of Rabindranath and rendered in English with skill by Mr. Bhattacharyya. The translator is a close student of Tagore's and it may be hoped the book will find its way to the lovers of the Poet. Some of the selections appear to be of the very best; such are "The Strange Beggar," "Path Way," "Farewell to Heaven." The prose is rhythmic, simple and terse.

**GITA EXPLAINED: By Dnyaneshwar Maharaj.**  
Translated into English by Manu Subedar, B. A., B. Sc. (Econ.) London, Bar-at-Law. Published by M. Subedar Palli Hill, Bandra. Price Rs. 2 (Paper bound), and Rs. 2-8.

Dnyananath, a disciple of Matsyendranath and a scholar of vast erudition born in the thirteenth century, wrote what is believed to be the first commentary on the Gita in Marathi, consisting of about nine thousand couplets. This standard work, one of the most prominent contributions to old Marathi, has been put into new garb by Pandit Govind Ramchandra Moghe and then Englished by Mr. Subedar.

It is a pleasure to read the English translation in the volume under review; we are at once introduced to a work which is comparatively unknown outside Maharashtra, and realize what excellent treatises we have in the Indian vernaculars, awaiting translation and publication either in English or in Hindi. The wealth of examples is one of the glories of Dnyaneshwari, and the present version opens our eyes to the richness of the book from this view-point. The publication will be enjoyed by those who are interested in the Gita and its teachings.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**WHAT EVERYBODY WANTS TO KNOW ABOUT MONEY: Edited by G. D. H. Cole. Published by Gollancz. Pp. 544. Price 5s.**

For the small sum of five shillings one can buy over five hundred pages of matter dealing in simple, plain language, with the different problems of money, and the financial system. Mr. Cole himself begins with a chapter on the definition, forms, and functions of money, and then in a second chapter proceeds to discuss the part played by money in the present World Crisis. Afterwards there are chapters by "nine economists from Oxford" dealing with Central Banks, Credit and Joint-stock Banking, Foreign Trade and Exchange Rates, Capital and Investment, Money and Prices, Public Finance, and International Debts. Finally Mr. Cole sets forth the case for the Socialization of Banking, and sums up the discussion in a concluding chapter.

The book might almost be described as a textbook if it were not for Mr. Cole's final chapters, since it is, generally speaking, non-contentious—that is, it deals with matters from an "orthodox" standpoint. That "heretics" exist is however admitted, and one chapter in the book is devoted to discussing the views of four of the leading "heretics," Major Douglas, Professor Soddy, Dr. Gesell, and Dr. Eisler. Since however the present economic structure is largely the result of "orthodox" economics, and since people are generally beginning to realize that something is wrong, it is questionable whether the non-contentious statements of the orthodox are not really extremely contentious. Take, for example, the

following passage in the chapter on "Money and Prices" by Mr. E. F. M. Durbin :

"We want to discover in this chapter what monetary policy ought to be pursued in the long run. And the answer, in the broadest outline, is that the right policy, whatever it may be, will maintain full employment. Beyond this contribution and no one will deny that it is a very important contribution, money can do nothing to solve the real economic problem. The real economic problem is to raise the standard of living, to give people the things they actually want." (Page 314.)

Then he goes on to enumerate these wants as food, clothing, houses, etc., and then proceeds to say that in these days of machine production we are apt to exaggerate the extent to which the problem of production has been solved, and that even if all our machines, and men were fully employed the output of consumption goods would only be increased about 25 per cent.

Now practically every word of this is challenged by the 'heretics.' To begin with, they deny that the object of a monetary policy is, or should be, to maintain full employment, since employment is not an end in itself but merely a means to production and as has been frequently pointed out, few people have thought of what is going to happen when the scientists achieve their dream of being able to harness the rays of the sun to aid production, so that one or two men can do all the work that needs to be done. When that occurs it would seem that the rest of mankind would be expected to stand quietly aside, and starve through Unemployment! It is important then to realize this simple fact that the object of an economic policy must be to obtain a full output of goods; and in a machine age such an output can be maintained *without* full employment. Full employment is impossible, and payment (distribution) *should not be made conditional upon the performance of worth.* Then again, it is generally admitted that the world today is suffering from "over-production," and the problem is not to distribute sufficient but to distribute what is actually produced. Few people seem to realize the fact that today a great many things are created which cannot be consumed, that is, which people cannot sell, because others have not the money to buy. This is one reason why a war is good for trade, since both sides are busy presenting free gifts to their opponents, and therefore everything that is produced can be consumed, and so everyone is happy—except possibly the ordinary soldiers! This does not mean that at present we are producing as much as we really need as any visit to an Indian village would show, but at present production is being slowed down deliberately to try to equate itself to effective demand. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, put the matter clearly in a recent speech on the solution of the World Crisis.

"There is no method so certain and so rapid in its operation as the control of production, and the proper adaptation of supply to demand."

Mr. Durbin has estimated that there can be only a 20-25 per cent increase, but Lord Melchett in his book "Modern Money" has clearly shown that in some industries a 10 per cent increase in employment would result in a 50 per cent increase in production.

Again Mr. Cole in his chapter on money is equally questionable. He includes bank credits

(created out of nothing) in his definition of money but he denies that cheques are money, though it is only in the form of cheques that the non-existent bank credit takes upon itself what he declares to be the function of money—that is to say, becomes available as purchasing power. Even more questionable is his statement that velocity of circulation compensates for deficiency in the quantity of money, because the given quantity of money can thus do more work in a given time. This is due to the "orthodox" habit of thinking in terms of money, instead of in terms of goods. In real terms it is the velocity of the exchange of goods that causes the money to circulate more rapidly, but even this does not mean very much. For example, if a person buys eight seers of *atta* at the beginning of the week his rupee circulates more rapidly than if he bought his daily supply each morning, but his consumption of *atta* remains the same. No one can make a limited income buy more by spending it sooner. The "heretics" of course argue that money can cancel costs only once and it is the cancelling of costs that is important.

There is hardly room to deal with the "heretics" view point which has been referred to but roughly speaking the argument might be put as follows :

1. Before the Industrial Revolution people produced by using their physical powers to control the forces of nature. In those days what was produced was consumed, or exchanged by the producer for something that he wanted.

2. As a result of the Industrial Revolution people now produce by using *machines and their physical powers* to control the forces of nature. Therefore, what is now produced must be divided, between the machine and the producer.

3. The machine itself does not consume and therefore the share which falls to the machine is used for producing more, and ever more machines which can produce but which cannot consume.

4. The machine displaces certain men, and since these men are displaced, and cannot work, therefore they cease to be able to buy, and therefore work has either to be created for them (i.e., luxury trades) or else the demand falls, due to decreased purchasing power, and production has therefore to be limited to a like extent! In short the position is similar to that of the python which began eating its own tail, and so tried to swallow itself.

The above is a very generalized statement, and so is very open to criticism but it will give readers who do not know any of the "heretical" views, some idea of their arguments which are that the economic system is at present based on money which is supposed to represent goods, and a true economic system would be based on the goods themselves.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

TARIKH-I-ILAHII : By Mr. V. S. Bendrey. Poona 1933.

Mr. V. S. Bendrey, author of *Sadhana-chikitsa* (Marathi), and the editor of *Rajaram-charitram* (a contemporary account of Rajaram's famous journey to Jinji), has done a service to history by publishing in book form (pp. 46) his learned paper on the *Ilahi Era* of Akbar. Mr. Bendrey's study is a distinct advance on previous efforts to solve the difficulties

which beset the calculation of the true solar months and years of the Ilahi Era, and the conversion of the dates of this Era into those of the Christian Calendar. He has for the first time utilized a valuable Sanskrit work, *Parsi Prakash*, written by one Vedangarai under the patronage of the Emperor Shah Jahan. The authors of the history of the Hindi Literature in Hindi (*Mishra-bandhu-binode*) mention Vedangarai as a Hindi poet in the court of Shah Jahan, who wrote *Parsi-prakas* about the year 1707 Samvat (pp. 502). Mr. Bendry who has examined three MSS. of *Parsi-prakas* of Vedangarai adds the following note on its author: "Vedangarai was a title given by Shah Jahan to one astrologer named Maljit, son of Tiggalbhata, a resident of Shristhali in Gujarat—vide his son Nandikeshwar's account of his father recorded in his book *Ganika-mandanam*—a small treatise on astronomy. Vedangarai wrote this *Parsi-prakas* to explain the terms, technical words, etc., which may in the ordinary life, present a difficulty to an astrologer for want of sufficient knowledge of Persian. The work appears to have been written in 1549 A. D." (Note 13, p. 7.) We do not know whether the authors of *Mishra-bandhu-binode* came across any translation in Hindi verse of the *Parsi-prakas*, which seems to be doubtful.

However, it must be admitted that *Parsi-prakas* of Vedangarai was the first attempt to solve the difficulty of accurately calculating the dates of the Ilahi Era. Mr. Bendry has given in an appendix some valuable extracts from this book. We recommend the use of *Tarikh-i-Ilahi* to students of history for checking the conversion of dates in the English translation of Abul-Fazl's *Akbarnama* by H. Beveridge.

K. R. QANUNGO

**THE TWO INDIA: By B. R. Beotra, B.A., R.S., Chief Secretary, Suket State. Pp. 124.**

This is a handy little compendium of treaties concluded from time to time between what are now known as the political halves of India, viz., the British Power and the States. The principal drawback of the work is that it does not attempt to reason out the justice or otherwise of the policy which led to those engagements or to trace the circumstances under which the political situation of India came to be developed. But the mere enumeration of facts and dates contained in this sketchy volume is in itself a great help at the present moment when the future constitution of India with the States as federal units is being forged. It amply proves that England subjugated India by diplomacy and not by the force of arms. It also brings out prominently how even the most solemn engagements and permanent bindings were quickly set aside as soon as the exigencies of the situation required a change. One realizes how futile is the claim so often put forth that the privileges, rights and dignities of the Indian Princes would always be maintained unimpaired. In politics as in other mundane affairs of this world there is nothing permanent or fixed. The volume contains here and there inaccuracies of dates and circumstances, which however do not mar its value, as it does not profess to offer any historical treatment.

G. S. SARDesai

**THE CHILD IN THE MIDST: by L. Winifred Bryce, M. A., with a Foreword by Lady Abdul Quadir, published by Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta, pp. vi + 136, price cloth bound Rs. 2-8, paper bound Rs. 1-8.**

The book under review is a praiseworthy attempt to guide the parents in the numerous problems that confront them in the task of training up children. Almost all the problems have been mentioned and practical advice based on facts of child psychology has been given in plain and simple language. It has almost become a truism now that unless the parents train themselves, it is hopeless to expect that they would be able to train their offsprings. And in this task of training themselves the book will be a good introductory study for the parents.

The period upto adolescence has been treated in the book and when one remembers that this is the most critical period of mental development, because the habits of thought and deed formed at this period of one's life, may make or mar his future, one can only congratulate the authoress on the simple way in which she has been able to express valuable truths. Her practical advice regarding how and when children should be given information on sex matters is useful though one may not agree with all that she has said. Other important chapters of the book are those dealing with the Emotions of children, Fundamental habits Family relationships, etc.

The value of the book has been enhanced by the Questions and topics of discussion that are given at the end of each chapter and the Diet sheet in the Appendix.

S. C. MITRA

**THE TRIBES OF THE NILGIRIS: by N. G. Ranga, B. Litt (Oxon). Published by G. L. Narayan, M. A., Manager, IVthra Economic Series, Bezwada. Price As. 12, pp. IV + 75.**

This pamphlet contains a general, but rather scrappy, description of the economic condition of the Badagas, Chetties, Kotas and Panniyans of the Nilgiris hills. It forms interesting reading on account of the apparent sympathies of the author, but the value of the book would have been considerably enhanced if the author had followed some consistent scientific plan in his observations. As it is, it ought to have been published in some popular journal, rather than as part of an "Economic Series".

**HANDBOOK FOR VISITORS TO KASHMIR: By J. L. K. Jalali, M. A., Srinagar, 1933. Price Paper Cover, Rs. 2-4, Cloth-bound Rs. 2-12. Pp. vi + 180.**

The book under review gives detailed information regarding all that an average visitor might like to know about Kashmir. A complete list is given of the halting places on each road and of the conveniences available there. Lists are also given of the usual charges of house-boats, permits for shooting and fishing and so on.

We trust the book will prove helpful to those for whom it is intended.

NIRMAL K. BOSE

## SANSKRIT

## GHERANDA SAMHITA :

*The Review of Gheranda Samhita at pages 82-83 of the Modern Review for January, 1931, needs correction in one or two particulars.*

Between 1895 when the work was first published, and 1933, the year of its reprint by the T. P. H. Adyar, Madras, there have been two more editions of the work. It was included in volume XV of the Sacred Books of the Hindus along with An Easy Introduction to Yoga Philosophy and Siva Samhita (both text and translation) by the same learned author and practical Yogi. A second edition of the volume was brought out in 1925. For these publications the thanks of scholars and the general public are due to the Panini Office, Allahabad,—that original and enterprising publishing house which has to its credit the publication of so many of the ancient scriptures of the Hindus and of several other valuable and indispensable works of linguistic, historical, economic and educational importance. The Panini Office has also published the text and translation of Hathayoga-pradipika directly to popularize the original Yoga texts.

The learned reviewer again sets it down as the *définitive* conclusion of Mr. Vasu that (Gheranda was a "Vaisnava of Bengal." This is misleading. Mr. Vasu's exact words are: "The directions regarding food are peculiar for the people of Bengal, the author of this treatise being apparently a Vaisnava of Bengal."

## BENGALI

**BANGIYA NATYASALAR ITIHAS:** (*Sahitya Parishat Series No. 83*). By Brajendra Nath Banerji. With a Foreword by Dr. Susil Kumar De, M. A., D. Litt. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 213-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-1 for members and Re. 1-8 for others. B. S. 1310.

The book gives the history of the Bengali stage as adapted to the European stage and covers a period of about one hundred years (1795-1876). It is divided into two parts. The first part in seven chapters deals with a period when public theatres had not developed and amateur parties busied themselves in supplying amusements to selected invited guests and creating their own pleasure. The second part in five chapters furnishes a history of the public theatre up to the passing of the Dramatic Performances Control Bill into an Act in the beginning of 1876. There are two useful appendices at the end of the book—one (which is highly important) giving a chronological list of the dramas staged on the boards of different public theatres; the second giving a list of the works of the early and well-known playwrights of Bengal. The account given in the book is primarily based on reports contained in contemporary newspapers, the results of a thorough ransack of which have already been published by Mr. Banerji in the form of extracts from them arranged under various heads. The account is therefore more accurate than some of the similar other accounts based on heresays and reminiscences. It is only to be hoped that Mr. Banerji will be able in future to discover from old records some accounts of the Pre-European stage in Bengal and thus supply us with a missing link

between the Sanskrit theatre and the modern Bengali theatre.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## MARATHI

**लाला लाजपत राय** (*The Life of Lala Lajpat Rai or the commencement of the new era.*) Price Rs. 2. Pages 296.

The author has dealt with the life, work and sacrifices of the hero critically. The history of the Indian national idea is described in this book and it is very thoughtful and appreciable. The book would have been very useful had it contained Lalaji's original thoughts.

**सम्राट्कोट्या पाथ्यपर्वो** (*At the foot of the mountain Sahya.*) Price Re. 1. Pages 150.

The author Mr. Sukhtanekar has published this collection of eight stories of realists, which delights in provincial details and local colouring. Almost all the stories take their life, colour and language from Goa and as such they are the best representation of Goanese culture.

**शिक्षणविषयक नवे विचार** (*Modern thoughts on Education.*) Editor Mr. B. D. Karve. Price Rs. 3. Pages 273.

This book contains an account of the lectures delivered by experienced educationists like Prof. V. M. Joshi. It is divided into six parts. The whole field of education is traversed by instructive lectures in these six parts. This is a unique publication dealing with educational problems.

V. S. WAKASKAR

## GUJARATI

**KALAPI CHITRADARSHAN:** Published by Chandrakant Brothers, Bombay. 1933.

The eleventh session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishat was held, during the Christmas holidays (1933) at Lathi in Kathiawad. Lathi has been immortalized in Gujarati literature as the place where the Prince-Poet Surshinji, whose *nom de plume* was Kalapi, reigned and wrote his poems. Taking advantage of this event, the publishers have brought out this sumptuous volume of Kalapi Album, containing excellent illustrations of the life and life-work of the poet, both of them being romantic in so far as he married his wife's maid-servant, and made her the Queen of his Heart. It contains 30 photos from life, 15 pictures depicting Kalapi's poems and scenes from those poems, 6 illustrations of places of interest connected with him, an appendix containing the letters of the Prince to his wife and friends, and an introduction in English from the pen of the well-known writer, Kanaiyalal Munshi. The get-up of the work is excellent from an artistic point of view, and the publication furnishes a landmark in Gujarati literature in this direction.

**KATHIAWAD MAN SARVABHOOM SATTIA AND GAEKWAD MAJMUDAR:** By Nayanisukhrui Vinodrai Majmudar. B. A., LL. B., of Amreli. Printed at the Arundodaya Press, Amreli. Thick cardboard. Pp. 464. Price Rs. 2. 1933.

The writer of this book,—a sort of family history of the Majmudars who served the Gaekwads principally



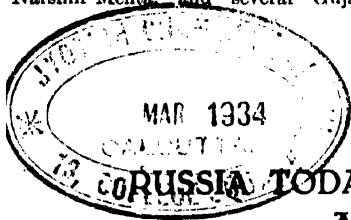
in Kathiawad during the period of the Maratha sovereignty in that province, belongs to the family of that great Bhakta poet of Junagadh, Narsinh Mehta. The book is replete with first-hand information about those ancestors of the compiler, who in various capacities, as fighters and as administrators, contributed their share in the bringing about of orderliness out of the chaos that reigned there in those stirring times, between Samvat years 1780 and 1890. The narrative comes as far as Samvat year 1941. Every statement is supported by documentary evidence which is interesting from a historical point of view. Besides being State servants the writer forbears even great Vaishnav Bhaktas and poets. Altogether the book is sure to prove helpful as shedding some light in the later history of the province.

**NARSAYYO BHAKTA HARINO :** *By Kanaiyalal M. Munshi, B. A., LL. B. Advocate, Bombay ; printed at the Khadaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Cloth bound. Pp. 114. Price Re. 1-8. 1933.*

Narsinh Mehta known generally as the Adi-kavi of Gujarat has, of late, assumed prominence, once again, by certain questions raised as to the exact year of his birth. The subject has been named the Riddle of Narsinh Mehta and several Gujarati scholars have

tried their hands at solving it, one of them being the writer of this dissertation, Mr. Munshi. The controversy is still raging, and hence it is difficult to say anything definitely one way or the other. Mr. Munshi places it between Samvat years 1530 and 1580, not earlier than 1530 and not later than 1580. The generally received year is Samvat year 1469. Besides this controversy, another one has attached itself to the poet ; it is this : whether the celebrated work called *Harmata* is written by Premanand or Narsinh : On a consideration of various reasons, Mr. Munshi comes to the conclusion that it cannot be the work of the latter : he also says that he is prepared to revise his opinion on getting additional material. In later chapters he has tried to spell the life of Narsinh out of his verses, that is, he reads into some of them the narration of incidents and events in his own life as set out by the poet, a piece of autobiography. It is an interesting piecing together of isolated fragments, and reads like a rhapsody, composed under the influence of the enforced rest enjoyed (?) by him in the Bijapur jail. The work bears the stamp of the impetus or impulse of the dynamic personality of the writer. The illustrations are based on imagination.

K. M. J.



## CORUSSIA TODAY : CHILDREN'S HOMES, PALACES, AND SEXUAL RELATIONS

By NITYA NARAYAN BANERJEE

**I**N the playing room of the Children's Home which I visited there was a big piano to the accompaniment of which the grown-up children sing and dance and thereby have their daily exercise. There are toys—everything materialistic—aeroplane, ship, torpedo, pump, engine, soldier, not a bogey or a fairy ; they do not celebrate the marriage ceremony of daughters and sons, as children in Bengal do, or worship dolls of mythological gods and goddesses. Every boy is given the chance to play with anything, and it is noticed what he likes. If he likes painting, in his future studies he is encouraged on that line ; if he shows a tendency towards engineering, the army, agriculture, art, he is given all facilities to develop on those lines. From their very childhood Russian children are observed and regular records about them are kept. They are not pressed in the same mould—the

dictators of Russia realize that there are different materials in different individuals and they should not be moulded in the same press.

According to age children are classified and taken care of. In one room about thirty babies were sleeping—the attending nurse was preparing her report of all the children under her care. She has to note daily the temperature, the stool and urine, times it cried and such other technical points. Every baby is given individual attention, every one is sleeping with hands up, the scientific position. If anything is wrong with any child it is segregated and sent to the doctor—his mother may not take her child home, but if necessary she may stay there. Probably the richest man of our country would envy the scientific and hygienic care taken of and attention paid to the Russian workers' children. Finishing my visit, I was requested to put down my



A painting in Hermitage—Leningrad

opinion in a visitors' book which I did very gladly.

The Intourist sent the taxi and it was ready at the door. We drove out to see the whole city.

Soon we came beside the Neva river. Its dancing sparkling waves were frozen white, as if under the spell of some magician's wand; a vast sheet of wavy snow stretched between the wide banks. We came across many important buildings, among which mention may be made of College and Office of Navy; Bureau of Labour on the bank of the Neva, where formerly political prisoners were imprisoned and tortured; the first Residence of the Central Committee of the Communist party, formerly the private residence of Kshesinskaya, from the balcony of which Lenin after his return from foreign lands, where he was exiled, made his first public speech before thousands of his followers; the Red Army Arch, a colossal yellow-coloured building made by the famous architect Rossi in 1819-25, which was and still is the seat

of the army, just in front of the well-known winter palace of the Tsar, which has now been converted into the Museum of the Revolution. Beside this huge ornamental building is the world-famous Hermitage, the favourite picture gallery of Tsarist times which was built by Gerard Terborch in 1617-81 and which still contains beautiful original paintings by well-known Italian and French artists. The palaces of the Tsar's sons, daughters and relations are worth seeing. Before one such building, "Panti Palace," is a nice park having the sickle and hammer, the emblem of the Communists on its bed. In this park, not very far from the Tsar's palace, thousands of revolutionaries died. So it has been named "Square of the Victims of Revolution."

After visiting the important buildings and parks in the city, we took a long drive to the outskirts of the city, where the summer palace of the Tsar stands. This beautiful three-storied building stands the same as it used to do in the Tsar's time; the pieces of furniture are kept as they were, just to show the people how lavishly the king used to spend at the cost of the poor people's labour. It was

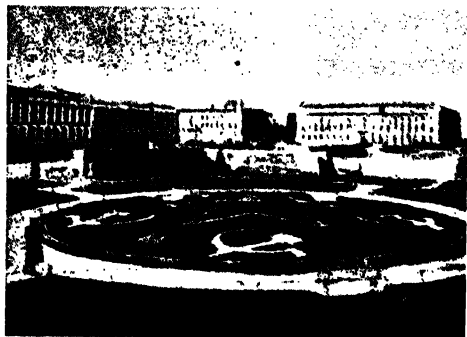


Red Army Arch and the office of the Army  
—Leningrad

already too late for lunch. We came back to the hotel in the afternoon and, finishing lunch as soon as possible, went to see a "zag" or marriage and divorce registration office. This was on the second floor of a huge building, a small office having two clerks and several benches for the couples. We were given a seat near the Registrar's table; the

guide interpreted to me the questions and answers of the registrar and the couples.

The willing couple have to deposit only two roubles in the office in the morning, for which they get a number. During the registration hour the registrar calls out the number serially and the couples come before her, produce their passports, which according to the new Russian law everybody has to obtain from the local police as proof of identity. The registrar takes down the names of the bride and groom in her book and the couple are requested to put their signatures in the book. That finishes everything—they are married. The only questions they are asked are, if that was the second marriage of any of the party and their age. Couple after couple



Park of Victims of Revolution (Paul's Palace)  
—Leningrad

came and got married; there was no ceremony, no priest, no friend or bride's maid on the occasions. Probably it takes five minutes to be married in Russia and much less time to be divorced. Any one of the couple may come to the office and say, "I want to be divorced." That is enough to get a divorce. If the other party be present, so much the better; if not, he will get a post card from this office that he is no longer married, his partner has divorced him, and he will be requested to have his passport endorsed to that effect. The registrar will not ask, why they are divorcing, would not disallow a prayer for divorce for want of any proof about adultery. She may request them to settle the differences, but even that the law does not require. I was shown the books in which notes on marriage and divorce are kept, but could hardly under-

stand anything. Pages of both the books were almost full. I asked the registrar, "What is the percentage of divorce?" She said, "About fifty per cent."

"So much," exclaimed I.

"But that is a smaller percentage in comparison with America," added my guide.

An eager couple came and asked me something which I could not understand. My guide answered him and smilingly said to me, "He asked our number." It was amusing.

I asked, "What did you tell him?"

"Numberless," was her reply.

A young couple took their seat before the registrar. They seemed to me quite young, just about eighteen, the marriageable age in Russia. Another couple came who seemed quite aged. Both of them were marrying for the second time. So they were asked if they had any children. The answer was in the negative. If there be any children by the first marriage, parents have to maintain them, but, unlike other countries, the burden of maintenance is not only on the father; if the father does not earn, the mother has to bear the burden of maintenance. The amount of alimony varies according to the earnings of the parents, but if one party is totally incapable of earning, he may claim one-third of the other's earnings. As a rule, in case of divorce, the children stay with the mother, but if she ill-treats them or is a drunkard or moral reprobate, the father may claim the children. Whenever there is a divorce, the parents try to come to a mutual settlement regarding children and their maintenance; if they fail to do so, they have to go to court. Registration of marriage is not absolutely necessary by law in Russia. If a male and a female so like, they can live together as husband and wife, neither the state nor society will condemn it. But this free mating sometimes causes much trouble when there is litigation for alimony. In such difficulties fathership is determined on the evidence of friends and relatives. If they say that the man used to live with her and most probably the son is his, he has to pay for his maintenance. This may be one of the chief reasons why Russia in spite of so much laxity in relations between the two sexes has not turned into a land of debauchery. When one hears



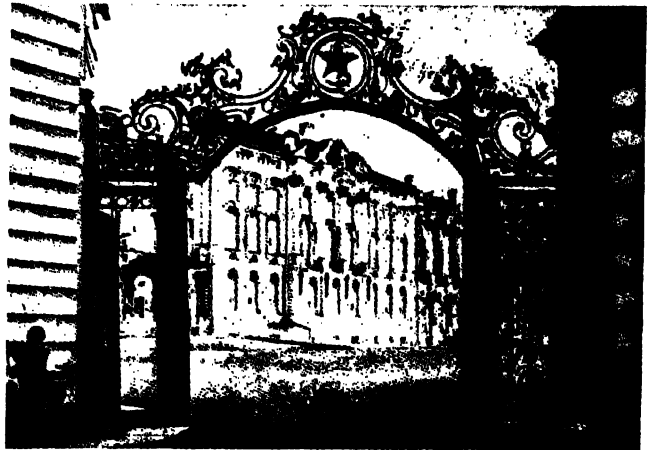
Tverskaya-Yamskaya Road : one of the main streets -Leningrad

that in Russia male and female can live together without any restriction, he naturally thinks the females in Russia are so many prostitutes and males are debauches of the lowest grade. But in fact it is far from so. To me it seemed the Russians were much more moral than other nations of the continent. What do we see in Europe? In all civilized

countries women dress themselves in such a fashion as will readily attract the attention of men; in society dinner and dances both men and women try to make themselves prominent, not among themselves, but before the eyes of the other sex; but in Russia this sex suggestiveness is totally absent. Men and women travel together in the same compartment of the train in day and night, they have their sunbath in summer on the river banks side by side with scanty bathing costume or with nothing on at all; in processions male and female march side by side without the slightest sex sensibility. Seduction is a great

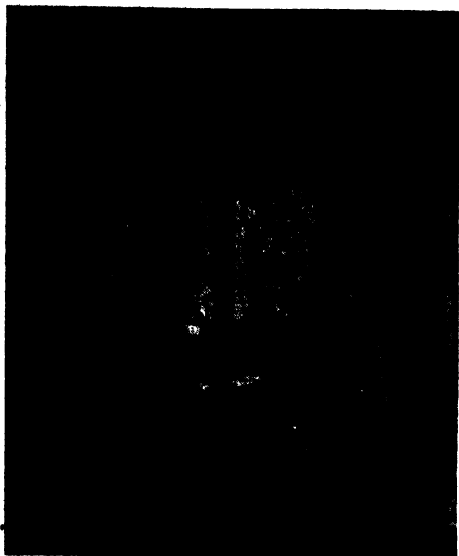
offence in Russia—to Russians it is exploitation of sex. One must be true and sincere in his love life. One may divorce and get married at his will; but if it be proved that it is his nature to do so, he is sentenced to imprison-

ment. Amongst the youths of the universities and colleges sex life should be more complex. The male and female students eat, sit, sing together, live in the same dormitory, though in separate rooms. But they can go to each other's room, may fall in love, even mate and have children. Neither the authorities nor the fellow-students will frown on it. If two students want to live a married life, registered or not, they are allowed to do so. If they have a child, the mother may still proceed with her studies, leaving the child in University nurseries. But if it is proved, that any student, male or female, enjoys sexual life casually, where there is really no love but the desire of satisfaction stands prominent, he is disciplined and reprimanded. Love has got all licence but seductiveness is banned. If anybody infects his mate with any venereal disease, even if they be husband and wife, he is punished with one year's imprisonment.



Summer Palace of Tsar—Leningrad

An old woman came to assist the registrar as she could not cope with the heavy work. We were sitting just beside the table and probably looking to be a couple. The old woman gravely asked: "Yes, your number please?"



[The Primrose drawing-room at Summer Palace.]

My guide burst into laughter this time and interpreted to me her question. The registrar, too, began to laugh and explained to her assistant that we were mere visitors. The old lady joked: "I am sure you will be a permanent guide of some fortunate foreigner one day."

My guide said: "Why one day, make it today."

I objected, "But we have no number."

The old assistant replied, "Never mind. We can number you right now. Ready?"

I said, "I am yellow coloured, so your white friend will not agree."

My laughing guide exclaimed: "If I agree, are you ready?"

This time I was cornered. The registrar



Bureau of Labour  
Formerly the Prison for Political Prisoners  
—Leningrad

intervened and said, "Last year I married an Indian with a Russian girl."

I murmured: "But I am already married."

My guide burst into surprise: "Are you really?"

"We came out into the streets but my guide would not let me stop about my marriage. She showered questions after questions. 'How many years ago were you married?—What is your wife's age? Is she beautiful? How long did your courtship last?' and a hundred more such other questions. Hearing from me that we have no courtship before marriage, she gasped with surprise.

"How do you marry then?"

"Our parents choose the bride—"

"And you marry?" Her eyes were about to come out in surprise.

She paused. "It is shocking to imagine, how do you do so?"

"That is our custom—"

"But that's a rotten custom, you should change it. Shouldn't you?"



# THE INDIAN RESERVE BANK

## Its Powers and Responsibilities

By H. SINHA, Ph. D.

**T**HE present monetary organization of India loudly calls for reform. In the first place, credit and currency are unrelated. Government have the sole rights of the issue of notes and of rupees, which, although tokens, are unlimited legal tender. Credit, again, is controlled or sought to be controlled by two separate agencies,—the modern joint-stock banks and the old indigenous bankers without much cohesion between them. In the second place, banking is very imperfectly developed. Cheques are practically unknown except in big cities and ports. Branches of banks are few and far between. In the third place, a vast agricultural country like India must necessarily present credit problems, which are difficult to be solved even with a highly organized banking system. At the time of each harvest, whether of jute, cotton or rice, considerable funds have to be moved from the ports to the remote growing regions to pay for the crops raised there by the cultivators. Thus there is a temporary shortage of legal tender and therefore of credit in the banks in the big cities and ports. The cultivators cannot, of course, keep the money with them for any length of time. They have to pay rent; they have to repay their debts; they have to purchase those necessities of life, which they do not produce themselves. The money thus released comes back to headquarters in dribblets and the process is unduly long. In the meantime, the exporters of crops present their bills drawn on their buyers abroad for discounting. Thus the banks with their depleted cash resources are called upon to meet an increased demand for credit. It is no wonder, therefore, that there are all the possibilities of a serious crisis every year,—or rather several times every year. The seasonal fluctuations noticed in small manufacturing countries with highly organized banking system are mere ripples compared with the seasonal waves found in India.\* There are other

problems, such as the vagaries of the monsoon and the "hoarding" habit of the people which further complicate the situation. The Indian Reserve Bank should assume unitary control of credit and currency and alleviate all these evils as far as possible "through suitable contraction and suitable expansion . . . aiming generally at stability."\*

This of course is admitted on all hands. But it is not always made clear what is meant by suitable contraction and suitable expansion. We may however hold that the amplitude not only of seasonal swings but also of trade cycles should be narrowed down as far as possible, with a view to stability.

Now, what exactly does this stability mean? Does it mean, as it certainly did in pre-war days, stability in exchange? Or does it mean stability in the general purchasing power of money? Or, again, does it mean stability in the general economic activity of the country? The last has all my theoretical sympathies. Our aim should be to keep production going and maintain the volume of the output. But let us analyse the practical implications. To start with, it is a very wide term, embracing as it does, not only production of goods, but also services of various kinds, making up in the aggregate, the entire national income. To compile a satisfactory index for this is extremely difficult, the new "Economist" index of business activity notwithstanding. There are some, who would seek to represent it by just a few measures,—possibly by only one,—by the consumption of lubricating oil for instance. On the other hand, there are some, who would try to find out a satisfactory index for each separate item of economic activity, whether direct or indirect, and weigh each such separate index according to its importance in national economy,—in other words, by its net output as determined by census of production. I am not competent to speak about this country,

\* See Mr. Montague Norman's evidence before the Hilton Young Commission.

\* See *Bankers' Magazine*, London, for October, 1924.

but I am sure it will be impossible to compute such an index for the whole of India including Burma, which, possibly separate constitutionally, will be financially a unit of India. Even if it is compiled, it will have hardly any statistical significance. For, unless there are a number of groups of about equal importance, accounting for a predominant proportion of the whole economic activity, the average must be merely an arithmetic abstraction.

If the aim of the Indian Reserve Bank is stability in the general purchasing power of money—I am not talking about the present time or even the immediate future, when conditions all the world over remain abnormal,—even if we take a distant view, the position is not without difficulty. The agriculturists, who form the bulk of the population, have different standards of living as revealed by village economic surveys during several years past. In some parts of India, again, money economy has not fully penetrated even now. In Bengal, for instance, “paddy loans,” that is, loans incurred and repaid in terms of unhusked rice, are not infrequent and have proved a blessing in disguise during the recent fall in the price of crops. Even in the case of urban wage-earners, where there should be better standardization, there is a wide disparity in the cost of living in different parts of India, and even in the same part of India for different communities. The four index numbers published for the four communities of Rangoon work-people offer an interesting study in themselves, baffling all attempts at a satisfactory common figure of cost of living for that city alone.

Thus we are left with stability in exchange as the chief objective of the Indian Reserve Bank,—in terms of sterling for the present and of a world standard, not necessarily a gold standard, when such a standard is set up by common consent, when all agree “to play the rules of the game.” This calls for two sets of considerations, (a) adequacy of reserves and (b) adequacy of control. The latter is, of course, the chief problem, for if that can be satisfactorily solved, a small reserve will be sufficient. I must confess I do not sometimes understand what is meant by “adequate reserves.” I am not unmindful of what has been said about this in the White Paper on

Indian Constitutional Reforms as a necessary preliminary to the establishment of the Reserve Bank. Possibly, one will be called a theoretical visionary, when one points out that when all the central banks move in unison, there is no limit to the volume of credit which can be made available for each by the Bank for International Settlements, properly reconstituted for the purpose. But, surely, one may adopt some better criterion for judging the adequacy of reserves than the standard set by other central banks, on historical, social and political, but not certainly rational, grounds. May we not consider it from the point of view of the maximum adverse balance of payment, leaving sufficient margin for factors unknown, possibly unknowable? On that criterion, India may regard herself as perfectly safe, her present volume of short-term debt notwithstanding. I do not forget that she is a debtor country; that her exports consist of a few commodities exposed to world competition; that her market has been narrowed down, specially after the Ottawa pact, which has secured confidence for the present but may impose undue restrictions in the future. I do not base my optimism on jute being a monopoly, for I recognize that being largely a packing material it must feel the first brunt of depression and must remain moribund so long as world trade remains moribund. I have in mind the vast manpower and the almost unlimited resources, which India possesses, and which, properly employed, may form the basis of any credit she may require.

This brings me to the question of the adequacy of control secured by the Indian Reserve Bank over the Indian money market, which is thus the essence of the matter. The Reserve Bank will, of course, have the sole rights of note issue, of the output and intake of legal tender currency, of the holding of Government and bankers' balances, and of the management of all financial operations on behalf of Government. In view of the present monetary system,—if you prefer, the lack of a system, in India, it is doubtful even if these valuable privileges will be able to secure sufficient control for the Indian Reserve Bank at least for some time to come.

In moving the Reserve Bank Bill in the

Indian legislature on 27th November last, the Hon'ble Sir George Schuster stated that over 90 p. c. of Indian banking was in the hands of indigenous bankers, who had no effective contact with the organized banking system. They have been sought to be attracted by the offer of the same privileges as the modern "scheduled" banks, *viz.*, remittance and rediscount facilities and the protection afforded by the Bankers' Books Evidence Act. The latter is of no practical importance, for the indigenous banker has no books requiring protection. If remittance can be made as cheap in India as in other countries\* he may find it worth his while to be associated with the Reserve Bank. It may be recalled in this connection that the first rudimentary central banking of a sort started by Warren Hastings as early as 1773 but wrecked in 1775 chiefly owing to the unworthy jealousy between him and Francis was almost wholly concerned with remittance operations on behalf of the East India Company through the branches and correspondents of the "general bank."† Apart from this, to the extent remittance charges are reduced, there will be a better utilization of the monetary resources of India and a corresponding lowering of the interest rate.

The chief inducement that can be offered to the indigenous banker for joining the organized banking system is easy rediscount facilities. Again, through these alone, can the Reserve Bank make its influence felt as "the lender of last resort." Unfortunately, there is no bill market worth the name in India at present. Most of the external trade is carried on with sterling bills, for they ensure low interest rates and adequate discount facilities. This cannot be altered until the Indian money market is equally well organized. As regards internal trade, it is carried on through cash credits and not by bills. It is not merely the high stamp duty, nor even the multiplicity of vernaculars, which stand in the way; it is

appalling illiteracy of the country as a whole, which is on the increase as revealed by the last census.

It may be urged that there are two important Stock Exchanges in India, one in Calcutta and the other in Bombay, where the Reserve Bank may have open market operations. It is doubtful, however, whether they are wide enough for the large scale operations, called for by the extreme seasonal swings of a vast agricultural country with a rudimentary banking organization like India. Apart from this, the central bank of the future must be prepared to buy and sell long-term securities freely to manipulate the long-term rate of interest. I do not agree with the orthodox view that the short-term rate and the short-term investment alone are the concerns of the central bank. In spite of the present low rate prevailing in the short money market, the yield on British securities is about 3½ per cent which is unduly high compared with the pre-war rate, specially when we take into account the considerable increase in the supply of capital since then. The central bank of the future will have to follow a much more active policy for open market operations than now.

I know there is a disposition in India possibly in Canada, too, to hope for a new heaven and a new earth as a result of the establishment of a central bank. But there should be no such illusion. The banking system of all countries, including India and Canada, is largely the reflex of historical, social and geographical conditions ruling in those countries and cannot be changed until those conditions are changed. In India the only immediate improvement will probably be the issue of additional currency at the beginning of the busy season without there being a prior raising of the interest rate. But this should not, on the other hand, blind us to the fact that "there is no influence so potent in the way of developing the credit system on sound and progressive lines as a well-founded central bank"—a dictum first enunciated by Sir Cecil Kisch and now reinforced by the Canadian Banking Commission.\*

\* The foreign experts pointed out to the Indian Central Banking Inquiry Committee that remittance was generally free for places within 300 miles of each other in Canada; in Java, the charge was one guilder for mail transfers of one thousand guilders or above, irrespective of the amount. (See Vol. IV, pp. 658 *et seq.*)

† *Early European Banking in India*, pp. 167-169; also *Welfare*, Calcutta, February, 1928.

\* An address before the Marshall Society, Cambridge on February 1, 1934.



## THE FOURTH CENTENARY OF CORREGGIO

By SUBRATA KUMAR CHAUDHURI

THE great Italian Renaissance, unchecked and original in its genesis, had nearly spent up all its creative energy and was now approaching an abrupt termination. The two masters of the past generation—Leonardo and Raphael—were already dead; the giant Michelangelo, though destined to live many years still and contribute his quota to the world of art and culture, had finished the marvels of his workmanship in the Sistine Chapel. It was evident that the current was moving farther and farther away to the remote side of the Alps, to Germany, France and the British Isles. During this northward march the eddy passed over the districts of Venezia and Lombardy and their neighbourhoods, where the new seeds flowered into several world renowned geniuses of whom Correggio was decidedly one of the greatest.

Antonio Allegri da Correggio, a native of the district of Modena, was born in the town of Correggio in 1494. A pupil of Francesco Bianchi (better known as Ferrari) he thoroughly learnt his art at a very early age and proved to be one of the most precocious talents ever seen on earth. Soon he developed the strange faculty of assimilating the styles of the famous masters, now plagiarizing from da Vinci, now stealing from Mantegna, though "making all he took into a thing of his very own. Raphael and the Umbrians gave him decorative grace, Francia sweetness of temperament, and from Michelangelo himself came power of modelling and mastery of bold dramatic light and shade." \* Then discovering for himself the line that would suit him most, he began his career as a decorator of the interiors of the Churches of Parma where he was called in 1518.

In his twenty-sixth year Correggio married a young and pretty damsel, Gioralana by name, who sat for him as a model in his celebrated Zingarella or the Gipsy Girl.

Before that he had exhibited the highest charm and sweetest grace of his style on the walls of the Nunnery of Paolo in Parma. He now undertook to paint the altar-apse and then the interior of the dome of S. Giovanni. But, as in the works of his compeers Raphael and Michelangelo, "the illusion creating and architecture destroying" qualities, characteristic of the virtuosos of the Renaissance appeared everywhere, though it cannot be denied that here a better compromise between mural-painting and architecture was sought out by him. The subject is the Ascension of Christ, sometimes called The Descent from the Cross, and a sweet melancholy envelops the whole theme. His next attempt was the presentation of the 'Assumption of the Virgin' on the cupola of the cathedral of Parma, "where he went at once to the extreme of what can be adventured in foreshortening, even forestalling in this attempt the mightiest genius of an older generation—the Last Judgment of Michelangelo, for instance, not having been begun earlier than 1533."\*

What strikes one most in these specimens of artistic creation is his mastery of colour. "It may at least be held certain," writes Vasari in his *chef-d'œuvre*, "that no one ever handled colours better than he, that no craftsman ever painted with greater delicacy or more relief, such was the softness of his flesh painting, and such the grace of his work." † One other quality that attracts the sight of even a casual observer is his wonderful power of chiaroscuro. "His peculiar means of expression" writes Lübke, "is a light which softly blended with the twilight, and interwoven with delicate reflections and transparent shadows, played around his forms in a kind of coloured chiaroscuro. In producing this chiaroscuro, with its minute gradations and shadings, Correggio is one of

\* *Encyclopædia Britannica*—The Article on Correggio.

† *Vasari*. Vol. IV, p. 118.

the masters of painting." \* The reader may be referred to his *La Notte* (Night) and *Il Giorno* (Day), the former representing the Adoration of the Shepherds and the latter Madonna and Child with Magdalene and St. Jerome, the two contrasting pictures of the most finished perfection as illustrations of the foregoing quotations.

Essentially an artist of 'movement,' Correggio exhibits a paroxysm of ecstasy in his paintings. A joyous delight, expressive of a superabundance of emotion envelops the figures he created. Sorrow and grief are completely left out, for, as Kaines Smith writes "the one thing none of them (his predecessors and contemporaries) could teach him was sorrow." The Zingarella has been mentioned before. The 'Magdalene lying in terra,' whose authenticity was questioned in the last century but since re-established by Corrado Ricci in his life of Correggio, is illustrative of lavish display of expression and excitement. An over-emphasis on such passionate feelings sometimes spoils 'the dignity, gravity or nobility of his form,' but his justification lies in the fact that 'he does not demean his saintly personages when he portrays them alive to these emotions; he transports them all back into the state of paradisiac innocence,'† as is seen in his *Madonna della Scala* or *Madonna della Scodella*.

Space does not permit me to introduce here the rest of his achievements, nor does this article purpose to give a detailed critical appreciation of the genius. I can only enumerate some of his most important productions where an exceptional quality of the artist is remarkable. Coming from the brushes of the earliest and greatest exponent of feminine loveliness and one expert in the representation of the softness of the human flesh as well as the rhythm of its delicate contour a few of these works require some special consideration. The *Leda with the Swan* at her breast in the accompaniment of a bevy of bathing comrades, the *Io embraced by the King of the Clouds*, the *Antiope* where Jupiter is surreptitiously removing the robe of the sleeping beauty and the *Danae* spreading her dress to receive the gift from the god of gods

are all pregnant with an overflow of movement. The splendour transcends the elements of sensuality and voluptuousness while an extravagant display of the essential feminine charm fascinates all the more the mind of an admiring observer. The *Education of Cupid* by Mercury in presence of Venus, probably



*Noli me tangere* (Prado.) Madrid.

By Correggio

the most popular of his paintings, shows Correggio at the height of his talent and is another example of his delicate toning of their bare limbs "gleaming softly in their silvery light and existing only for beauty and for joy of being alive."

Though working slowly in his isolated nook out of touch with the other masters of Italy, Correggio could not escape the effects of the great artistic transition on whose borderland he stood. The change from the style known as the High-Renaissance to that termed Baroque, in which a single predominant motive stands conspicuous to which all the others are subordinated, first visible in the architecture and plastic art of Michelangelo,\* appeared

\* Lubke: *History of Art*, Vol. I. p. 183.

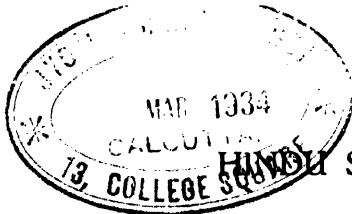
† Lubke, p. 183.

in his later works. A greater freedom and irregularity succeeded the equipoise and regularity of the old times; this was undoubtedly a decline and Correggio shares it along with his contemporaries. Moreover, "he was sensuous and therefore limited; and the highest virtues are derived from the perfect harmony of sense and intellect, such a

harmony as since the most noble days of Greece has never again appeared in perfection, not even in Giorgione and Raphael."\*

Correggio died on the 5th March, 1534 at the early age of forty.

\* Berenson : *The Italian Painters of Renaissance*, page 325.



## HINDU SCIENTISTS ON EARTHQUAKE

By K. P. JAYASWAL

**H**INDU scientific literature treats specifically of the subject of earthquake. I am giving below the conclusions of Hindu scientists on the phenomenon of earthquake from the writings of astronomers and mathematicians who flourished in this country before 600 A.D. Varaha Mihira wrote his encyclopaedia—*Brihat Samhita*—before 587 A.D., which is the year of his death. Dr. Utpala (भट्टोत्पल), the commentator of Varaha Mihira, has cited *verbatim* quotations from the original authors drawn upon by Varaha Mihira. I am utilizing these sources for my notice below.

In chapter xxxii of his encyclopaedia Varaha Mihira deals with "the subject of *Bhukampa* (earthquake)," as an independent topic, although references to earthquake are to be found in very many other places in the book.

### CAUSES OF EARTHQUAKE

On the causes of earthquake, apart from two Puranic theories, there are these theories of the scientists.

(i) *Atmospheric Pressure*: the upper atmosphere comes into friction with the lower atmosphere of the Earth which causes an earthquake with a roar.

"अनिलोऽनिलेन निहतः क्षितौ पतन् सस्वनं करोत्यन्ये"

[ xxxii, 2. ]

The author of this theory was Vasishtha, whose original text is as follows :

"यदा तु बलवानवायुरन्तरिक्षाऽनिलाहतः  
पतत्याशु सनिर्घातो भवेदनिलसम्भवः  
तस्य योगाग्निपततश्चलत्यान्याहता क्षितिः  
सोऽभिघातसमुत्थः स्यात् सनिर्घातमहीचलः"

—Bhattotpala, p. 442, Ed. Sudhakara Divyadin.

(ii) The theory of Parasara was entirely different. According to him *earthquakes are produced by gravitation of planets*, when there is a disturbance in their regular courses.

"अर्क-चन्द्र-ग्रह-विकृतचारजोऽथ कम्पानाहुः"

(iii) In addition to the above all the authorities are unanimous in holding that one class of earthquakes is caused by the Elemental Fire.

(iv) Another class is unanimously stated to be the result of heavy rains, and

(v) the last class to be the result of internal or elemental water.

### FOUR CLASSES OF EARTHQUAKES

Earthquakes are thus divided by the Hindu scientists into four classes.

(i) *Vajarya* or atmospheric. This is produced, according to the school of Parasara, by the gravitation of planets, while according to the others, by the concussion of the upper and lower air. This is the most dangerous type of earthquakes, which is evident from its duration and extent and the mischief, which I shall presently notice.

(ii). The *Hautasa* (हौताश) or *Agneya* (आग्नेय), i.e., quakes produced by the internal fire. This is the second dangerous type.

(iii) & (iv) The third and the fourth are the *Aindra* and the *Varuna*, which are produced by excessive rains and floods. The last one is regarded at times as beneficial (*subha*) while the others are of the destructive type (*asubha*).

#### THE FIRST TYPE

The *Vayavya* occurs under seven named *nakshatras*.

चत्वार्यर्शमृगान्यादित्यं मृगशिरोश्चयुक् चेति  
मण्डलमेतद्वायव्यस्य रुपाणि समाहृत ।

[ XXXII, S. ]

And its symptoms are noticeable for about a week beforehand. The sky becomes misty, dust rises from the earth to the sky, gales rage breaking trees asunder. The sun's rays become pale and weak [ रविपट्टकवमारी च ].

This type destroys crops, waters, forests and gardens. It produces the following diseases:—swellings, breathing diseases, madness, fevers, respiratory troubles. It produces economic depression [ वनिक पीडा—वनिकं क्रमविक्रमजीविनां च व्यथा पीडा ]. Fine arts and industries suffer.

It [generally] occurs in the following countries:—Kathiawar [Saurashtra], Delhi [Kuru], S. Bihar [Magadh], Bundelkhand [Dasarna], Agra and the neighbourhood [Matsya].

According to some authorities the bad consequences are punctuated by accompanying phenomena like fall of meteors, rise of circles [ परिवेष ] round the sun, etc., which sometimes denote international and political complications.

The full effects of a bad type of earthquake take six months to dissipate. The *Vayavya* type takes four fortnights.

The extent of the operation of the *Vayavya* type is 200 yojanas (1600 miles.)

#### THE FIERY OR VOLCANIC TYPE

The *nakshatras* peculiar to this type are also named:—

पुष्पाग्नेयविशाखाभरणीविश्याजमाभ्यसङ्गानि ।

वर्गो हौतमुजोऽयं करोति रुपाण्यथैतानि ॥ (32.12)

Its preceeding symptoms are:—fall of meteors, fiery appearance of quarters ( दिग्दाह ), outbreak of fire with gales. Its effects are loss of clouds, disappearance of water-sheets, international enmity, skin diseases, jaundice, etc.

It generally occurs in Bhagalpore, Monghyr (Anga), Bactria, Badrinath district (Tangana), Orissa (Kalinga) Bengal (Vanga), Tamil country (Dravida), Orissa Agency (Savara) and Asmaka (W. Malwa). To these Parasara adds Oudh (Ikshvaku), Kulhu (Kuluta), Pamirs (Tukhara), Baluchistan (Sibi), Jalandhar-Kangra (Trigarta), North Bihar (Videha), etc.

Its extent of operation is 110 yojanas (880 miles.)

I am omitting the details about the types *Aindra* (produced by excessive rains) and *Varuna* (produced by internal waters) (32. 16-22). The zone of the latter, it may be noted, includes North Bihar (Videha).

#### MIXED TYPES

According to the Elder Garga and other authorities, there are mixed types of quakes, and the types have their definite periods of the day and night e.g., in the fore part of the day or night the *Vayavya* quakes take place. In the middle of the day or night, the volcanic ones take place; in the third part the *Aindra* and in the fourth part, the *Varuna*. But this theory of time was rejected by Parasara as unsound.

#### PRE-HISTORIC EARTHQUAKES

According to Hindu scientists, especially Parasara and his school, there had been continuous earthquakes of a terrible type in India when hills arose and disappeared. It is noteworthy that the Puranic (cosmogony) story of mountains flying from one place to the other has been explained by Parasara as a phenomenon of the early earthquakes, fully recognizing that mountains in India rose up due to quake actions.

The subject deserves attention and study at the hands of technical scholars.

# HINDU AND MUSLIM PUBLIC SPIRIT IN BENGAL

By RAMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

**I**N view of the Muslim community's demand for a preponderating share in the administration of Bengal, to be fixed by statute, it will not be improper to start an enquiry into the comparative amount of public work done by the two communities; for a community's claim to superior Governmental powers can only be justified by its superiority in the field of public service. In the present paper, I propose to deal with the two most important branches of public work, *viz.*, educational and humanitarian (*e.g.*, Medical relief), and to give an idea of the output of work both by Hindus and Muslims, independently of Government patronage. No kind of purely sectarian work (for example, the educational charities of the late Haji Md. Mohsin for the benefit of Muslims alone) will be dealt with in this connection.

## EDUCATIONAL WORK

First I should err on the side of over-strictness to Muslims or supposed to be guilty of vagueness of statements and guess work, I will not speak here of the Calcutta University, as an institution. At the same time, the fact cannot be overlooked that this big University owes its extraordinary growth and development to Hindu brains, Hindu labour and, to a great extent at least, to Hindu money. Even if I omitted to mention this well-known fact, a comparison between the number of Hindu and Muslim endowments for scholarships, stipends and prizes to be awarded to University students leads to a conclusion which admits of no doubt. There are altogether 266 Hindu endowments at the disposal of the University, some of which are of very substantial value (*e.g.*, Sir Rashbehari Ghose, Sir Taraknath Palit, Maharaja of Khaira, Maharaja of Cossimbazar Trusts amounting to a good many lacs of Rupees).

There are five Muslim endowments, four are of the total value of Rs. 6,000.\* Of these three

of the annual value of Rs. 5,000.

are such that Muslim students have the best chance of securing their advantages while at least 259 Hindu endowments are for the benefit of all University students, irrespective of caste or creed.

Next we come to Colleges and High Schools. The question of high education is of great importance on account of the fact that men who seek Government service of a higher grade are not deemed to have necessary qualifications, unless they have received high education (by which expression I mean both College and High School education). A scrutiny of the official list published in 1932 shows that the number of non-Government (Arts) Colleges in Bengal is 38, of which 3 are apparently founded by Muslims (1 being open to Muslim students only), 6 by Christians (*i.e.*, Missionaries) and the rest, that is, 29 by Hindus. Of these 28 are open to all classes of students. From the same official report it appears that the number of non-Government (aided and unaided) High Schools in Bengal was distributed among Hindus, Muslims and Christians as follows—37 apparently founded by Muslims, 30 by Christians and 1006 by Hindus, if we exclude 1, 6 and 1 High School founded respectively by the Hindu States of Cooh Behar, Tipperah and Sikkim.

	Founded by Hindus	Founded by Muslims.
Non-Government Colleges	29	3
Non-Government High Schools	1006	37

Though the activities of our Muslim friends look so insignificant their power in the Education Department of the Government of Bengal is by no means negligible. In fact, Muslims are the lords of this region. We have read a lot about the work of the Text-Book Committee. This body is dominated over by Muslims to an incredible degree. Beginning from the Personal Assistant to the D. P. I., every Muslim gentleman seems to possess sweeping powers. The T. B. Committee

works through various sub-committees and each and every sub-committee must have at least one Muslim, if not more, on it. These Muslim members are the dictators of the sub-committees. If he or they object, no text-book can be approved; and one must not enquire whether these dictators are competent enough to pronounce judgment on books on Science, Mathematics, Hygiene or any other subject; that they are Muslims is sufficient. At their dictation History is going to be rewritten. Such is the Muslim-ridden Text-Book Committee which is lording it over the High Schools of Bengal, of which only 37 are founded by Muslims as against 1006 by Hindus.

The pernicious influence of communalism is not restricted to the T. B. Committee alone; it holds full sway in the Inspectorate of the Government as well. In reply to the question of Seth Hanuman Prasad Toddar in the Bengal Council (16th March 1931), the Hon. Khwaja Nazimuddin (Minister of Education) laid a statement on the table in which the following appears:

	Inspector of Schools	Second or Additional Inspector	District Inspector	Inspector
Hindu	2	3	19	121
Muslim	3	5	9	118

Since then things have much worsened. Apart from minor changes, at least four Divisional Inspectors are Muslims at present. Yet there are other noticeable things in the same statement, *viz.*, there were mentioned twenty-six inspecting officers specially appointed to see that Muslim education flows through the proper Islamic channel. These gentlemen were—Assistant Inspectors of Schools for Muhammadan Education—5; Special Sub-Inspectors of Schools—13; Assistant Sub-Inspectors—2; Inspecting Moulaavis—6.

One may be inclined to think that, though the Muslim share in the work of spread of education in the province may be negligible as compared with that of the Hindus, in taking advantage of the facilities offered by the existing educational institutions, the Muslims may not be lagging behind. To satisfy this curiosity, the following figures (taken from Supplement to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, published 1932) are given showing the progress of Muslim

learners in general as well as professional institutions. Instead of cumbrous numbers, only percentages of Hindu and Muslim students are quoted here.

## UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

	Percentage of Hindus to total pupils.	Percentage of Muslims to total pupils.
Colleges General Arts	83.1	13.7
Colleges Professional Law	72.6	26.1
Medicine	85.8	8.9
Education	50.0	26.6
Engineering	87.9	9.1
Commerce	92.9	2.9
Veterinary	71.6	20.5
Total for Professional Colleges.	78.5	17.9
Total for Colleges	82.1	11.6

## SCHOOL EDUCATION

	Percentage of Hindus to total pupils.	Percentage of Muslims to total pupils.
<i>For Boys:</i>		
High stage	79.8	18.3
Middle stage	73.1	25.6
Primary stage	75.5	53.3
<i>For Girls:</i>		
High stage	69.5	1.9
Middle stage	67.1	3.9
Primary stage	12.9	51.9

To the superficial observer the percentage of Hindus in primary schools seems to be lower than that of Muslims. But there is one thing to be remembered in connection with this, *viz.*, that Muktabas are included under what are officially called "Primary Schools." By a careful perusal of the above official report, we find that, for the same year, the number of Muslim pupils attending "Primary Schools" is 929,570 (boys) and 280,903 (girls), or a total of 1,210,473 (more than 12 lacs); while the number of Hindus is 793,622 (boys) and 219,219 (girls), or a total of 1,012,841 (more than 10 lacs). Again, the statement showing the progress of Muktab education shows that altogether 814,087—(580,988 + 2,468) boys and (23,329 + 2,07,302) girls (Statement No. 24)—boys and girls (roughly 8 lacs) were pupils of boys' and girls' Muktabas.

It is thus clear that of the 12 lacs of Muslim pupils shown as attending "Primary Schools" as many as 8 lacs were attending

Muktab (which are officially called "Muslim Primary Schools"). Muktab education is no doubt some sort of education and is certainly better than no education, but one should not fail to consider whether education imparted under the shadow of communalism in institutions where propaganda of communalism is a main part of the teaching is in any way conducive to real enlightenment of the pupils and whether these boys have a fair chance of holding their own in a fair and unhampered competition with boys receiving education in schools where education, and nothing else, is the object in view. If we deduct 8 lacs from the total of 12 lacs of Muslims, the remaining 4 lacs (pupils in non-Islamic primary schools) offer a poor comparison with 10 lacs of Hindu pupils in general primary schools and the inflated majority percentage of Muslims in primary schools shrinks into less than half the Hindu percentage.

After all, this high percentage in primary education is somewhat misleading. The main report (published in 1932) on Public Instruction, Bengal, (pp. 37-38), says :

"These percentages (in primary education) do not present a true picture of the advance made in education by the Muslim community, for in the higher schools there was an absolute fall in numbers."

## II. HUMANITARIAN (MEDICAL RELIEF) WORK

Now let us see how our Muslim countrymen stand in the sphere of the sacred work of giving relief to sick and suffering humanity. For facts and figures in this connection I will rely on the "Annual Report on the Working of Hospitals and Dispensaries for the Year 1930," published in 1932, which is, by the by, the latest report available, I understand.

I shall leave out the hospitals and dispensaries founded and financed by Government and local bodies. For our purpose, those founded exclusively by private individuals are necessary, as they will indicate more truly each community's spirit of service and the actual output of work in this line. The following brief statement is given of hospitals and dispensaries in Bengal that have been founded expressly by Hindus, Muslims and Christians to commemorate, in most cases, their own or others' names :

### MOFUSSIL HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES

	Hindu	Christian	Muslim
Burdwan Division	36	17	2
Presidency	32	10	1
Dacca	11	10	2
Chittagong	12	2	3
Rajshahi	9	5	1
Total	130	44	9
Calcutta	6	8	0
Grand Total	136	52	9 for the whole of Bengal.

Of the hospitals and dispensaries given here under the head "Christian," only 6, so far as I could gather, are founded by Christian Missions ; the rest are named after Magistrates, Commissioners, Governors and similar eminent Christian gentlemen. Those who know the naturally philanthropic Hindu, will not doubt that in the case of most, if not all, of these charitable institutions, the major portion of the money at least has come from Hindu pockets. Scores of instances may be given, but the following, I hope, will suffice :

In Calcutta, Mayo Hospital, Prince of Wales Hospital, Lady Dufferin Hospital, Carmichael Hospital, etc.; in the Mofussil, Lady Dufferin Hospital (Dacca), Stevenson Moore Dispensary (Bishnupur--24 Parganas), Carmichael Charitable Dispensary (Krishnagore), Balla Earle Charitable Dispensary (Mymensingh), Lady Dufferin Zenana Hospital (Chandpur), Sitabganj Lady Mackenzie Dispensary (Dinajpur), King Edward Memorial Hospital (Midnapur), Lady Curzon Zenana Hospital (Suri), Price Charitable Dispensary (Naogon), etc. etc.

However, leaving aside these institutions, the fact that there are as many as 136 hospitals and dispensaries expressly founded and financed by Hindus as against only 9 by Muslims in the whole of the province is enough to prove which community has rendered greater public service in this respect. There is also a large number of dispensaries which are mentioned as "Private-aided" and which are named after the places where they are located. I have left these too out of consideration here, as well as others that are described as "private-non-aided," no details of which are found in the official report.

But it may be argued that mere superiority in number of dispensaries cannot indicate greater amount of benefit rendered to men ;

for one hospital or dispensary with very great capacity may do more work than a number of smaller institutions of the same kind. To meet this argument, I quote below the number of patients served by each of the eight Muslim hospitals and dispensaries throughout the year (figures for one were not obtained):

	Patients treated during 1930.
1. Angerson (Pindira) Haji Osman Guni Charitable Dispensary (Dist. Burdwan)	10074
2. Imambara Hospital & Dispensary. (Dist. Hugly)	10411
3. Russa Prince Golan Muhammad Dispensary	8410
4. Melanda Nayebulla Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Mymensingh)	11010
5. Patuakhali Begum Hospital and Dispensary.	11528
6. Colonel Hat Md. Hakim Nazir Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Chittagong)	4838
7. Lady Dufferin Faizunnessa Zenana Hospital, Comilla (Dist. Tipperah)	7621
8. Hatia Char Mir Md. Ali Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Noakhali).	2900
9. Taherunnessa Bibi Choudhurani Female Dispensary. (Bogra)	(Figures not obtained).
Total	70095

In spite of the usually communal nature of Muslim charity, let us take it for granted that these institutions are open to all.

To match these, I will take only four dispensaries founded by Hindus (in Moslem-majority districts):

	Patients for the same year.
1. Brahmanbaria Jagannath Madan Gopal Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Tipperah)	27445
2. Jafarganj Sovabazar Raj Charitable dispensary. (Dist. Tipperah)	10385
3. Abutaraf Rajlaksmi Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Chittagong)	20365
4. Banagram Syam Sunder Charitable Dispensary. (Dist. Mymensingh)	16742
Total	74937

There are still 132 hospitals and dispensaries founded by Hindus in and out of

Calcutta to be taken into consideration, including some very big ones; for example:

	Patients treated during the same year.
Surja Kanta Hospital (Mymensingh)	35260
Shambhunath Pandit Hospital (Calcutta)	30566
Syama Charan Eye Hospital (Calcutta Medical College)	28570

We thus arrive at the irresistible conclusion that in this branch of public work, too, the Hindu's contribution is incomparably greater than that of the Muslim.

These are the achievements of the Muslim community of Bengal, whose boast of numerical superiority sounds ludicrous by the side of their poor performance in the sphere of two most important branches of public work. From the community which demands the lion's share in the Governmental powers of the country, we might have expected greater and better work for the good of the country. It is, however, never too late to mend. Instead of expending their energy in manœuvring violent movements against Hindu landowners, and money-lenders and organizing the defence of such Muslims as are accused of crimes against defenceless Hindu women, leaving the relief work in times of famine and flood to be done by the sentimental Hindu for the benefit of the Muslim masses, let Muslim leaders turn their attention to work of real public utility so that all classes of their countrymen, irrespective of their caste and creed, may enjoy the fruits thereof and they themselves may attain a position befitting the majority community of the province.

I cannot conclude this paper before saying a few words more. I have tried to see that whatever figures are given here are correctly put and no statement is made which is not justified by facts. If, in spite of this, errors have crept in, I shall be grateful to those who will point them out. But my conviction is that nothing will be found that will affect the main substance of my contention. I should also like to add that I have purposely left aside certain matters which might have still more strengthened the case for Hindus. I could at least have mentioned the latest instance, within my knowledge, of the over-anxiety of the Hindus for humanitarian work which is fully taken advantage of by Muslims.



Very recently the cry of "Famine in Jessore" has been raised by Hindu papers and Hindu leaders, and money is being collected by Hindus. In Narail centre, I understand one relief committee has raised Rs. 600 of which Rs. 6 is the contribution by two Muslim gentlemen,

while some 90% of the sufferers are Muslims. And Jessore is a district where Muslim domination has been thoroughly established through the agency of the District, Local and Union Boards.

January 21, 1934.



## REALISM

By SITA DEVI

**I**N the city of Calcutta only the fortunate few may have space enough to stretch their limbs at will. Only eye-witnesses would believe the state, the poor people live in, in this second city of the Empire. So it is no use describing it. The middle-classes enjoy many amenities of civilized life, but scarcely any luxury. Still they cling to the city through force of habit and also because the villages have no use for them.

Manoranjan Babu was just such a middle-class person. The family was fairly big and his salary was not adequate. His widowed mother lived with him and he had his wife and five children. Relatives from his village home, and friends from every quarter of India paid him regular visits throughout the year. So their habitation was nearly always crowded with people.

The house was situated in a lane, a bit off from the main street. It was a two-storied building. Manoranjan Babu occupied the ground floor because his family physician had advised him to do so. His wife's heart was rather weak and she could not go up and down the stairs very often. So they lived on the ground floor, though it was inconvenient in many ways. The upper floor was occupied by an Anglo-Indian family.

Each flat consisted of four rooms, two middle-sized and two rather small. Manoranjan Babu was not modern in his views, but neither was he very orthodox. His daughters went to college—one was in her third year, the other was in her first. Neither had been married as yet. He was frankly for female education, but he had his doubts about free mixing of the sexes. But he was rather non-interfering in his temperament and generally followed the line of least resistance. A few young men used to frequent his home. They were either very distantly related or were friends of his sons. His wife spoke to them. So did his daughters. When the girls were very young, every room was open to everybody, but now that they had grown up, one of the smaller rooms had been converted into a sitting-room. The other rooms had their doors curtained now,

to make it clear to outsiders that these rooms were private.

The sitting-room was used as such during the daytime alone. At night the furniture was pushed into a corner and the eldest boy of the house, called Natu, slept there on the floor. If there happened to be any male guest, he also slept there. Of the larger rooms, one was occupied by Manoranjan Babu and his wife, who slept there with the younger children. The other one was the bed-room of the girls.

It was a very hot and sultry day of summer. The whole town seemed to pant with the heat. The fortunate few had electric fans, but these too seemed to send out fire instead of air. The less fortunate fanned themselves with palm-leaf fans and rolled on the cold cemented floor in the vain hope of getting a bit cool.

Manoranjan Babu had no electric fans, and, to make it worse, the house was crowded with guests. A friend of his, named Rasik, had arrived from the United Provinces, with his wife and daughter. They were on their way home to a Bengal village and were breaking their journey here for a day or two.

A faint breeze had sprung up in the evening. The whole family together with the guests had assembled on the inner verandah, which served them as the dining-room. Sulata, the eldest girl, deserved the credit for this arrangement. She did not like to squat down anywhere and everywhere for her meals, neither did she like the sight of dirty plates and glasses, lying scattered all over the place. So she had taken the initiative in converting the verandah into a dining-room and making her father buy a dining table.

They were having their tea now. Sujata was pouring out the tea, whilst Sulata was serving buttered bread and sweetmeats to the guests. The sweetmeats were ordered in honour of the guests.

"You cannot have any luxury of the table in Cawnpur," Rasik Babu's wife was saying. "We have nearly lost our Bengali palate and become U. P. people. But we can stretch our limbs. I must say that in fairness to that town. The

bungalow is a large one and we don't know how to use so many rooms. The servants have occupied them."

"We are content with this little hole," said Manoranjan Babu. "We have forgotten all our grievances in the joy of getting plenty of fishes to eat. How many days in the month do you get fish there?"

Before Rasik Babu's wife could reply his daughter Aparna put in, "How many days in the month you ask? You should rather say, how many days in the year. Even then we don't know whether we have fish or dried twigs, from the taste of the thing."

Manoranjan Babu looked admiringly at Aparna and said, "But your health has not at all suffered on that account. You can pick up both my daughters, one on each hand, at the same time."

The girls burst into laughter. "We cannot even walk properly, due to want of space," said Sulata. "How do you expect us to be robust and strong? Still Sujata had won prizes in our school sports. I never joined even in that."

"When we go back this time," said Rasik Babu's wife to the two girls, "we shall take you two with us. You shall see how you improve within two months."

"But don't you have epidemics of plague there, every year?" said Sulata's mother rather in alarm.

"That may be, but people live there all the same," said her guest. "We have been living there for ten years and we are not dead yet."

Aparna was not probably liking this topic, so she interrupted with "I cannot call Calcutta any cooler than Cawnpur, I must say. There we seem to dry up with heat and here we are boiled. I think it is worse. Please finish your tea soon, I want to go out somewhere for a breath of fresh air. It is impossible to stay indoors now."

They finished their tea in a hurry. The buttered bread and sweetmeats were scarcely touched. Then the girls went to their rooms to get ready.

Aparna had taken shelter in the girls' room. Her parents moved about from room to room. Rasik Babu had contracted the habit of sleeping outdoor and here too, he slept out on the dining table. His wife could not sleep on account of the heat and tossed about restlessly. For Aparna, too, it was too hot inside the room, but she was obliged to stay in.

Everybody finished dressing soon. They put on their lightest clothing and went out. Only Sujata's mother remained in, as she had to see to the preparation of dinner.

The party walked on for a bit, then they took the tram. After getting down from the tram, they walked again for some time. When they finally returned home, it was already very late.

"What is this?" said Manoranjan Babu's wife in remonstrance. "Do you know the time?"

"Oh, never mind," said her husband. "It is

so hot that one cannot come inside before ten o'clock."

"Well, it is nearly ten," said his wife. "You must sit down to dinner at once."

They washed their hands and faces and sat down to eat. The walking had given the whole party an appetite and they did justice to the dinner.

After dinner, as the table was being cleared, Rasik Babu said, "I shall do like last night and sleep out here. I have become such a lover of the outdoor that a roof over my head seems to stifle me."

"But sleeping here is nearly the same as sleeping on the road. This place is totally unprotected. That bit of a wall serves no useful purpose," said his hostess.

Rasik Babu laughed aloud. "But I am neither a beauty nor something made of gold," he said, "so I should not provoke any thief."

So he had his way. The table was wiped clean, and Rasik Babu's bed was spread there. Manoranjan Babu went to sleep with his son. Rasik Babu's wife joined her hostess in her room.

Aparna did not at all like the hot little room in which they had to sleep, but she knew that her protests would be of no avail here. Calcutta people have no use for those upcountry manners and would never allow a girl of her age to sleep out in the open.

The girls spread a bed on the floor, because the bedstead was too small to hold three persons. Sulata felt the heat too much and slept on the cool floor. Sujata was fond of ease and liked her bed soft, so she slept up on the bed.

Aparna did not like a bed, even if it was spread on the floor. "Give me a mat please," she said, "it is too hot for heavy bedding of any sort."

Sulata took away the mattress and sheet and brought out a Japanese mat for Aparna. "What else can I get for you?" she asked.

"Oh, nothing else," said Aparna. "I want plenty of cool air, but you cannot get it for me. If we could have kept the door open, as well as the windows, the room would have been a bit less hot."

Sulata said, "We could have kept that door open, if Natu were not sleeping there in the drawing-room."

"Oh, it does not matter," said Aparna, "what can't be cured, must be endured. But I must keep a glass of water here. It is one of my bad habits. Whenever I wake up at night, I want a drink of cold water. Now don't you get up please. I can get it for myself quite easily."

Aparna got up and went out. After a while she came back with the water, in the biggest metal tumbler of the house, and placed it by her pillow.

It was nearly eleven o'clock. Everybody thought it late enough and made preparations for going to sleep. A few whispers were heard at first and the swishing sound of palm-leaf fans, then all grew quiet.

A night breeze had sprung up, as is usual in Calcutta, but it did not find free entrance inside the rooms. In this big family only Rasik Babu was enjoying a comfortable and sound sleep. The wind entered the other sleeping rooms in fitful gusts, being impeded by the heavy curtains. It only served to make the heat more unbearable during the intervals.

Aparna dozed fitfully, being disturbed by the heat. Outside the night wind roared, the doors and windows banged and here they all lay sweltering. What a climate to live in! But the other two girls appeared to be deep in sleep. Aparna had become nearly as wild as her father—she could hardly bear a roof over her head.

Again she dozed off. She heard an indistinct sound as if of a door being opened. It must be the wind, she thought and sank into sleep. The palm-leaf fan fell from her hand on to the floor.

The door between the two rooms opened slowly. Someone was coming into the girls' room from Sulata's mother's room. But the figure was not that of a woman. The room was full of shadows, only a thin streak of light from the street lamp entered through the window and lighted up one corner of the room. The intruder could see by the help of this light that one girl was sleeping on the bed and two others on the floor.

At first he tiptoed to Sujata's bed. The girl was sleeping soundly. He bent down to examine whether the girl was wearing any jewellery or not. There was nothing much, Sujata being a modern miss of seventeen. At this age many young ladies suddenly feel a distaste for the world and its wealth, and dream of taking to an ascetic life. They adopt the plainest of dresses and cast off all ornaments. Sujata was just passing through this phase.

The man moved off to where Aparna was sleeping. She had some gold ornaments on, being the only child of a rich man. She was wearing a costly gold chain and a pair of heavy gold bangles, as well as some 'churi's.'

The man took out a small electric torch and examined the ornaments. They appeared good and easy to obtain. He placed the torch back in his pocket and began trying to remove the bangles very carefully. They fitted very close to the round smooth wrists. The man in his haste pulled a bit hard. This was sufficient to wake up Aparna, as she was but dozing. She pushed away his hand and sat up straight on her mat.

An ordinary Bengali city girl would have fainted at the sight of an intruder in her bedroom at midnight. But Aparna was of a different type. Besides being almost domiciled in the United Provinces, she was accustomed to the sight of thieves and dacoits. As she tried to spring up from the mat, the man clapped his hand on her mouth forcibly to silence her cries.

But Aparna was not to be silenced so easily. She kicked Sujata on the back to waken her up,

all the while struggling with the man to make him let go his hold. Sujata woke up and screamed loudly at the sight that met her eyes. The man let Aparna go, and sprang for the door of the next room. Aparna took up the heavy metal tumbler and threw it at the man with all her strength.

Her aim had been good. The man fell down with a loud cry. But the next moment he rose and darted out proving that his injury had not been serious.

The whole family was awake by this time. The two ladies were screaming with all their might, while Manoranjan Babu had rushed into the girls' bedroom to see what had happened. Natu rose and gave chase to the thief.

Rasik Babu too woke up. As he was trying to get down from the table, on which he had been sleeping he saw a strange man, trying to scale the compound wall. He rushed at the man and actually caught hold of him. But the man sprang away and over the wall, leaving a piece of his shirt in Rasik Babu's hand and some blood stains on the wall.

The family on the first floor was also awake. They had turned on all their lights and were enquiring what had happened. The house was searched all over, to find out if any other thief was hiding anywhere. But nobody else was found.

Everyone came back to his or her room after a while. A small pool of blood-tinged water had accumulated on the floor of the girls' bedroom. It was wiped off. Natu objected at first. He wanted to leave everything as it was for the police to see. But the rest of the family did not agree with him. What was the use of making further fuss by calling in the police, when the thief had not been able to take anything?

"You are a real Amazon, my dear," said Sulata. "The thief will never forget you."

Aparna was still panting in excitement. "I wish I had something better at hand, to make him remember me, by," she said.

"The thief was a dandy too," Sujata said. "Don't you see, he has left behind a sample of his silk shirt?"

"It is really amazing," said her sister. "I have never known a thief to be dressed in silk before. He must have been in love with Aparna."

"Oh indeed?" said Aparna. "As you said, I am but an Amazon, not the sort, persons fall in love with. If he was in love, it must have been with either of you pretty damsels."

The rest of the night passed off thus. Nobody slept any more. Everybody wondered, how the thief had got in. A door of the bath-room that led to the lane behind, was found open. But how it had been opened, no one could explain.

In the morning friends and relatives crowded in. The thief was the only topic of conversation for several days. Then gradually everybody forgot him.

But I hope, the reader has not forgotten him.

Let us see how and whence such an interesting person appeared.

The reader must go back a fortnight. Chittaranjan Babu, the editor of the magazine *Bhullari*, was seated in his office, correcting proofs. His assistant Khagen was busy over a pile of manuscripts, he was dividing them into two piles. Some were marked as accepted and some as rejected. The last named ones formed by far the bigger pile and Khagen was constantly adding to it. A few people were seated here and there, evidently waiting.

One of them came forward after a while and sat down on a stool by Khagen's side. "Have you gone over my manuscript?" he asked in a whisper.

"Yes," answered Khagen shortly, "I am sorry we cannot accept it."

The man's face nearly turned black in disappointment. "Why do you say that?" he asked again. "I have written it very carefully. Will you please show it once to the editor?"

Khagen seemed to lose his temper a bit. "We are here, so that he might not have to look over every blessed manuscript," he said. "But, of course, I have no objection if he is willing to look it over." He drew out an exercise book from amongst the pile, and pushed it towards the anxious author.

But the man had assumed his dejected air again. "Oh well, since you say it won't do," he said, "I don't want to trouble the editor for nothing. But will you please tell me why you reject it? The plot was a good one and I was very careful about the language and style."

"My dear sir," said Khagen, "people want realism now. They have no use for idealism or imagination, nowadays. Romance is being swept out of Bengali literature now. I don't hold the same view, but we must give the public what it wants."

"But is it so very unreal?" asked the poor author.

"Well, I must say it is," said the sub-editor. "Take, for instance, the place where your hero Arun has entered the bedroom of the heroine surreptitiously at night. Is not that highly unreal? Do you know of any Bengali girl who would fall in love with a thief? She would have shrieked the house-roof down."

"But cannot there be any exception?" said the author Ramesh. "Every girl may not conform to the general rule."

"Well, that is quite possible," said the overworked Khagen. "There have been cases of human beings possessing four legs. But you can hardly introduce such a person in literature as a hero."

Ramesh got up, with the rejected manuscript in hand. "Well, then good-bye," he said. "I shall try to alter it, as you say." He prepared to walk out.

Khagen felt a bit sorry for the poor man.

"Yes, do that and bring it back," he said. "The style and the plot is all right. But give them some 'realism' stuff and you can go home with the money."

Ramesh went out. Another young man, who had been sitting at a distance, also came out at the same time. As soon as they had passed the office building, he placed his hand on Ramesh's shoulder and asked, "Why are you so cast down? These people have to talk like that, you know. They cannot print all the good stuff they get, else they will have to make their paper thrice as big as it is. Don't you listen to them. The public wants realism, he said? That is stuff and nonsense. I am one of the public, ain't I? I can tell you I am sick to death of realism. We get too much of it in real life to want it in fiction."

"You are my friend and so you are trying to console me," said Ramesh. "Why should they reject good stuff? Real good writing is not so plentiful as you seem to think."

But Mahitosh still went on, "I tell you it is all rot. You cannot write stories about real things. There are only three real things in Bengal, *viz.*, malaria, the marriage problem of girls, and clerks with big families. How long can one write about these? Too many people have already discussed them threadbare. So, of course, we have to draw upon idealism now."

"I don't write for fame and recreation," said poor Ramesh, "else I would not mind my stories being rejected. But I am a poor clerk, with four real children and a salary of sixty rupees only. If they had accepted the story and given me the fifteen rupees for it, I could have paid the milkman's bill."

"Who bothers about such things?" said Mahitosh. "But alter it and see what they say."

Ramesh did not answer at once, but walked on slowly. As he came close to his house, he said, "But what is the use of my altering it? What is realism to me may not be real enough for the editors. Our experience of real life is hopelessly limited. Just as you say, there are only three real things in our life, *viz.*, malaria, the problem of a daughter's marriage and too many children in a poor home. Thanks to the Hollywood films, we get some real good plots, but the editors turn them down as too Western. You might try your best to disguise the American beauty in an indigenous *saree*, but they always find her out."

Mahitosh came up to Ramesh's door, but did not enter. Instead, he walked on slowly towards his own house. He really wanted a cup of tea, but did not want to embarrass poor Ramesh by suggesting it. The poor devil may not be in a position to afford it. Ramesh and Mahitosh had been class-mates in their youth and had still kept up that friendship. Ramesh had married very early in life, with the result that he was

sinking lower and lower into the mire of poverty. But Mahitosh had fortunately remained a bachelor and could enjoy life to some extent. It was true, his life was rather empty and meaningless, still it was free from struggle and strife.

By the evening he had nearly forgotten Ramesh, but the poor wretch turned up just then for a trifling loan of two rupees. As it was the end of the month, Mahitosh could not oblige him. He felt very bad about it. He must really try to extricate the poor beggar from his hopeless position, he must indeed.

It was two days after the theft in Manoranjan Babu's house. Ramesh was walking in the lane with his youngest daughter in his arms. His wife was busy in the kitchen. Mahitosh came slowly and sat down on the narrow strip of verandah in front of Ramesh's house.

"Why have you put sticking plaster on your

head?" asked Ramesh anxiously. "How did you get hurt?"

Mahitosh smiled rather drily. "In search of realism," he said. "But I must admit that the sub-editor was right and you were wrong. You must alter your story."

Ramesh stared at him agape. "Don't look like a drunk fish," said Mahitosh irritably. "Tell your missus to get me a cup of tea."

Ramesh came and sat down by him and asked in a frightened whisper, "Did you really go to steal?"

Mahitosh lost his temper and got up. "Why should I go to steal?" he asked. "But I did trespass, I must admit. Khagen was right. Bengali girls don't fall in love with midnight intruders."

Ramesh was a nervous person. "But don't walk about in this guise," he said. "You might get caught."

"You are mad," said his friend. "Who will suspect me, a gentleman? I am quite safe."

## DHRUVA

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Of old King Uttanpala had two queens :  
Suruchi, the favoured, and Suniti, the neglected.  
One son was born to each : Uttama to Suruchi,  
And Dhruva called Suniti mother.

It chanced one day as Uttama sat  
On his father's knee while Suruchi, well pleased,  
Smiled at husband and child, Dhruva,  
The five-year old son of Suniti, came in  
And wanted to sit by his brother's side.  
The King, his father, spake no loving word,  
His little brother smiled no welcome ;  
Only the favourite Queen knit her brows  
And said in accents of scorn, 'Doubtless  
'Thou art the King's son, but not born  
'Of my womb, and here there is no place for thee.

Stricken to his child-heart Dhruva sought  
His mother and sobbed out his grief  
On her sympathetic breast. She sorrowed  
With him and soothed him. 'My child,'  
She said, 'sorrow is thy portion and mine.  
'Call on Him, call on Hari who healeth all  
'And helpeth all. So shalt thou find peace.'

In the hushed midnight the child Dhruva  
Slipped out of the palace and entered the forest.  
No fear he knew and no beast hurt him.  
He knew no prayer, he knew no lore,  
His dumb young soul went out in quest of the Lord

For six moons he held silent communion  
With the spirit of the Lord, and the days  
And nights passed as if they had not been.  
Then the Lord appeared before Dhruva  
And loosed his tongue and Dhruva prayed.

'Thine is the victory,' said the Lord ;  
'Thou hast won. Go and rule on earth.  
'When thy race on earth is run  
'Thou wilt live in heaven as a moveless star.'

Home went Dhruva and eager hands  
Held him in tearful welcome ; he grew  
Wise and strong, and he ruled after his father.  
From the earth he passed to the heavens  
Where he still shines as the lodestar  
Which bears his name. Dhruva is Truth  
Immutable, Dhruva is the fixed pole-star  
Round which spin the stars and the suns.

# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## A Poem by Tagore

In *Visra-Bharati News* appears the following poem by Rabindranath Tagore :

She left me her flower of smile  
taking my fruit of pain,  
She clapped her hands and said,  
She had won.

The noon had eyes like the mad,  
red thirst raged in the sky.  
I opened the basket and found  
the flower dead.

## Hindu Religion in Java

Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar writes a paper on the above subject in *Prabuddha Bharata*. We quote the following extracts from it :

It is a matter of common knowledge that Indians established colonies in the Far East—Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago—as early as the beginning of the Christian era. The acquisition of material wealth and power must no doubt have served as a great impetus to this spirit of colonization, but, in its ultimate effect, the Indian colonies proved to be more and more a cultural and civilizing factor than a mere ruthless exploitation of the less fortunate races of mankind. The Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian races of the Far East possessed a very primitive kind of civilization, but the Indians succeeded in infusing into them a higher and more spiritual view of life through religion, art and literature. The cultural conquest of the Far East by India is a subject of absorbing interest whose importance we are now realizing only gradually. While the “historians of India have paid great attention to the events in the world outside that have affected India, comparatively little notice has been taken of the manner in which India has influenced the outside world.”

Of all the Indian colonies in the Far East the small island of Java furnishes the most striking evidence of a complete cultural conquest by India. As in India, religion formed the foundation of this Indo-Javanese culture. A study of Indian religions in Java is therefore a necessary preliminary to the proper understanding of that culture. This study may be divided into the three following heads: (i) The Brahmanical religion in Java. (ii) The Buddhist religion in Java. (iii) The different religious sects in Java.

## The Widow-remarriage in Bengal

In Jimutabahana's *Dayabhaga*, we have mention of the prevalence of the widow remarriages in Bengal. Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta writes in *India and The World* :

It is a speciality of Bengal that while the rest of Hindu India follows the treatise *Mitakshara*, Bengal follows Jimutabahana's *Dayabhaga* in matters of succession, inheritance and joint-family law. There are disputes amongst the learned and scholars as to the exact date of Jimutabahana ; but the generally accepted opinion is that he was the Chief Justice of the last independent Hindu King of Bengal (c. 1050 A.D.)

In the tenth chapter of the *Dayabhaga* while discussing the rights of an adopted son he says :

“Let each receive the wealth of him from whose seed he was sprung ; and let not the other take it, who sprung from the seed of another person. Accordingly Narada says, ‘If two sons, begotten by two fathers, contend for the wealth of the woman, let each of them take that which was his father's property ; and not the other.’”

“The wealth appertaining to the woman, which was given to her by the respective fathers, let the son of each father severally take ; and not the other. It would be needless to enlarge.”

From the above provisions of law, it would appear that not only were childless or virgin widows remarried, but widows with children were also generally remarried. Hence the necessity for provision for distribution of wealth amongst the children by two different husbands.

That such widows' sons living in the second husband's family were not looked down upon by society, we have ample reasons to suppose.

## Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism During the Muslim Rule

Prof. Sri Ram Sarma writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

It used to be the common belief even among students of history that Hindus never admitted people belonging to other religions to their fold. But a more careful study of our sources has now changed that view and it is no longer fashionable to think of Hinduism as a religion wherein only those had a place who were born into it. Most of the evidence from the Hindu period in this connection has been brought together by Prof.

D. R. Bhandarkar in his article on *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population*.

But it is still commonly held that Hindu admissions of non-Hindus stopped with the advent of Muslims in this country. The following pages make an attempt at investigating this problem from the pages of Muslim chronicles intent more upon recording the victories of their co-religionists than the conversions of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold. They were not at all interested in this question and when we get some light shed upon this aspect of affairs it is but accidental. Another thing must be remembered in this connection. Under Islamic law the conversion of Muslims to other faiths was a capital crime. One can, therefore, very well appreciate the courage and the fate of those Hindus who may have any intention of converting Muslims to their own faith. Even the reconversion of converted Hindus from Islam was a crime, and thus if we do not find any great movement for the conversion or reconversion of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold we should not be very much surprised. We should hold these artificial barriers created by Muslim law responsible for this state of things rather than hold Hinduism responsible for its being forced to shut its doors to non-Hindus.

But the surprising thing is that even under these adverse conditions we do find recorded examples of conversions of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold, and the reconversion of the Hindus to their old religion after they had once accepted Islam. The cases recorded by Muslim chroniclers are no doubt few and far between but they make for the belief that a larger number of cases might have occurred which these annalists did not try to record. Any way it is no longer possible to believe in the face of the instances quoted below that Hinduism had exhausted its proselytizing energy before the advent of the Muslim in India.

After quoting specific instances of conversion and reconversion to Hinduism Prof. Sarma concludes :

Thus from Sindh to Madura, from Gujerat to Kashmir, from Benares to Thatta, everywhere an almost continuous stream of conversions and reconversions seems to have been running all through the first ten centuries of Muslim rule in India. Hindus not only welcomed their brethren back to their fold from Islam but were prepared to admit Muslims into their faith and did admit them as a matter of fact. Thus another element was added to the make-up of the present Hindu population.

#### Aspects of Modernism

In a thoughtful paper in *The Aryan Path* Mr. Nolini Kanta Gupta says :

We spoke of the extreme atomism of modern

science that has thrown into the background the solid unity of creation and is laying emphasis for the moment more upon the division and scattering of forces than upon the cohesiveness and identity of the substratum ; still that unity has not been abrogated but has been maintained on the whole, even if as an underlying note. Not only so, the reign of multiplicity, by a curious detour, is working towards a discovery of enhanced unity. The plurality of the modern consciousness is moving towards a richer and intenser unity ; it is not a static, but a dynamic unity—a unity that does not suppress or merely transcend the diversity and disparity of its components but holds them together as an immanent force, and brings forth out of each its fulness of individuality. In the same way the present day movement towards internationalism or supranationalism has produced a rebound towards regionalism or intra-nationalism. And the voice of anarchism tends to be as insistent as that of collectivism.

The consciousness of yesterday was a unilateral movement. It rose up high and descended deep into the truth of things, but mostly along a single line. In the horizontal direction also, when it travelled, it effected a linear movement. The consciousness of today is complex and composite ; it has lost much of the vertical movement ; it does not very easily soar or dive, precisely because it has spread itself out in a multitude of horizontal movements. Our modern consciousness is outward-gazing and extensive ; it has not the in-gathering and intensive character of the old-world consciousness ; but what it has lost in depth and height, it has sought to make up in width.

*Simplicity and intensity, sublimity and profundity were the most predominant qualities of man's achievement in the past ; what characterizes human endeavour in the present is its wideness, richness, complexity.*

#### The Sugar Industry

The following appears in *The Mysore Economic Journal* :

The Indian sugar companies have so far suffered from the absence of big-sized fields growing sugarcane in the immediate vicinity of the factories which implies a great wastage as the fields lie scattered over the surrounding tracts. There is great delay between the cutting of the sugarcane and its reaching the factory. In this respect, sugar concerns of Java and Cuba are at a great advantage. Attempts have not been made to combine growing of sugarcane with the manufacture of sugar. Such enterprises are quite possible in Mysore and Western United Provinces where the soil and climate are most suited for sugarcane. In Mysore the size of crop per acre and the sugar content in cane are the highest ;

but so far no attempt has been made to take advantage of these conditions.

In this connection attempts should be made to investigate the possibilities of manufacturing Khandsari sugar by the single pan method specially in Eastern U. P. and Bihar and Orissa. The Coimbatore Imperial Sugarcane Breeding Station should prove useful in improving the yield of sugarcane. The existing Butler Institute at Cawnpore should be taken over by the Imperial Research Council for starting an Imperial Sugar Industry Research Institution or an independent one should be started. An agricultural section should be added to the institute for training students in the sugar industry.

It is also very necessary to safe-guard the position of the cultivators by fixing minimum spot prices for sugarcane. This task should be done by the Government in the absence of any association or chamber of cultivators. Being unorganized, sugarcane cultivators are left at the mercy of the factory owners and the Government should do something to safe-guard their interests. Steps should also be taken to see that prices of cane are paid promptly to the cultivators and the latter should be able to find out the accuracy of weighing machines and the cane should be weighed without delay.

At the conference of the Ministers held at Simla a few months back, a resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Srivastava, Minister of Industries to the U. P. Government, to the effect that the number of sugar factories in India should be limited. This restriction on the number of sugar factories is undesirable. It can, of course, secure fat profits during the protectionist period, but such a step would be against the interests of consumers and the industry. Competition is desirable to serve as an incentive to introduce economies in production, but to shut out foreign and internal competition would achieve nothing. Fair field should, therefore, be left for Indian capital and enterprise.

#### The Folk High School in Denmark

Mrs. Kiron Bose toured many countries in Europe and got first-hand knowledge of the educational institutions over there. Of the Folk High School in Denmark she writes in *India and the World* :

This school was established for the peasantry of Denmark. The War of 1807-14 had left Denmark on the verge of bankruptcy, which made the people very poor and miserable. Grundtvig, pastor, poet and a great educational reformer, wanted to awaken the young by means of a school, where personal touch would help to develop the spiritual and national character. The superior resided in the school and was in constant touch with his pupils. The founder of the school insisted on the children knowing more of life than of

death. The life in the school was home-like. Boys and girls attended the school at the age of 18 and upward. The school opens for 5 months in the winter for boys and 4 months in summer for girls. They are taught handicraft and given general historical education to be in touch with the world's affairs and to get a better understanding of life. There are a number of schools established on the same model all over Denmark.

These schools have by and by developed qualities among farmers which have won the admiration of the whole world. In the early years, the Danish peasant was still unprogressive, sullen and suspicious, incapable of associated enterprise. But today he is forward looking, cheerful, scientific minded, resourceful and co-operative. The Folk High School inspires their pupils with energy and idealizes labour, and awakens in them a desire for knowledge and a desire to work.

We saw the display of a big bonfire in the school-grounds. In Denmark the midsummer night is commemorated by bonfires all over the country. They are meant as thanksgiving offering to the sun for its light and warmth, for flowers, crops and vegetation, and as a flaming good-bye to the long and golden nights which from that day become shorter, reminding people of the advent of winter with its bleak cold days and its darkness.

#### The Reforms in Ceylon.

The following appears in *Young Ceylon* editorially :

Why the traducers of this country both here and abroad persist in drawing a communal herring along the trail of reforms is understandable. The progress in constitutional development in this country has come to that stage when a beginning must be made in the transfer of power and authority. Political responsibility of the State Council is a mockery for the Council is without control of 80 per cent. of the revenue. Without the right to control the revenue and the expenditure a State Council cannot safe-guard the wealth and resources of the country. Without such safe-guard political power is a hollow mockery. Hence the people insist on the removal of the Officers of State which is the triumvirate which disburses our resources without question and the strengthening of the powers of the Ministers to initiate financial matters and to control the Public Service. These demands constitute the fundamentals of self-government. All this time we have had the trappings of it. Hence the alien interests have assembled their forces and their auxiliaries. The demand for reform is thus not a scramble for seats notwithstanding the antics of the communalists. The demand cannot be talked off either by alien interests or self-seeking communalists. There can be no popular government in Ceylon with the Ministers providing the money and the



Secretary of State controlling the Public Service and over 80 per cent of the revenue. Thus the cry for reform is on very stable grounds. The recrudescence of communalism, if communalism it is, does not remove the need for reforms or minimize the cogency of the reasons adduced. Hence the campaign must be pursued despite every obstacle for the problem must be settled and settled soon.

### Modern Bengali Painting

In an important paper in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* Mr. Kedarnath Chatterji traces the history of the growth and development of modern Bengali painting as follows :

Only a matter of some forty years ago pictorial art of quality produced in India was practically unknown.

However, the tide has turned and Indian art is on the way to recognition. It is perhaps not yet time to deal fully with the causes leading to this new orientation since we are as yet in the transition stage, but some of the contributory causes may be discussed.

A principal factor in this transformation was the renaissance movement in Indian art led by Abanindranath and Gaganendranath Tagore.

Somewhere about the end of the last century a young Bengali artist decided to step out of the broad pavement of Western influence and to rediscover the hidden and almost obliterated track that his forefathers had trod. He came of a family that has given to Bengal merchant princes, great landowners, musicians, sages, philosophers, authors and a poet whose fame has spread to the four corners of the earth. In the beginning he had received training in his chosen career along the most approved foreign lines, and had shown considerable talent even in that. But he veered off from the beaten track and ventured into the regions which were till then *terra incognita*. The result of this venture was disturbing to say the least in the beginning, and even now it can hardly be said that all controversy has died down regarding the results.

Very soon it had become apparent to Abanindranath Tagore, that the form of art he was pursuing was neither inspiring nor was it capable of providing him with a satisfactory venue for the exercise of his gifts. The visions that rose before his inner eye were impossible of expression in the terms of Western technique. Further the demands of Western art in the matter of realism and exactitude of form and proportion imposed limitations on his brush that were crippling in their effect so far as his imagination was concerned. Therefore, after much thought and deliberation, he decided to forsake modern methods and adopt and further develop the craft of the ancient and mediæval Indian masters as being likely to be more satisfactory

from his point of view. He was encouraged in his venture by E. B. Havell, then Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, who, after his transfer from the Madras Government School of Art where he had already started his activities towards the reformation of Indian art schools on a genuinely Indian basis, became an enthusiastic collaborator.

The path of the pioneer was thorny. Every effort of his and of his disciples met with howls of derision from his countrymen who considered any deviation from the Western standards of perfection "degenerate" or "crude." Even today the position is but slightly altered in this country, the only change being that most of those who were loud in their condemnation thirty years ago have been now puzzled into silence due to favourable opinions of Western critics.

The name of E. B. Havell will be remembered long as one of the foremost of that group of art connoisseurs who rehabilitated Indian art. It is true that Tagore had already started painting along "Mughal" lines, without any aid or suggestion from Mr. Havell. But when the storm broke, it was the pen and the personality of Mr. Havell that gave shelter and solace to master and pupils. Furthermore Tagore's school was afforded recognition through his being appointed Vice-Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, at the instance of Mr. Havell who was then the head of that institution. Now came the turning-point, inasmuch as the new methods and the new adaptation of the ancient craft received a fresh impetus through diffusion into ardent young minds.

Abroad the writings of Havell, Okakura, Sister Nivedita and others had already drawn attention to the art of ancient India. Now the new adventure started drawing the attention of foreign connoisseurs such as Sir John Woodroffe, Lord Kitchener and others.

At home Tagore's friends, including some of his relatives and Ramananda Chatterjee, the editor-proprietor of the two foremost monthly journals of India, boldly espoused his cause. These friends, specially those who tried to give publicity to the new school, had to face severe criticism and ridicule—even abuse—at every step. Indeed in the beginning it was plain that the public reaction was not at all favourable. Lampoonists and humorous writers joined in cheap witticisms, illustrated with cartoons, appeared in the pages of all periodicals interested in the movement, the sole exception being the journals of the editor above-mentioned.

But in time the very violence of this reaction had a favourable effect. First of all it roused an interest amongst that section of the intelligentsia which was interested in Indian art. Paintings by the various schools of the mediæval and late Mughal period, frescos of Ajanta, the sculptural decorations of the ancient temples and monuments were all studied with a new interest,

resulting in a national art-consciousness, which was totally absent before.

It would be wrong, however, to presume that this art-consciousness had in any way smoothed the path of the new school so far as public appreciation of their art was concerned.

But imperceptibly the tide had turned. Amongst those who had delved deep in the boards of ancient treasure there were some who received ample reward for their labours.

To tell the truth, a large section of these supporters of the Tagore school was composed of foreign aesthetes—European and Japanese and it was mainly due to their support that this new school was able to establish itself on a fairly secure foundation.

Meanwhile his brother, Gaganendranath Tagore had begun experimenting with the latest developments in Western art, and was soon able to fully absorb their spirit and, combining that with Eastern ideals, to produce a new technique entirely his own.

Fresh fields of thought and theme were explored, and the work of younger artists such as Surendranath Ganguly, Nandalal Bose, Kshitindranath Mazumdar, Sailendranath De, Asit Kumar Haldar, Sami-uz-Zaman, Hakim Muhammad and many other Hindu and Muslim students soon proved that the school was not the sterile product of one personality but was capable of producing new developments both in thought and style.

As for the measure of achievements of Abanindranath Tagore, was it not ample to have made a whole nation art-conscious, by restoring their faith in the culture of their forefathers? Was it not achievement to prove that there was a living stream of art-culture flowing in the land of his fathers and further to open the eyes of the understanding to the arts and crafts of ancient and mediæval India? And lastly what more success could there be for an artist than to see the path which he opened followed by a thousand artists and craftsmen, as the direct and indirect result of the labours of the school, founded, inspired and nourished by his art? As for the ideals he preached and practised, this is not the place to give an adequate survey, of the manner in which they were realized in his paintings.

Lean years have descended upon the world, and art and the artist are now faced with trials perhaps so severe as to jeopardize their very existence. In such times it is easy for the public to forget the debt of gratitude it owes to those that have worked for the liberation of art in India. Nevertheless the renaissance of Indian art is in progress, and if it can weather the storm and pass into more placid waters it will be then that it shall be realized what phase it was that Indian art entered on, with Abanindranath Tagore as the pathfinder.

### Abolish Capital Punishment

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins suffered imprisonment in the last Civil Disobedience campaign in Madras. In jail she had the opportunity of coming in contact with women condemned to various terms of imprisonment—and also to death. There is something beautiful and good even in those who are condemned to death. And they should be saved by abolishing capital punishment. She writes in *The Young Builder* :

My recent experience of the system of legalized murder has branded the horror, the shame, the uselessness of it into my soul, and the risk of mistake in it. The group of Civil Disobedience prisoners in the women's jail in Vellore lived in cells in the same line as the small block called "the condemned cells." For almost three months one young woman about twenty-two years old was in one of those cells under sentence of hanging while she awaited results of Appeals she made to three high authorities for the commutation of her sentence. She made a favourable impression on all who saw her or talked to her. She denied her guilt. But her Appeals were not granted. We know the night before that she was to be choked out of existence the next morning in the presence of the staff. There is a telepathy in jail, as in all parts of India, despite all precautions of administrative secrecy. We knew that she was perfectly calm and brave as she walked to the gallows and that her last words were her affirmation of her innocence and her belief that God would punish the guilty person. The existence of a system of punishment which allows no chance of life to such a person is self-condemned. All that day, and for days afterwards, I went about in shame. I felt that our social system had degraded everyone of us in being a party to such a brutal, disgusting murder in cold blood, and with official ceremonial.

It was with deep happiness that I saw in the newspapers some weeks later that Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh had introduced a Bill in the Assembly to abolish capital punishment, now awaiting ballot opportunity for discussion. Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and some of the States in America have abolished the death penalty. They have found no increase in crime as a result.

Last year the Maharaja of Nepal announced by Proclamation that capital punishment would not be inflicted for an experimental period of five years as it was entirely repugnant to Indian ideals. Thus one Indian State has already set a precedent for the country. Lord Buckmaster, Ex-Lord Chancellor of England is one of those who have rooted opposition to capital punishment. He is not satisfied as to its being a deterrent. The opinion of a man of such experience should weigh for much.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Quo Vadis, Europa?

*The Living Age* anticipates a Far Eastern Symposium in four leading articles on Asia under the general caption "Asia Awakes," which focus our attention on what is certain to become the centre of world attention:

In the first, under the above title, Prince Karl Anton Rohan, editor of a Berlin National-Socialist monthly, discusses the fear of many Europeans that the centre of gravity of world politics has been shifted from the West to the coast of the Pacific by the very recent union of Communism and Capitalism:

In Constantinople a German electric-light bulb costs 180 reutenmarks, a Russian, 035, and a Japanese, 060. This means that the Russians and the Japanese have succeeded in taking over our economic and productive methods and, by maintaining or introducing slave labour, have gained an important advantage over us. The present struggle for the division of world power takes the form of a struggle for world markets, and many Europeans are convinced that if the Orient achieves its purpose of economic and, therefore, military armament, its ruling classes, which are today demanding heroism and slavish sacrifices from the masses, must grant more liberal institutions and raise the popular standard of living. But in the face of this conviction the fact remains that those countries with the lowest, most slavish standard of living have attained the highest production and that they are being guided by statesmen whose historic perspective reaches beyond the immediate struggle for power. These men take long-range views and act in such a way that they become a serious danger to the economic hegemony of the white race.

It needs little imagination to conceive of how the world would look if not we but the Russians and the Japanese were to sell machine-guns—the modern equivalent of glass beads to savages.

### Land Problem in Japan

The second depicts the views expressed by two Communists on the increasing tension between the poor tenants and the Imperialist landowners, said to be Fascists at hearts:

In the last few years the debts of the peasants have increased enormously and in 1932

amounted to between seven and eight million yen. The *Transpacific*, a paper published in Tokyo, wrote in its issue of August 17, "The peasants are tilling the soil to pay their debts; they work and live to pay off debts."

In such a situation the tenants and share croppers are, of course, unable to pay the rent to the landowners. The class struggle between the tenants and landowners has assumed a fierce character. According to figures published in the Japanese press, in the first half of 1933 there were 2,200 conflicts, which means that their number had doubled compared with the previous year. The lower strata of the village population, before all the poor tenants, have organized themselves in semi-legal associations. The poor and middle peasants are organizing self-defence groups for the fight against the landowners, police, and gendarmerie, and in order to repel the Fascist bands. There are at present in Japan 4208 tenants' associations with a total membership of 302,000.

The landowners and *kulaks* on their part are combining in associations for the fight against the tenants; they are organizing Fascist unions such as *Ainol Tsjutu* (School of Patriots), which took part in the attempted insurrection on May 15, 1932. In all, there are 640 landowners' organizations with 53,000 members. In addition, there exist 1,980 mixed associations, in which landowners and *kulaks* are organized, with a total membership of 308,000. The big Japanese Fascist organization, *Dainichon Sai San-to*, is actually a federation of 30 Fascist organizations and is known by its active participation in the fight against the tenants, the murdering of their leaders, and so forth.

Along with the intensification of the class struggle in the village there is an increase in the struggle of the urban proletariat. According to official, but incomplete, government returns, in the first half of 1932 there were 843 strikes, participated in by 53,247 workers, compared with 944 strikes participated in by 48,366 workers in the previous year. The number of strikes in connection with wage demands has increased.

The Communist Party of Japan, under exceedingly hard conditions of terror and espionage, is carrying on a persistent struggle in order to rally the masses together, is openly combating the ruling classes and the Fascist groups, exposing the imperialist nature of the latter, and revealing the true character of the war in China. In spite of wholesale arrests (in the year 1932-33 there were 7,000 people in prison accused of

'Communist activity') the Communist Party is increasing its efforts to win the masses of the toilers.

There are special Fascist organizations in the towns which agitate among the factory workers. There are over 100 Fascist and semi-Fascist organizations in Japan, which together number millions of members.

### Asia for the Asiatics

In the third article Dr. Hurwicz fears that though a pan-Asiatic movement may not find immediate fruition by the establishment of a League of Nations of the Asiatics, yet he cherishes the view that the slogan 'Asia for the Asiatics' may unite the Orient against the Occident under the leadership of the Land of the Rising Sun:

To gain a real understanding of the pan-Asiatic idea, one must always keep the following three points in mind. In the first place, it would be absurd to deny that the awakening of the Asiatic peoples is the greatest event since the War, but we must not confuse this awakening with the unification of the Asiatic peoples, for, in the second place, the inner conflicts between these people will remain impossible to solve. One thinks in this connection not only of Sino-Japanese rivalry but of the equally important hostility between Mohammedans and Hindus. In the third place, the pan-Asiatic movement, which is now so active and anti-European in Japan, the strongest Asiatic power, is itself torn with contradictions and cannot become a leading creative force. Many of the more critical Japanese recognize this themselves. Dr. Hitoshi Ashida, a member of the Japanese parliament, has said, 'The problem of an Asiatic League of Nations that is now so popular may unify the nations of Asia in their mistrust of Europe and America, but the decisive question for us is co-operation with China, without which such a league would be nothing but a name.'

### Soviet and the League

Many far-reaching effects are anticipated by the Soviet Unions' project to join the League at Geneva, which, according to an observation in the *People's Tribune* will, to a great extent, lessen the aggravated political atmosphere in the Far Eastern horizon. The editor comments:

When Soviet Russia, at last, showed its determination to resist Japanese aggression, the Roosevelt regime showed its sympathy by a rapprochement here also. Just what passed between Roosevelt and Litvinov on the subject of

the League we do not know, but there is no reason to doubt that the Russo-American rapprochement was an important factor making for the new Russian attitude towards the League.

According to a *Transocean* report from Moscow January 1, after the speeches by Molotov and Litvinov, referred to above, were made, "the possibility of the Soviet Union's joining the League of Nations forms one of the main topics of discussion in political and diplomatic circles" in the Soviet capital, where it is held that "what Russians like to term 'Japan's moral isolation' is mainly due to the League of Nations, which has revealed itself as a serious obstacle to Japan's imperialistic expansion, and therefore is an important factor for maintaining peace in the Far East." Trying to forecast the future, *Transocean* suggests that the Soviet "is greatly interested in a closer co-operation with Geneva, and it is assumed that in the natural course of events Moscow will send a permanent observer to the League capital, and after a certain transition period will apply for membership in the League of Nations."

There is no real reason to doubt the *Daily Herald* report of January 8, to the effect that "France is now engaging in secret conversations with Russia with the object of bringing the Soviet Union into the League of Nations," but "inasmuch as the Soviet Union desires certain reforms in the League prior to joining, the present conversations between the Quai d'Orsay and the Kremlin are of the nature of a preliminary examination of Russian suggestions for reform." If the latter is true, it is quite understandable. In view of certain events of fairly recent history, the Soviet is not unnaturally suspicious of being made a scapegoat by some one of the dominant League Powers, and is quite as cautious as the United States has been. If, however, the Soviet authorities decide that League membership is desirable, there will be no recalcitrant Congress to obstruct them: the Government will act, and the Soviet Congress will in course of time approve.

As a result, a new League can be envisaged, with its "Super-Council" of France, Britain, and Italy reinforced by the co-operation of America (as at present) and the Soviet, whether or not the latter actually joins the League.

### Pan-American Prelude

In the *New Republic*, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell gives a graphic description of the political situation of the Latin American Republics on the eve of the seventh session of the Pan-American Conference:

Uruguay is living under a barbed-wire dictatorship. The day the American delegation arrived all Uruguayan leaders known to be hostile to President Terra were rounded up and imprisoned.

Nevertheless, at the same moment Secretary Hull was being ceremoniously greeted at the quay, the Montevideo police were busy removing red flags and a placard, "Abajo de Hull" fastened to a high, near-by chimney. The chiefs of the opposition to President Terra are the Battle brothers, members of Uruguay's best known family. They have been in exile in Rio de Janeiro for about a year, but last night one of them turned up in the suburbs of Montevideo, conferred with friends and slipped away in the darkness, presumably for Buenos Aires. The result of all this is that the Uruguayan government is finding great difficulty in keeping its collective mind on the pan-American Conference.

A League of Nations commission of investigation is now in Paraguay, and any action by the Conference would, consequently, be a blow at the authority and prestige of the League.

The Roosevelt administration is throwing away a great opportunity here at Montevideo. Never before has Latin America felt so kindly towards us as it does today.

But it was a major mistake to send Mr. Hull as head of the American delegation. Granting that all discussion of tariffs and debts will have to be reserved for some future occasion, a great deal of useful exploratory work could have been done here by a delegation which was representative of the New Deal and which possessed the confidence of Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Hull, with all his magnificent sincerity and high-mindedness, is not such a person. He has little sympathy with the New Deal and almost no influence in the administration.

Already this situation has led to one disaster. On board the "American Legion," the ship on which Mr. Hull came to Montevideo, was the Haitian delegation, of which M. Justin Barreau, Haitian Minister of Justice, is chief, and among the members of which is M. Antoine Pierre-Paul, one of the most interesting men at the Conference there. The first day at sea, the Haitians waited upon Mr. Hull in his cabin, and petitioned for the ending of the American fiscal control of their country. According to an executive agreement now in force, American control of Haitian governmental finances is to continue during the life of a \$23 million loan floated through the National City Bank, or until 1952. Previously Mr. Hull had had only casual knowledge of the United States occupation of Haiti, and as he learned of its sordid and cruel details, he became strongly indignant.

The United States is now, morally at least, on the defensive in regard to Cuba. Mr. Roosevelt has implicitly admitted that we were responsible in part for the Machado regime, and that we owe it to Cuba to make amends. The Cubans ought to seize this chance to obtain a clear, definite understanding with the United States. They ought to ask for a guaranteed sugar quota; most authorities on Cuba believe it should have a quota of 1 million tons a year. There should also be a

thorough understanding about the various Machado loans. It should be informally agreed that if the National City and Chase National banks are not willing to make a generous settlement with the Cuban government, Cuba will have the right, without fault-finding by our State Department, to resort to partial default.

If there is ever to be a permanent settlement of the Cuban problem, Cuba must find some way to prevent the greater part of its national income from leaving the island each year. Probably this means, in addition to a reduction of its external loans, some sort of tax on the American-owned sugar centrales. It might also mean the setting up of minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws for workers on the centrales. Such things ought to be talked out and understood both in the United States and Cuba before any sort of definitive agreement between the two governments is arrived at. Otherwise, there is the danger that, the moment Cuba tries to set its economic house in order, trouble will start up again at once.

### Race Conflicts

Dr. Haus Kohn in a Radio Address, under the auspices of the National Student Federation of America, rouses the attention of the enlightened onlookers to the alarming effect of race-consciousness, which has prejudiced many. It is also very keenly felt in this ancient land of the Hindus and is one of the root causes of the present political upheaval in this country. The following extracts from the *World Unity* may, therefore, be read with much interest:

As Alexander the Great set out on his campaign to conquer the world, his teacher, Aristotle, advised him to treat the Greeks as a leader, and a friend, but the barbarians, whom he set out to conquer, as a tyrant and king.

Aristotle had, in the first chapter in his book on politics, developed the teaching that slavery was an institution imposed and sanctified by nature, as there were human races born to be slaves and others who were born masters. Therefore, slavery was not only a moral institution, but it was even in the interests of the slave races themselves as, by their own nature, their well-being demanded the master's hand over them.

This theory by Aristotle was, of course, not confined to Aristotle or to the ancient Greeks. It was brought forth as a justification of the pre-eminence of one race over another wherever one race dominated another.

The political and social importance of the modern race theory is not less far-reaching than its intellectual implications, for this theory is bound to awaken the fiercest race conflicts in a historic situation where the race question assumes dimensions unknown up to now. Race conflicts do not become acute until the race kept in the

inferior position is animated by the tendency to change its status and to strive for equality with the race deemed superior. We witness today a world-wide movement of this kind. Fifty years ago the world accepted the supremacy of the white race without question. Today the spread of education and of modern technical equipment throughout the world, the bringing together of all human races by the new rapid means of communication and transportation, have destroyed for ever this unquestioned order, and have introduced a new, dynamic element which makes itself felt not only in the revolt all over Asia but as well in similar movements for political and social emancipation outside of Europe which have reached their crises during the past few years in all Latin American republics, where even the long silent and suffering Indian race is awakening to a claim of its due position in its own ancient lands. Throughout Africa the Negro is stirring, a phenomenon which would have appeared entirely out of question a very few decades ago. There is a great forward movement on the part of all the non-white races which we called, only a few years ago, backward races, and who are today trying hard, and sometimes, as Japan proves, very successfully, to adopt for themselves the cultural and social standards of the white race. They strive not only for political emancipation but for a social advancement of their masses to participate in the progress of humanity toward a better world.

I believe that all lovers of humanity will welcome this common effort of all human races toward a new world. It is, for the first time in world history, that such a common effort binds different and even the most distant parts of the world together. The basis of world unity is being created. In such a moment a new emphasis upon race and race inequality in many countries must have especially disastrous effects. It will tend to aggravate all race conflicts and therefore act as chief obstacle to world peace. No conflicts are as devastating as racial conflicts, no hatred as degrading as racial hatred, because they appeal to the most primitive and most ferocious instincts of man and are apt to bring out the worst sides of his nature. We very often witness the fact that a normally good-natured and reasonable man acts most brutally as soon as race prejudice or race instincts are involved. Through centuries we have striven to arrive at the recognition of personality, not of birth or race, as a standard of the value of man. The race theory means a regression from a spiritual point of view to a biological point of view.

Liberalism believes that man can be changed and improved by education and by social influences, race theory believes, that a man has to continue as he has been born. Therefore, race theories in the present form are not only dangerous for world peace and humanity at large, but as theories of despair bid us to accept man and races

as they are and to give up every idea of their improvement. The theory of racial inequality will, therefore, not only precipitate us into endless race conflicts, but make a combined human effort to create a new world futile!

### The Dongan Charter of Political Liberty

Mr. Wynne shows in the columns of the *America* how the Charter, inaugurated by Col. Dongan, Governor of New York, precipitated the freedom of the American colonies:

In these days of amending the Federal Constitution and of revising State, county, and city charters, it is quite in order to review the story of "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges" framed and signed 250 years ago by the colonial Governor of New York (1682-1688), Col. Thomas Dongan. That charter was the first embodiment of the principal rights for which all the American colonies some ninety years later fought until they achieved independence from England and founded a republic, which is now paramount among the nations.

The story of this document is a political epic. The conditions which prompted it, the swift and unerring action of the man who designed it, the high-minded co-operation of his associates, and the assertion of popular rights up till then unclaimed by any English colony all recall the story of the Magna Charta of England itself (1215-1225), and of the "Great Privilege" later in Burgundy, 1477. The Dongan Charter is more comprehensive and liberal than either of these, and its influence more far-reaching. Its vestiges are still visible in the principles of our Federal Constitution; in the charters of many a State and city government, particularly in New York; and in British colonies in other parts of the globe.

In brief, the Charter asserted for the colonists equal political rights with citizens in the home country, if not greater. It defines the powers of the Governor of the province, of his Council, and of the Assembly. It determines the qualifications of voters, the privileges of representatives, the number to be elected for each of the twelve counties. It provides for trial by jury; representation as a condition for raising taxes by any method whatsoever, mentioning the seven then in practice; it protects property rights, for women as well as for men, and the widow dower rights. It insists on indictment by jury, release on bail, martial law for army and navy only; it forbids quartering troops in private homes except in time of war, and it proclaims equality, not toleration merely, for all "who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ." Jews are not mentioned in this clause on religious freedom.

Dongan, however, without waiting for the King's approval, had begun to apply the charter as soon as he issued it and he continued ruling in

its spirit even after it had been vetoed. It was thus inaugurated the movement for liberty which finally won for all the colonies freedom from England, and even for British possessions the freedom they would otherwise have never known.

### Assembly of the League of Nations

In an address given at Chatham House, the Rt. Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M. P. discusses the deliberations that took place at the Fourteenth Assembly, which are reproduced below from the *International Affairs*. It is on the much-vexed problem of Minorities:

The longest and most lively debates of all took place on the subject of Minorities. This subject was initiated and introduced by the German delegate in a speech which was in terms not only a challenge to neighbouring States, but proclaimed to the League the Nazi doctrine of *Volksstum*, and ended up with a public denial that the Jews in Germany had any right to be regarded as a minority; though they were so regarded in all the States, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, etc., having minority clauses under the supervision of the League in their Peace Treaties.

After much argument and a good deal of plain speaking in sub-committee, the Sixth Committee sent forward to the Assembly the following three resolutions:

"The Assembly,

1. Reiterating the recommendation which it passed on September 21, 1922:

Expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council.

2. The Assembly considers that the principles expounded in resolution 1, which reaffirms the recommendations of 1922, must be applied without exception to all classes of nationals of a State that differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

3. The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to inform the Council of the discussion that has taken place in the Sixth Committee on the question of minorities as a whole."

The German delegate in the sub-committee had voted alone against the second resolution and carried his opposition to the plenary Assembly, where unanimity is required. His single vote means that this resolution was accordingly "not adopted."

There certainly was more public interest at

Geneva in these minority discussions this time than in any other subject, possibly because it raised issues that are far nearer the bone of current controversy and far more potentially politically explosive than any other matter raised at this Assembly.

### Chinese Youth in the Crucible

Mr. Roland Hall Sharp draws a very fine pen-picture of Young China in the columns of *The Christian Register*:

Youth in China has blazed with zeal borrowed from strange new Western teachings. It has dashed with enthusiasm against the solid but invisible wall of limitations imposed upon China by age-long beliefs, practices, economic conditions and outside restrictions. Repulsed by the inter-laced problems before which the world's thinkers stand admittedly at a loss, Young China has been sobered, or discouraged, or turned to pleasant ways of forgetting.

Yet a residue remains more determined than ever to seek and find a solution of its country's baffling problems. Like the Great Wall as compared with crumbling crimson pillars of less enduring monuments, these serious young people recognize that with them lies the preservation of national integrity.

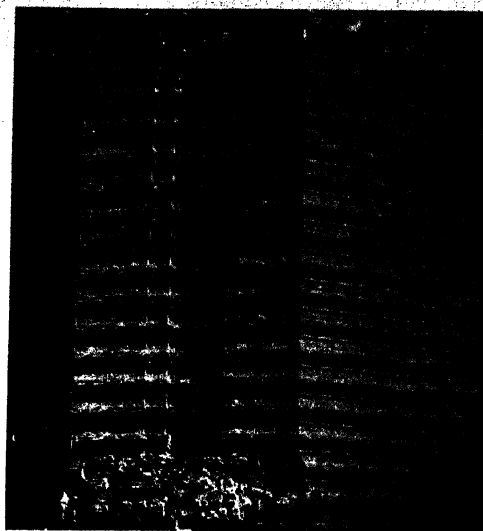
China's loose dominion is being ground off on the edges at more points than in Manchuria and Jehol. We who have been accustomed to think of China as including Tibet, Hsinking and Mongolia, learn with surprise that these great periphery provinces on the west and north are passing rapidly under outside influence, whether Russian, Japanese or British. Chinese officials admitted to me that the struggle of Nanking to establish effective political and financial links with these areas makes little or no progress.

Young China feels its borders contracting around it. The New China offers no immediate hope of stopping the process of attrition most evident in Manchuria and Jehol. Students at summer schools in Peiping could not escape feeling the shift of effective political and economic power in North China to Japanese hands. Yet they go quietly about their studies and sports. Two reasons account for this attitude. Public manifestations by students have come under official disapproval, and students themselves have had the edge of their resistance to Japan dulled. Banging heads against walls that do not give, soon becomes tiresome.

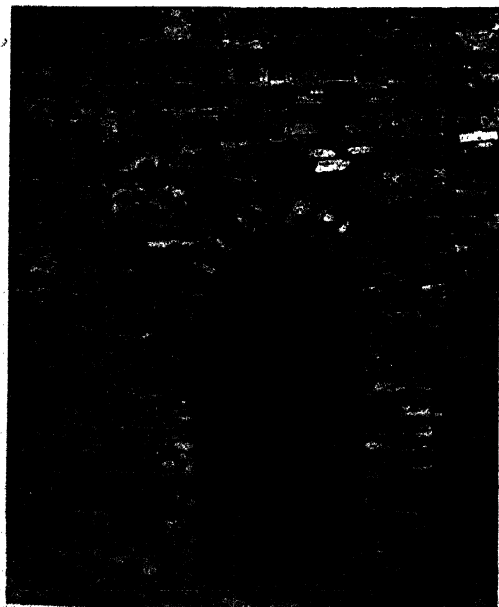
One of the most searching questions facing Chinese youth is the policy to be adopted toward recovery or abandonment of provinces now passing under outside hegemony. Many young Chinese blaze with angry projects for building up a military machine that some day may drive the stranger into the sea. Others hold to non-resistance and traditional Chinese methods of assimilating armed conquerors.



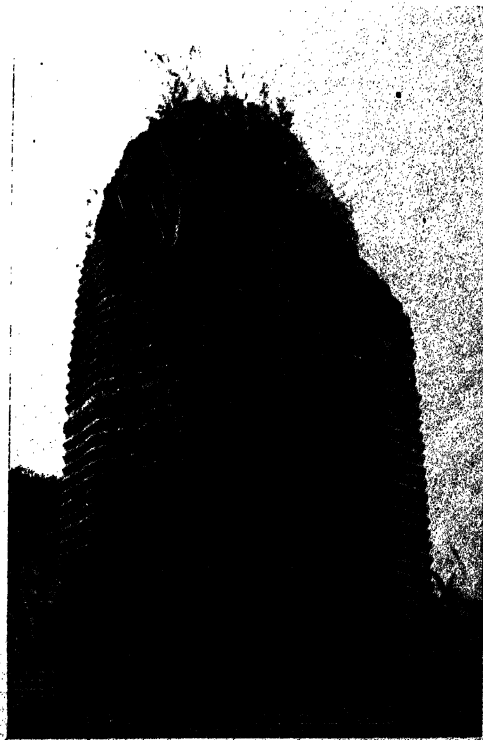
Dummy Door. North face, Mathurapur Deul



Arrangement of Decorative Mouldings

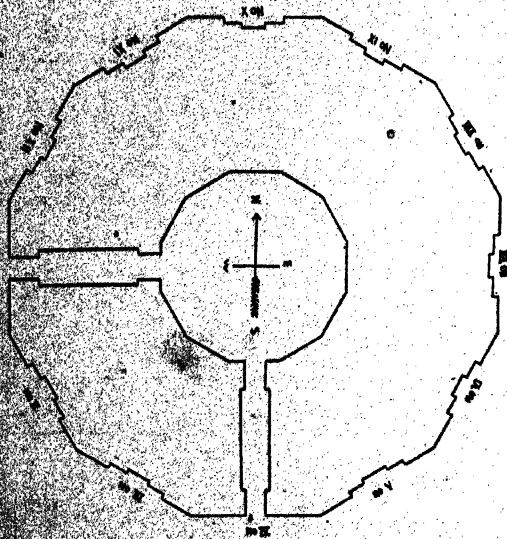


Main (Western) Doorway

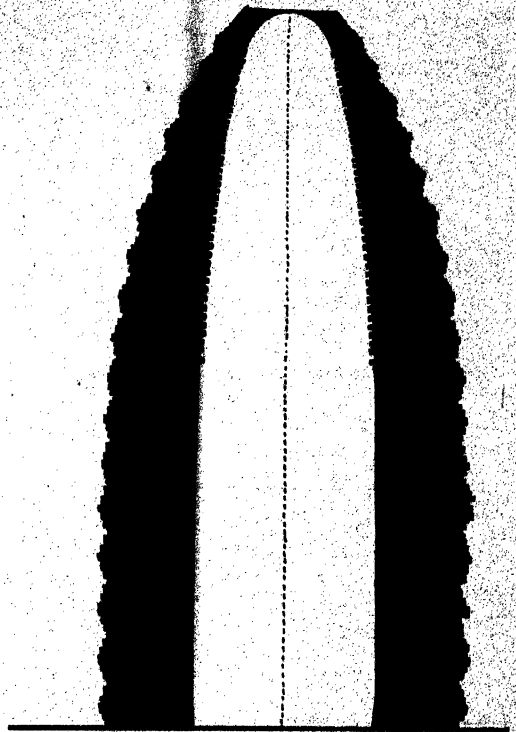


Mathurapur Deul. Western Front

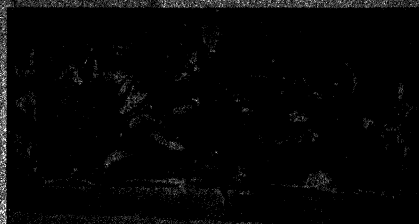




Ground plan of the Deul



Inner Section showing moulded tiers at top.



Mathurapur Lion



Kirtimukhs



The Marching Lions



Decorative Mouldings



Combination of Kirtimukha and Lion



Decorative Mouldings

## CONTEMPORARY RURAL BENGAL IN THE PLAQUES



Bathing Scene



Scenes of Dancing and Music



The Cottage homes of Bengal



Wrestling bouts



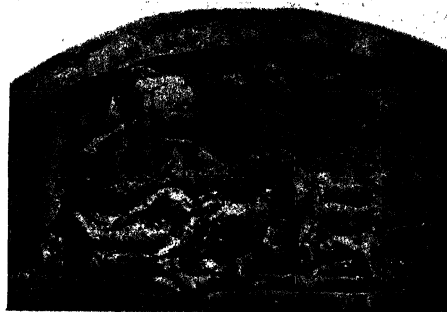
Pious maiden and Monkey Warriors

# THE MATHURAPUR MONUMENT

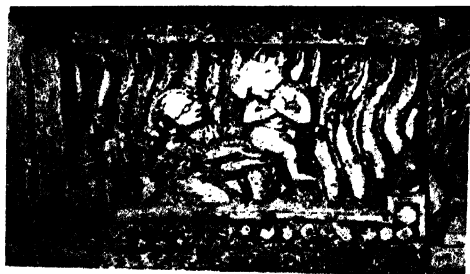
V



Rama and Hanuman



Mother Yasoda



Sita's Trial by Fire



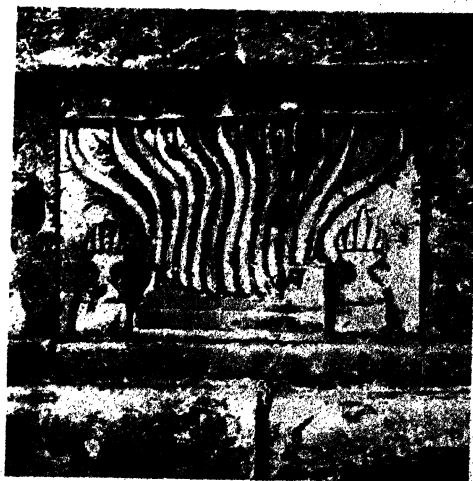
Bharata and Rama



Krishna-lila



Wrestling Scene



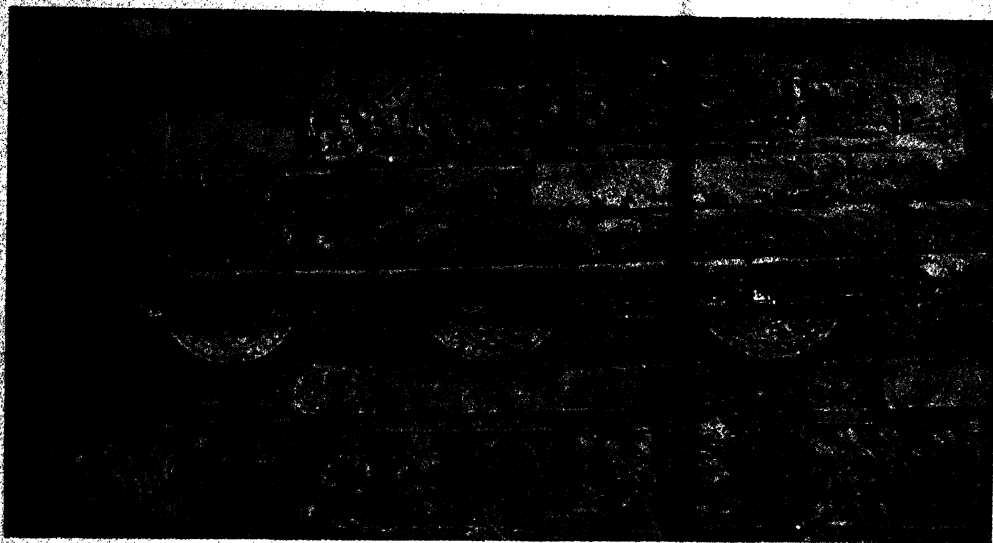
Sacrificial fire with Agni peeping out



Scenes from Ramayana



Scenes from Ramayana



Scenes from Ramayana



Scenes from Ramayana

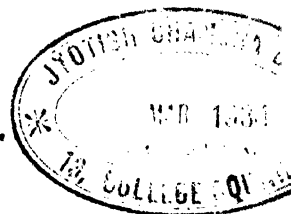


Rural Scenes—Krishna IIIa

# THE MATHURAPUR MONUMENT

A Prambanam of India.

By G. S. DUTT



**I**N the village of Mathurapur in the district of Faridpur, rises a massive terracotta structure towering about 70 ft. above the ground, which although now in a greatly damaged condition with trees growing on its slopes and summit, is still the most prominent landmark in this locality for miles around, and is popularly known as the Mathurapur Deul. In this structure, which would appear, for centuries, to have escaped the serious attention of historians, artists and archaeologists alike, Bengal possesses a monument which is destined to be regarded, for more than one reason, as the Prambanam of India and to earn for her a place of unique distinction in the sphere of art, by virtue of the originality of its architectural design and the remarkable facility of its figure sculpture.

This fact, which was discovered by me on the 26th September 1933 when I first visited the Deul, was publicly announced in October 1933 on my authority in a Press note from which an extract is given below :



The author (centre) at the site

"In the course of his recent tour in the interior of the district of Faridpur, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Director of Industries, Bengal, has, it is reported, discovered in an ancient monument of the later 17th or early 18th century at Mathurapur in the Rajbari sub-division of the district, features which he claims to be of considerable archaeological and cultural interest. The monument in question is popularly known as the 'Mathurapur Deul.'...

"He proposes to move the Archaeological Department for the conservation of this important monument with a view to preserving it from further decay...."

The above Press note, which was fully published in some papers, embodied my first impressions of the monument. The present article is intended to be the first of a series relating to this monument in which I propose to substantiate the claims as to distinction and originality which I made therein in respect of this structure and to give to the world a complete description of this important monument which may form the basis of further research on the part of specialists in various spheres.

As a result of subsequent research since the discovery of this monument, my first impressions have been corroborated and reinforced. I will

briefly summarize here the salient features and prominent characteristics of this monument.

The first feature that strikes even the most casual observer is the unusual dodecagonal shape of the entire structure from the base to the summit. The general appearance of the structure is that of the Bengali Deul retrogressing slightly

from the base upwards up to a height of about 29 ft. from the ground level after which the curve is continuously accentuated up to the summit. At the height of 29 ft. from the present ground level, there is a break in the general scheme of the architecture in the shape of a massive cornice. The general scheme of structure of the building is again continued above this cornice but with this striking difference, that there is a complete absence of any sculptural or decorative work. The crown appears to have been entirely destroyed and a considerable part of the vaulted top has collapsed, leaving an open vent to the sky. There is no trace whatever left of any *Amalaka* or *Kalasa* and it is therefore impossible to say whether these originally formed part of the crown. There has been extensive damage of the summit and of large portions of the upper slopes on account of the growth of vegetation while saline erosion has entirely destroyed the decorative terracotta work up to a height of about 5 ft. above ground level.

Reverting to the architectural features, each facet of the dodecagon is of the *Pancharath*

type; that is to say, there are five vertical bands or *pagas* running from top to bottom of each of the twelve facets of the Deul. Here again, however, there is a striking originality which characterizes this Deul and which, so far as I know, is quite unique. The Pancharatha Bands, instead of consisting, as usual, of a projecting vertical ridge in the centre with gradually receding pilasters or *pagas* on each side, here consist of a central vertical recess with two vertical bands of *pagas* on each side, rising progressively to a higher level in vertical steps from the centre towards the sides. In other words, the usual scheme adopted in the shape of such structures, which have an elevated Central Rahapaga and a gradually receding Anarthapaga and Konakapaga on each side, is entirely reversed in the design of each of the twelve facets of this Deul.\* The Deul, in my opinion, was apparently never used or intended to be used as a temple of worship or to be dedicated to any deity. The more one examines its sculptural features, the more one is inclined to hold the view that the Deul must have been built as a Victory Monument. This conclusion is forced upon one not only by the general warlike atmosphere that appears to have been deliberately imparted to the figure sculptures depicting the stories of the Ramayana and of the Krishna-lila but by what is perhaps the most striking feature of this monument, viz., the magnificent lion belt which forms a girdle round nine of the twelve facets at a height of about 28 ft. from the ground as the structure now stands. This lion belt appears to be quite unique in originality of conception and design and consists of a belt of terracotta plaques depicting a row of lions in the act of marching through fields of lotus buds. Each lion figure is represented in an attitude of being about to crush a lotus bud with its fangs. While a detailed description of this superb belt of plaques must be postponed to a later part of this article, I must place on record my opinion that in the whole field of sculpture it would be difficult to find a treatment of the lion motif which can equal this Mathurapur lion motif in vigour and virility of design. The conception of this lion motif and its concentrated and prominent insertion at a height of nearly 30 ft. above ground level in the shape of an almost continuous row of marching lions forming a girdle round nine out of the twelve sides of the deul could only have been the work of a master architect-sculptor of consummate genius who was impelled by the object of featuring it as the dominating symbol of Victory. Another feature with which the Victory atmosphere appears to have been successfully brought about, is the row of lion gargoyles and scenes of wrestling of extraordinary virility. There are three

different types of Kirtimukhs which are of an original and virile nature and which also heighten the warlike atmosphere intended to be conveyed by the whole structure. A detailed description of the Kirtimukhs is reserved for a later article.

The next prominent feature of this monument is the systematic narrative illustration, by a series of figure sculptured plaques arranged in tiers rising one above the other, of the whole story of the Ramayana and the entire story of the Krishna-lila. These figure plaques are arranged tier over tier in 13 successive tiers on the three western facets constituting the front side of the monument and are strongly reminiscent of the famous sculptural decorations in stone in the temple balustrades of Prambanam in Java. The same virility, vigour and lifelikeness, the same predominatingly dramatic and masculine note which characterizes the serial figure sculptures of Prambanam is noticeable here; and if anything, in an even more striking degree, due allowance being made for the fact that the Prambanam structure is constructed in stone, whereas the Mathurapur Deul is built of the humbler material of terracotta fashioned out of the native clay of Bengal.

Yet another remarkable feature which marks this monument out among the monuments of Bengal is the characteristically Bengali conception, design and execution of the architecture together with the typical Bengali character of the scenes depicted, such as continuous rows of Bengali cottages with their familiar curved roofs, scenes depicting contemporary Bengali life and customs, typically Bengali poses of the human figures, the traditional bunches of paddy ears hanging from the roofs of the Bengali huts, and the graceful draping of the figures of Bengali *sarees*. Not the least striking feature about the human figures is the virile poses of the male characters and graceful yet dignified poses of the females, the extraordinarily simple yet gracefully plastic stylization of the lines of the Bengali *sarce* worn by the female figures rendered with consummate genius by a single vigorous curve of terracotta. In short, I consider this Deul to be a monument of national importance of the first magnitude for Bengal and the Bengalees, inasmuch as it gives us a striking glimpse of a singularly virile culture which belonged to the Bengali race. When further investigated, it will be found to be a perennial source of pride and inspiration to the whole Bengali race by virtue of the fact that while in its architectural grandeur and sculptural excellence it can stand comparison with the great monuments of western and southern India, it is at the same time, in a special sense, Bengal's very own, from the living clay of its beautiful terracotta plaques and decorative sculpture, to the sculptor who fashioned them as well as to the types of the human figure, male and female, with which its walls are peopled; for alike in its design, conception and execution it

\* For the architectural terminology used here, see *Orissa & Her Remains* by Mano Mohan Ganguly, pp. 111 et seq.



Perhaps the earliest mention of the Deul is the

\* By the creek is evidently meant the Chandana river.



the steeple and died. (List of Ancient Monuments, Bengal p. 224)."

The village Mathurapur finds prominent mention in Major Rennell's map; and although the *deul* itself is not actually marked on it by him, it is easy to identify its position on the map. A reproduction from Rennell's map will be found along with this article.

We are indebted to Major Rennell for locating the exact latitude and longitude of the village of Mathurapur at which the village and therefore the Deul is situated. The latitude is correctly given by Rennell as  $23^{\circ}33'$ . As regards longitude, Rennell marked the longitude as  $1^{\circ}15'$  east of Calcutta, from which the longitude works out as  $89^{\circ}39'$ . I have verified the correctness of both the latitude and longitude fixed by Rennell by comparing the site of the Deul on the Revenue Survey Map. As regards the correctness or otherwise of the remark made in the Editor's foot-note to Rennell's Journal to the effect that the Deul had been left in an unfinished state, a detailed discussion will follow later.



Mathurapur (Motrapour) in Major Rennell's Map

The most widespread tradition is to the effect that the monument was constructed under the order of a potentate of the name of Sangram

Shah. According to a tradition current among the inhabitants of the villages for about 10 miles radius, the monument was originally twice its present height, so much so that one could see Dacca from its top. According to this tradition the lower half of the monument has now sunk in the ground, the upper half only being visible. This is evidently a violent exaggeration; although there can be no doubt that there has been a slight sinking, which is quite natural, considering the alluvial soil on which the Deul is built. Until excavations have been made, the exact amount of subsidence cannot however be determined.

It is said that Sangram Shah came from the north; some say he came from Kashmir, while others say he came from Rajputana. It is said that on his arrival he inquired of the local people as to which was the highest caste in the locality. On being told that the Brahmins were the highest caste, he enquired who were the next in rank. On being told that the Vaidyas were next in rank, he is said to have described his caste in the words "I am Vaidya"—(which is the Hindusthani for "I am Vaidya"). The inhabitants of the locality, however, not knowing Hindusthani, could not apparently understand the exact meaning of the word "ham" and so are said to have taken the name of the caste of Sangram Shah as "Ham-Vaidya." According to traditions he himself forcibly married into one of the local Vaidya families and also got his daughters forcibly married into the high caste Vaidya families of the neighbourhood and the descendants of these families are said to still describe themselves as "Ham-Vaidyas" by caste, in token of pride in their connection with this illustrious potentate. Sangram Shah, it is said, ordered a high deul to be built with local labour and material under the direction of local architect. His orders were that the city of Dacca should be visible from the summit of the projected deul. The tradition says that when the deul was finished and the day came on which the consecration and the placing of idol inside the deul was to take place, the architect was asked by Sangram Shah to climb on the top and say whether he could see Dacca from there. The architect, on reaching the summit, said that he could not see Dacca for the reason that the temple was not high enough, but added that this was not his fault as had he been given more materials and a larger labour force he could have built the deul high enough to enable Dacca to be seen from the top. Sangram Shah is said to have been highly enraged at this remark of the architect and to have threatened to put him to death for not having asked for sufficient materials in time. As a result of this threat the architect leaped down from the summit and killed himself instead of waiting to be put to death after he had climbed down. According to the tradition this

tragic act made the deul inauspicious and it was consequently left incomplete and no deity was installed in it. This tradition is evidently referred to in the foot-note to Rennell's Journal mentioned above.

Another tradition describes a later potentate Sitaram Roy as the builder of the Deul, but nothing definite is related with regard to Sitaram Roy as in the case of Sangram Shah.

Accepting the first tradition as being more likely to be correct we have to decide as to who this person Sangram Shah was. We find a detailed mention of one Sangram Shah in the Bengali book *ফরিদপুর ইতিহাস* (History of Faridpur) by Anandanath Ray, a copy of which I obtained from the library of the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat. A detailed description and narrative history of the exploits of Sangram Shah are given in this book but I have not as yet been able to find time to verify the accuracy of the references given therein to Todd's *Rajasthan*, Beveridge's *History of Bakarganj* and to certain volumes of the *Calcutta Review*. In this book it is sought to identify the Sangram Shah of Mathurapur with the Sangram Shah who is described in Todd's *Rajasthan* as one of the Mansabdars of Aurangzib, and also with the chief of this name who fought against the 12 Bhuiyans, conducted a campaign against the pirates and robbers and brought about peace in Bengal and who also subdued the Rathore chiefs of Rajputana towards the latter part of his life. Whether the Sangram Shah who established peace about that time in Bengal is identical with the Sangram Shah who fought with the Rathore chiefs is a question which I have not had time to verify but which seems to call for further research. The identification of this Sangram Shah with the builder of the Mathurapur Deul is, however, supported both by the widespread local tradition at present current in the neighbourhood for miles around as well as from the narrative given in the book referred to above, where it is stated that he actually built his home at Mathurapur and that the Deul which stands there was erected under his orders. Further in confirmation of this tradition, one has to note the vigour and force with which scenes of forcible marriages have been depicted in several of the plaques adorning the walls of the Deul and one is inclined to suspect that in the scenes depicting the forcible carrying away of Rukmini by Krishna, and his marriage with her, the sculptor actually intended to suggest his master's own forcible marriage referred to above and thus indirectly to record the exploits of his warlike master so as to flatter the latter for his valorous exploits. This supposition derives support from the fact that Krishna's figure has been depicted in the traditional form in the scenes of his earlier life as a cowherd in Brindaban, while

in those depicting Krishna's forcible carrying away of and marriage with Rukmini, Krishna is shown as an elderly and somewhat corpulent gentleman quite unlike the figure of the Hindu legends. Further research, however, is necessary on this point.

If the above mentioned tradition is to be believed, the Deul was built somewhere about the earlier half of the second part of the 17th century, —probably about 1665 A.D. In the Revised List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal published in 1886 by the Archaeological Survey of India, however, 1472 A.D. (*i.e.*, a period 200 years earlier) has been mentioned as the probable date of its construction, but I have been unable to find any tradition or authority to support this.

The outer walls of the temple constitute a dodecahedron with 12 recessed facets. The inner structure is also dodecagonal, almost up to the summit. The approximate diameter at the ground level are as follows :

Outside diameter	31 ft. 11 in.
Inner diameter	12 ft. 11 in.

thus giving the thickness of the wall at the base as 11 ft. The two doors that are open, face West and South respectively, the front gate facing West. There are two dummy doors on the North and East sides. The east gate has been almost entirely destroyed owing to the growth of a peepal tree. Coming back to the outer dimensions, each of the 12 facets of the dodecagonal structure is 9 ft. 10 in. in length at the base. These 12 facets are built up from the base up to the summit according to one general scheme which consist of tier above tier of mouldings, projecting horizontal ridges of decorative work alternating with horizontal belts of flat plaques in recess in regular order. There is only one break in the general scheme of the architecture at a height of 29 ft. 1 in. above the present ground level as mentioned in the earlier part of the article. The inner wall has a plain dodecagonal face up to a height of about 29 ft. corresponding to the outer cornice at this level. From this point upward up to about one or two feet from the summit, the inner wall is built on a dodecagonal scheme with ridges alternating with recesses, being thus in miniature the same scheme in broad outline as that adopted for the outer facets. This ridging and recessing of the inner wall has given us a unique variation of the corbelled arch which, to my knowledge, has no parallel in Deul temples. At the very top the ceiling consists of a flattened out dome, like the inside of an inverted earthen water pot, in which the dodecagonal shape is not continued. Unfortunately, part of this ceiling has collapsed, thereby destroying its symmetry.

Coming to the temple itself, I am indebted to Babu Ajit Kumar Mukherji of Nalia, a talented young undergraduate of the Vidyasagar College, for giving me information about the existence of this half-ruined lofty structure near

his village home which induced me to avail myself of the last Puja holidays to pay a flying visit to this locality. I stayed as a guest of Ajit Babu's father at Nalia. From there on the 26th September 1933 I first visited the Deul. I trolled from Naliagram station to Madhukhali station in the afternoon and from the railway line *en route* to Madhukhali had my first view of the Deul with its lofty top overgrown with trees. On reaching Madhukhali the Police Officer in Charge suggested my going by road from Madhukhali, but as no conveyance was available, this would have involved considerable delay and as the evening was fast approaching I decided to trolly back about a mile to the point on the railway line just opposite to the Deul and from there to cross the intervening fields. It was, however, far from an easy matter to reach the Deul from here, as all the intervening fields up to the village were covered with flood water with one or two deep ditches to cross. Thanks, however, to the courtesy of some of the attendants, who cheerfully volunteered to carry me on their shoulders over the watery area, I crossed this submerged track on the shoulders of two men. My companions, including Babu Ajit Kumar Mukherji, Babu Sudhansu Ray, artist, a photographer and the thana officer of Madhukhali, all waded through the thigh-deep water. Reaching the village we walked over paddy fields and through the homesteads of the potters to the place where the Deul is situated.

As I came near the Deul I was immediately struck with the unusual dignity and grandeur of its design and construction; but what was most striking was a girdle of terracotta plaques about half way up the building which appeared to consist of some animals on the march which I took to be horses. I found the Deul, up to a height of about 10 ft., completely surrounded by an impenetrable thorny jungle. I made my way to the foot of the Deul with great difficulty through a narrow track from the southern side, getting myself badly scratched in the process. On reaching the narrow southern door of the Deul I found the interior in complete darkness. I noticed some interesting decorative sculpture above the southern door and some decorative work in the walls but nothing specially notable. I decided to enter the dark interior of the Deul. This involved some risk as we had no firearms with us, and there was every probability of wild animals being met, but to our relief the interior was completely empty and not quite as dark as we had thought from outside, as light was streaming in through a large hole in the summit. The only inhabitants were a host of bats which were wildly flying about at the unexpected disturbance made by our entrance in their home. On entering we discovered that besides the southern door there was another on the western side, but passage by this door was impossible as the exit was completely blocked with jungle.

After sending for *daos* and axes and clearing a few feet of jungle outside the southern and western doors I received my second thrill; for here was the front-side of the monument, richly adorned with figure sculptures in terracotta relief of extraordinary virility rising tier upon tier in succession. Unfortunately, the lower tiers had become more or less destroyed or damaged by saline erosion and growth of trees at the base of the building. In my anxiety to examine the upper tiers I climbed up a peepal tree, which grew right along side the Deul, to a height of about 15 ft. and was impressed beyond measure by the important character of the sculpture all the way up the walls. By that time, however, it had begun to drizzle and darkness also began to set in and so I was compelled to set out on my return journey, by the same methods of conveyance as before, to Naliagram station three miles away and thence by buffalo cart over a muddy road two miles long to Nalia village which I reached about 10 P. M. I had by then made up my mind to extend my stay until I had thoroughly explored and fully photographed this important structure.

On the 28th of September I revisited the Deul. By that time the coolies whom I had engaged with the help of the thana Police had cleared a belt of about 10 ft. round the Deul and had cut down the trees which had grown almost into the temple and eaten deeply into its lower parts. I found that the entire lower part of the building of the Deul up to a height of about 5 ft. had been either greatly damaged or almost destroyed in parts through saline erosion and growth of trees but that over the three front facets, *viz.*, western facet, west southwest facet and west north-west facet were tier above tier of figure sculpture of the greatest plastic value. Altogether there were 13 tiers of figures sculpture of which 6 complete belts of plaques above the western gate were still intact. I completely examined the building all round from the ground on this day and left instructions with the *naib* of the zemindar, whose *kutchery* was very close by and who courteously volunteered his services to collect coolies and to have bamboo scaffoldings erected in the course of the next morning. It was on the next day therefore, *viz.*, the 29th of September 1933 that, with the help of bamboo scaffoldings erected all along the three western facets of the Deul, I began a close examination of all the figure sculptures on the three western facets.

The perches on the scaffolding were very shaky as they were made with loose sheets of corrugated iron lent by one of the potters in the hamlet.

On the southern half of three frontal facets the sculpture appeared to relate to the Ram-lila story whereas on the northern half they appeared to belong to the story relating to Krishna.

I had been intrigued by the animal belt, which I had taken at first sight to consist of a

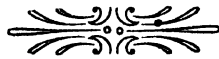
row of horses, and as soon as the scaffoldings were high enough to reach this level (about 29 ft. above ground level) I climbed up the roughly cut bamboo posts of the scaffolding in order to catch a glimpse of this belt, cutting my leg badly thereby by the sharp edge of one of the bamboo posts, with the result that when I climbed high enough to get a glimpse of the lion belt my leg was profusely bleeding. All this was, however, worth while because what I saw of this belt filled me with an indescribable thrill and surprise. I discovered that the animals were not horses but lions—lions in the act of marching through lotus fields and of a virility of design, comprising a combination of ferocity, restraint and dignity, with their tails and manes stylized in a wonderfully plastic manner, the like of which I had never seen before in the sphere of art. Here, I felt, was undoubtedly the most outstanding feature of a structure which could not have been meant for anything but a Victory Monument.

The unique importance of the monument having been fully realized by me by now, I decided to extend my originally planned two days' stay at Nalia, so as to take a sufficient number of photographs and to fully examine all the plaques, understand their significance and make a record of all the architectural and archaeological features of the Deul. For the next few days, therefore, I visited the Deul daily, going every day through the same laborious processes of the journey backward and forward, but performing it with zestful enjoyment for a cause the importance of which seemed to convert all these inconveniences into the pleasures of a picnic.

Further descriptions of this Deul from every aspect will have to be postponed to later articles; but before I conclude this first instalment, I should like to record my thanks to the local officers including S. C. Basu, P. W. L., Naliagram station for lending his trolley, the Police officers who helped me in clearing the jungles round the Deul and in erecting the scaffoldings, to the zemindar Babu Harakumar Lahiri and his naib, and, above all, to Babu Ajit Kumar Mukherji, to whose instrumentality I owe by discovery of this important Deul, and to his hospitable father at whose house I made my camp for

over a week while making my research. I am also indebted to Babu Sudhansu Ray, artist, who along with Ajit Babu helped me throughout cheerfully and enthusiastically in everything that I did during those days. I am also indebted to Babu Sudhansu Ray for making several sketches which are reproduced here and to Mr. K. N. Chatterji of *The Modern Review* and S. J. Nirmal Kumar Bose for helping me with many valuable suggestions regarding the description of the architectural features of the monument.

Foreseeing the possibility of vandalism commencing its operation after I had announced the importance of the monument, I requested the zemindar Babu Harakumar Lahiri of Korakdi on whose property the Deul stands, to take steps for its protection and he has accordingly kindly erected a strong bamboo fencing round it and has agreed to co-operate in protecting it from damage. In spite of the fencing, however, serious acts of vandalism have unfortunately occurred since then and I am informed that in open daylight some men actually went to the Deul with shovel and pickaxe and removed several valuable plaques and damaged others in spite of remonstrances from the zemindar's naib. I have been able to trace the person who has secured possession of the plaques so removed and I can only hope that these acts of vandalism will not be repeated. In my capacity as President of the Rural Heritage Preservation Society of Bengal I am requesting the District authorities of Faridpur to lend their co-operation in protecting this monument by giving instruction to the village police to help the zemindar's men in protecting it from further acts of vandalism until it is protected as I hope it will) under the Ancient Monument Preservation Act. It is obvious, however, that unless it is protected immediately under the Ancient Monument Preservation Act, there is every probability of this highly important monument of the greatest national importance to Bengal suffering irreparably grievous damage. I am making also representations to the Archaeological Department with this end in view and it is hoped that the Department will take immediate steps in the matter.



## INDIANS ABROAD

### Indian Women in Malaya

Generally Indian women in Malaya are much more backward than their sisters in India, and that in educational and cultural walks of life. But in some other respects, local Indian women are much more broadminded than their sisters in India. For instance, the Indian women in Malaya make friends more easily and that in a natural way with the women of other castes and creeds or nationality. That is, of course, due to the cosmopolitan character of the population of this country. Further, my country women in Malaya are more tidy in their ways of living and they maintain their general standard of life on a higher scale than they do in India, although they are no better in these respects when compared with Europeans, Chinese or Japanese domiciled in Malaya.

Except the Indian coolie women, the other class of Indian women immigrants here are edu-

cated and cultured. Most of them know their own mother tongue and quite a number knows English. The same cannot be said unfortunately of the Indian women born in Malaya, familiarly known as "Straits-born" Indian women. Older members among them do not know how to read and write any language, I mean in the majority of cases. And the younger set of Straits-born Indian women do not seem to show any keenness to learn their own mother tongue but go in for English education. Further, they very much lack in them Indian culture or traditions. Just look at the Indian orchestra, maintained by our Lotus Club! All the eight or nine members who take part in it are Indian born. It may be that, we may have Straits-born Indian women in future but they are not in it so far.

Further, the Straits-born Indian women do not interest themselves in knowing past or present events in India or for that matter in any other



Photo taken on the inauguration of the Lotus Club, Singapore. Ladies belonging to different provinces of India have become members of this club. Photo shows members with the Founder-President of the Club, Mrs. E. V. Davies, M.A.

part of the world. That is a grave mistake which needs to be remedied. Their illiteracy and conservatism in these respects are perhaps due to their close contact with the unprogressive Malaya women, whose languages and customs, the Straits-born Indian women have largely adopted.

I believe that useful education in some form or other is bound to improve their lot in course of time. They should keep themselves in touch with the activities of women in India, to which country they naturally look for inspiration. They should also read a lot of literature in their own language, such as Tamil and there are several good books in Indian languages and they could do a lot to open their eyes. With the right type of education the Straits-born Indian women can at least prove themselves better companions to their husbands. At present they are not efficient enough to talk on anything except rice and curry.

In their endeavour to "come up" in their lives these women need the help of their menfolks too. Perhaps there may be a few educated Indian women in Malaya who may be willing to give the lead but little can be accomplished without the sympathy of men. The Indian women do worship their husbands, though they may not die with them as they used to do, in the days of *Suttee*. Still they live for their husbands and they deserve every sympathy and help at the hands of Indian men in the F. M. S.

Singapore

Mrs. E. V. Davies

#### Kunwar Maharaj Singh speaks out

Here are a few extracts from a speech of Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, delivered to the Wesley Guild in the Wesleyan Church Hall, Boksburg:

#### UNTOUCHABILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

"We Indians form one per cent of the total population of the Transvaal and you speak of us a 'menace.' How can one person in a hundred be a menace? You say that the Indian is a trader. Of course, he is. What else can he be? He cannot be an engine driver, or own land as he can in his own country. There is no country in the world—and I have travelled myself in over 30 where there are so many restrictions against Indians as this great country of yours."

After explaining the untouchability question in India and the great strides made within the last few months in abolishing the evil by the great reform work done by Mahatma Gandhi, the Kunwar went on to say:

"We are doing something for our untouchables, and the work which is being done in India will never go back. The reforms being carried out can never be negated in the future. But what about untouchability in this country? In India, untouchability has a religious sanction, and you know how difficult it is to remove anything with religious sanction."

"But what have you done in your enlightened and progressive country, for it is truly progressive? I believe I have many sympathizers in this country, but they keep their sympathy hidden.

I need open sympathizers. You are too timid, you have to take a little more action, a little more courage and you will find that what was bitter is sweet and what was sweet bitter."

"Teach your children not to despise people because they are five shades darker in colour. Everyone of the religious teachers of the world were men with dark skins—Moses, Jesus Christ—I have seen and known the classes from which they were born, Buddha, Confucius who has many millions of followers in China. What was his colour and what the shape of his eyes? Mahomed and all the great religious teachers were Asiatics, and—forgive me if I say it—were born and lived among the dark-skinned nations, the Asiatics."

We congratulate Kunwar Maharaj Singh for the brave stand that he has been taking against the racial exclusiveness of the white people in South Africa.

B. DAS

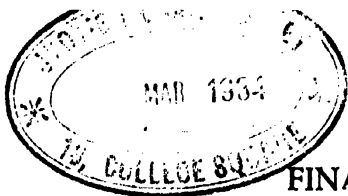
#### Indian Women Abroad

I do not know how far Indian women abroad have organized themselves to improve their status. From what I know, I find that there are not many women's organizations in foreign countries where our nationals live. And I may suggest here that just as menfolk, our womenfolks should also organize themselves in those countries, to which they have emigrated. However, I would like to point out in this connection that an efficient Indian Women's organization is being run at Kobe, Japan, for the past few years under the guidance of an educated Indian lady in Japan, Mrs. Hassan Ali. The institution under reference here is known as the Indian Ladies' Club. In 1931, Mrs. Ali was also elected to be the President of the Kobe branch of the Japan Indian National Congress Committee. With the single exception of this organization, I had not known any other Indian ladies institution abroad so far.

Quite recently the example set up by the Indian women of Japan was followed in Malaya when a distinguished Indian lady domiciled in Singapore founded the first Indian ladies' club at Singapore. This lady is Mrs. E. V. Davies, M.A., a former Professor of Economics in one of the Women's colleges in Madras. The club is known as the Lotus Club. From very humble beginnings this club has grown into a very efficient organization with a membership of about a hundred. The members of the club meet every Saturday evening and discuss their activities and played games, such as, tennis and ping-pong. The club also holds an annual sports in which the members and their little children take part. Besides, an orchestra playing Indian music is also maintained by the club and to the functions held under the auspices of the Lotus Club, ladies of other races are also invited, so that they might get an idea of Indian womanhood.

Let us hope that the example set up by the Indian ladies in Kobe and Singapore will be followed by our womenfolks living in other foreign countries also.

N. A. P.



## FINANCIAL NOTES

BY SAILENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA

### THE REPORT OF THE BENGAL JUTE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

We have before us the Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee which was appointed just a year ago. The Committee was originally requested to submit their report by May, 1933, possibly because that would have helped the Government to decide its policy with regard to the 1933-34 crop. The volume contains three Reports, the Majority and the Minority Reports and the Report individually submitted by Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque. The last was not signed till December 22nd. There is also a supplementary note to the Majority Report by Mr. G. S. Dutt and two Minutes of Dissent, one by Dr. J. C. Sinha and the other (Note of Dissent) by Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta. There are also 221 pages of extremely valuable appendices.

The terms of reference were as follows :

- (i) The question of regulation of the production of jute;
- (ii) The marketing of jute, including the establishment of regulated markets, and the supply of market information in a suitable form to the producer;
- (iii) The creation of a Jute Committee for the province of Bengal;
- (iv) The extent to which other materials have displaced jute, and the likelihood of further substitutes being found in the near future;
- (v) The possibilities of making any other economic use of jute to an extent that might relieve the present situation.

It was evident from the very beginning that no unanimity would be reached for it is too much to expect that representatives of conflicting interests would agree in fundamentals. This must have been known to the Government as well; and, it is rather strange that the Government after appointing such a Committee should itself declare that its decision would be delayed because of the lack of unanimity among the members. It is also significant that the officials and the Europeans have combined in signing the Majority report while the minority consists of all the Indian non-officials, who represent the principal commercial interests.

The Majority (with the exception of Dr. Sinha) have come to the conclusion that there is no over-production of jute and so there is no justification for compulsory regulation by legislative action. "Better organised and more intensive propaganda" should be carried out by collectors of districts to "assist" the cultivators "in deciding what area of jute is likely to secure them an adequate return for their produce (pp. 6-10). The Minority, on the other hand, consider that the depressed price of jute is due principally to over-production so that control of production is necessary. To this purpose they recommend that a Provincial Jute Committee be formed, which will estimate the probable demand for jute for the season and allot specified quotas of acreage to the different "economic blocks" into which the entire jute-growing area in the Province is to be apportioned. The allotment of the quotas will be carried into effect by local agricultural associations or other agencies for the formation of which active steps should be taken by the Government through its various departments. The minority does not contemplate legislative action in the initial stage (pp. 85-105). Both the Reports have made recommendations for more efficient determination of the estimated productions and publication of the forecasts, so that there might be an end to undue speculations (pp. 11-12, 106-110). The minority record that the official forecasts are inaccurate and "instead of being helpful to the trade, they often mislead the market, causing violent fluctuations and speculation (p. 159). Both the reports agree that weekly and fortnightly reports in addition to the preliminary and final forecasts will be of great help in checking speculation.

Both the Majority and the Minority agree that all "allowances" should be abolished and that "standard" weights should be universally used. They also agree that regulated markets should be established, initially on an experimental basis at selected places. While the

Minority recommend that a special legislation on the lines of the Central Provinces Cotton Market Act of 1932 is necessary, the opinion of the Majority is divided as to whether or not legislation is needed (pp. 26-27, 116-118, 122-23). The Minority recommend the establishment of licensed ware-houses as will enable the cultivators to deposit their stock and to get temporary accommodation by discounting the ware-house receipts with money-lending agencies. Such ware-houses may initially be established on an experimental basis (pp. 128-131).

While the majority is divided as to whether or not future markets are necessary, the minority hold that there is a real need for a future market in jute and gives the necessary details for the establishment and regulation of such a market (pp. 28, 135-139).

The opinion of the Majority is divided as to whether the proposed Jute Committee should be Central or Provincial. The Minority unanimously prefer a Provincial Committee. The Majority Report recommends that the function of the Committee should be advisory while the Minority Report holds that it should be invested with effective powers of control over the trade as a whole (pp. 30-39, 149-56). The constitutions of the Committee as suggested by the two Reports are widely different (pp. 34-39, 154-55), and the Majority is not unanimous on this point.

The Majority finds (p. 39) that the Jute industry is being seriously threatened by increased adoption of bulk handling and substitution of jute by paper and cotton. They recommend that a policy of research with the object of discovering fresh markets and new uses for jute should be vigorously pursued. So also agricultural researches should be carried on for improving the yield or quality of jute or both. The Minority, while alive to the danger, concludes that it should not be exaggerated and recommends the establishment of a research organization by the jute mills. The Minority also points out the "disproportionately wide gap between the harvest price of jute and the price of jute manufactures" and holds that "an attempt must be made by the mills to reduce the cost of jute goods" (pp. 39, 142-47).

Such are in barest outlines the main decisions of the Committee. The Majority Report is more or less a slipshod affair. The arguments are not well put, there are no quantitative informations to carry conviction, all the aspects of this industry have not been discussed and the report as a whole display an entire lack of scientific perspective. It is noteworthy that Dr. Sinha signed the Majority Report, though his views as given on pp. 6-7 and in his Minute of Dissent are entirely at variance with the Majority Report on many of the most essential points.

Though we do not see exactly eye to eye with the Minority Report, we are almost in entire agreement with it. It is a very ably written, well-reasoned and well-balanced report where arguments in striking contrast to the Majority Report are given not in the form of dicta but are supported by a mass of facts, figures and statistics which cannot but impress any serious student of vital problem of Bengal's economic life.

#### THE DOLLAR AND THE RECOVERY

The economic history of world for the last few months is largely the history of Mr. Roosevelt's recovery programme. It was found that the Banking crisis in America was mainly due to the "almost impossible situation presented by the overwhelming indebtedness of America as expressed in national and municipal indebtedness and in the indebtedness of farmers and other large sections of the community." The details of the programme are well known. The President has sought to improve the situation in three ways. He has sought to rationalize agricultural production by vesting large powers in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture and to ease the agrarian indebtedness by providing huge mortgage loans at a low rate of interest. He has sought to force up the price level by inflationary means and by providing more purchasing power through the operation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Emergency Public Works Administration, Federal Emergency Relief Administration and similar projects. He has sought to restore the equilibrium between consumption and production through the National Industrial Recovery Administration which provides for higher wages, shorter hours, recognition of trade unions by voluntary agreement if possible or by compulsion according to the "Blanket code" of July 24th in other cases.

On April 20th, an embargo was placed upon gold with the result that the price of the dollar fell and the exchange markets were, for



a time, put into utter confusion. The prices rose in U. S. A. sharply till July after which there has been a sharp recession. The trade activity received considerable stimulus and a fairly substantial reduction in the number of unemployed was effected. To bring about the the necessary forcing down of the dollar, Washington has begun to bid for gold in foreign markets. This naturally has a disturbing effect on foreign centres due to huge withdrawal of gold. The country most affected is naturally France, the only important country still on the Gold Standard. The price of gold for some time remained absolutely uncertain. Till January 25, America was purchasing gold at \$20.67 per oz. but on that date the rate was increased to \$34.45 per oz, the effect on the bullion market being disastrous. On February 8th the rate was further raised to \$35.00 per oz. and simultaneously the President made an announcement fixing the dollar value in terms of gold and so putting an end to the hectic conditions prevailing in the exchange markets. It has been announced that the dollar will henceforth have 59.06 per cent of its old gold contents (*i. e.*, it will contain  $15\frac{5}{21}$  grains of gold  $\frac{9}{10}$ ths fine) and that the price of gold will be 35 dollars an ounce with effect from February 1st. This new valuation will mean a profit of about 2880 million dollars to the Treasury. The embargo on gold will automatically disappear.

In almost every case of exchange depreciation, the rise of prices is markedly less than the depreciation in the exchange value of the depreciated currency. This occurred when the sterling first depreciated and is true in the present case also; the internal value of the dollar is much higher than its external value. There appears, therefore, apart from the effect of price movements in other countries, to be a substantial margin by which prices might still rise in the United States before the internal and external prices are in equilibrium. The reason for this disparity is that speculation is active in foreign exchange and fears of further depreciation induces forward selling. The following tables will make our point clear.

TABLE I

	(1) Dollars to £	(2) Francs to £	(3) Dollars to £ Index Jan. 1933=100	(4) Francs to Dollars Index Jan. 1933=100
1933				
Jan.	3.37	86.06	100	100
Feb.	3.42	87.22	101	102
Mar.	3.44	87.40	102	103
Apr.	3.51	87.21	104	105
May	3.94	85.57	117	116
Jun.	4.14	86.10	123	123
July	4.64	85.24	138	137
Aug.	4.50	83.88	134	131
Sept.	4.66	80.35	138	128
Oct.	4.67	80.22	138	128
Nov.	5.14	82.14	153	146
Dec.	5.14	83.68	153	149

Note: Series (1) and (2) are from the "Economist" series (monthly averages). Series (3) and (4) are derived from (1) and (2). The figures are approximate.

The abrupt rise in May is due to the suspension of the gold standard on the 20th April. The rise in June is explained by the enactment of the N. R. A. on June 16, and the rejection of proposals for currency stabilization by the U. S. A. delegates to the World Economic Conference (June 22-27). In July also rise is due to the failure of the Economic Conference. In November, there was a change in the personnel of the Roosevelt Government and a more inflationary policy was indicated. All these led to violent speculation in the exchange market. Had there been no speculation the movement of the internal prices would have been more or less parallel to the movement of the external price of the dollar. The disparity between the two, as seen from the following table, will roughly measure the rôle of exchange speculation.

TABLE II

	(1) Index No. of wholesale prices	(2) Index No. of wholesale prices	(3) New York- Paris cross rate	(4) Internal value of dollar as percentage of external value $(4) = \frac{(2) \div (3)}{\times 100}$
1933	1914-100	Jan. 1933=100	Jan. 1933=100	
Jan.	87.4	100	100	100
Feb.	85.7	98	102	96
Mar.	86.2	98	103	95
Apr.	86.5	99	105	94
May	89.8	102	116	88
Jun.	93.1	106	123	86
Jul.	98.7	113	137	83
Aug.	99.6	114	131	87
Sept.	101.4	116	128	91
Oct.	102.0	117	146	91
Nov.	101.9	117	149	78
Dec.	101.6	116	..	..

The fourth column shows how the internal value of the dollar has failed to keep pace with the rise in its external value. The depreciation of the dollar was doubtless designed to raise the internal price level. The latter continued to rise no doubt but the exchange value rose more than in proportion due to speculative influence which had little direct effect on the internal price level itself.

It might be noted that the new gold parity yields about \$6.66 to 100 francs and at 78.84 francs to the pound (the actual rate on 20-2-34), the rate should be 5.127 dollars to the pound. The actual London-New York rate is 5.13 dollars to the pound. For some time the rate has been below the theoretical rate due to heavy shipments of gold induced by the higher dollar price.

#### PRICES

The various Index numbers for the United Kingdom are as follows. The series has been reduced to the base 1933 Jan.=100 and only the nearest integer is used.

TABLE III

	(1) Statist	(2) Board of Trade	(3) The "Economist"	(4) Average
1933				
Jan.	100	100	100	100
Feb.	99	99	99	99
Mar.	99	97	99	98
Apr.	101	97	101	100
May	104	99	105	103
June	104	101	107	104
July	105	102	108	105
Aug.	104	102	108	105
Sep.	104	103	107	105
Oct.	104	102	106	104
Nov.	102	102	103	102
Dec.	103	102	105	103
Average 1929	148	136	152	145
1930	124	119	128	121
1931	105	104	107	105
1932	103	101	103	102
1933	102.4	101	101	102

It appears from (4) that the "Economist" index is generally in excess of the "Statist" index and in defect of the "Board of Trade" index. Thus the average of the three is almost identical with the "Statist" index which therefore we take as the most "reliable." We are aware of the theoretical difficulties involved but since we use the indices merely as indicators, the nicer points of technique are best left alone.

A comparison of the "Statist" index with the U. S. A. index of wholesale prices will show that the course of prices in general in the United Kingdom roughly follows that in U. S. A. but with a far less amplitude since the passing of the N. R. A. From a study of these indexes alone, we think it is yet premature to predict a hopeful time ahead. Had the improvement of the spring time continued, we would have been justified in forecasting prosperity in near future. In Germany, however, we see definite improvement but how far that is due to the remission of the huge reparation payments, it is too early to decide. In the following table, the indices have been reduced to the base Jan., 1933 (nearest integers).

TABLE IV

Index Number of Wholesale Prices

	(1) Germany	(2) France	(3) Italy	(4) India	(5) U. S. A.
1933					
Jan.	100	100	100	100	100
Feb.	100	100	98	98	98
Mar.	100	99	96	94	98
Apr.	100	99	96	95	99
May	101	98	96	100	102
June	102	102	96	101	106
July	103	102	95	103	113
Aug.	103.5	101	95	101	114
Sep.	104	99	94.5	100	116
Oct.	105	98	94	100	117
Nov.	105	98	93.5	100	117
Dec.	105.5	100	...	100	116

Note: The above table is calculated from Stat. Reichsamt in case of Germany, Stat. Gen's index in case of France and Prof. Bachi's index in case of Italy. In case of India, the official Calcutta index has been used.

It is evident that if the Index number of wholesale prices is any criterion of national prosperity or otherwise, there has been a steady improvement in Germany where the rise, though not remarkable, has been continuous and steady. In France, there was some improvement during the autumn but the improvement has not been maintained. In November, there was some rise no doubt but it is too much to say that this is the sign of a "definite revival" in France. In India, the downward trend of prices was checked in May when our Index Number rose from 95 to 100. Since then the price level has remained remarkably steady. It is remarkable that in each of these countries the "revival" set in in the month of May. As this coincides with the introduction of the "Recovery" policy of President Roosevelt, it is not unlikely that the so-called "recovery" is merely an international effect of the American experiment. The case of Italy is a bit peculiar, since here we find the price-level going lower and lower steadily. There was no improvement whatsoever even during May when all the other countries registered a rise in the price-level.

In some respects the Cost of Living index is a more important indicator of the actual economic position than the wholesale price index. In normal conditions the index of wholesale prices and the cost of living should move together. In case of disequilibrium, the two will in general diverge but the divergence by itself would not directly measure the disequilibrium. The most obvious reason of the divergence is the disagreement between the movement of prices of industrial and consumption goods. In the following table we give the cost of living indices of U. S. A., Germany and the United Kingdom. In each case, the indices have been reduced to the base Jan., 1933 - 100, to facilitate the study of the variation during the year. We have no cost of living index which is applicable to the whole of India. For this reason, we have not included the Bombay Bureau of Labour Index.

TABLE V  
The cost of Living Index

	(1) U.S.A. (National Industrial Conference Board)	(2) U. K. Ministry of Labour	(3) Germany
1933			
Jan.	100	100	100
Feb.	98	99	98
Mar.	98	98	98
Apr.	98	96	98
May	98	96	98
June	99	98	98
July	102	99	97
Aug.	104	100	97
Sept.	106	100	96
Oct.	106	100	96
Nov.	...	101	95
Dec.	...	101	...
Average			
1929	135	117	...
1930	130	111	...
1931	117	104	...
1932	105	101	...

The rise in June in U. S. A. is only as expected due to the introduction of the Recovery Campaign. It is also interesting that the upward movement of the Index has begun simultaneously in both the United Kingdom and the U. S. A. and has been maintained in both the countries since then. In Germany however though the wholesale prices were rising, the cost of living was steadily falling during the year. It will be seen from the following table that in every case, the cost of living has lagged behind the wholesale prices. This is only natural since in the former we take account of retail prices which are much less affected by speculative influences than the whole-sale prices.

TABLE VI

The wholesale prices Index in terms of the cost of living Index. (Jan., 1933=100)

1933	U. S. A.	United Kingdom	Germany
Jan.	100	100	100
Feb.	100	100	102
Mar.	100	101	102
Apr.	101	105	102
May	107	109	103
Jun.	107	107	104
Jul.	111	105	105
Aug.	110	104	107
Sept.	109	104	108
Oct.	...	104	109
Nov.	...	101	110
Dec.	...	102	...
Average			
1929	116	126	...
1930	108	112	...
1931	102	101	...
1932	104	102	...

This index shows, therefore, that so far as the ratio of wholesale prices to the cost of living is concerned, the position of U. S. A. was the same in September 1933 as it was in 1930. So far the "recovery" is remarkable. In case of the United Kingdom, the position is no better than it was on the average during 1932.

### INDIA

So far as the prices are concerned, we have seen already that the wholesale prices index has remained more or less constant during the past few months. Like most other countries in the world, the recent events in the United States of America has profoundly influenced the economies of our own country as well. The gold movement which began in 1931 on a large scale has continued unabated since then, receiving fresh impetus from the depreciation of the dollar. Our rupee being "linked" with the sterling, the Rupee-Dollar exchange has closely followed the Dollar-Sterling rate. Along with other countries, the import and export trades of India will no doubt be seriously affected by the depreciation of the dollar but as such effects are remote and more or less indirect, the actual amount

of disturbance caused by this exchange trouble cannot be ascertained now.

Our position in International Trade is distinctly better than it was in 1932. While our exports have increased our imports have diminished, so that our balance of trade has improved considerably. There has been a distinct improvement in the Tea trade. Both in the demand for internal consumption and in the sale price offered the improvement has been remarkable. It seems that the restriction plan agreed upon by the various tea-growing countries has worked very well. In the Jute industry, comparatively higher prices of hessians have ruled throughout the year 1933. The result has been that while the export of raw jute has considerably increased, that of jute manufactures has remained more or less constant. Japan is increasing her Jute mills and unless proper precautions are taken she will very soon become a formidable competitor in very near future.

As regards cotton and cotton manufacture, events of far-reaching importance occurred during the past year. The depreciation of the yen lowered the price of Japanese piece-goods in India and in defence of the home industry which was very seriously affected, the duties on the Japanese cotton manufactures were increased to 75 per cent. Japan boycotted Indian cotton in retaliation. It is now well known how a delegation was sent out to India by the Japanese Government to discuss the situation with the Indian interests and how after a protracted negotiation a settlement was arrived at during October, 1933. A Tariff Bill incorporating the Indo-Japanese Agreement and the Mody-Lees Pact differentiating in favour of the United Kingdom is now on the Legislative anvil. The Indo-Japanese treaty itself has not, however, been signed yet. The Tariff Board Report on the Cotton Textile Industry has been issued only recently and must be considered out-of-date in view of these developments. In spite of the Japanese Boycott, the export of raw cotton has considerably increased. The price of Broach cotton soared up during June but, following the crisis in America it has again come down.

An event of some interest, which caused considerable flutter in the Calcutta press was the temporary recrudescence of the old Ratio controversy. The controversy had its natural end when the Legislature refused to consider the devaluation of the rupee in terms of the sterling.

As regards the price of gold, *The Indian Economist* noted in its January 29 issue that "there is not much possibility of gold rising further unless fresh developments occur". Fresh developments did occur. During the week ending on January 27, the price of gold per tola varied from Rs. 32-8-0 to Rs. 32-10-9. Following the new development of Roosevelt's Gold Policy the Bombay gold rate which closed at Rs. 32-10-0 on January 31, touched Rs. 35-2-0 on the first

of February. On the fifth, the rate lowered down to Rs. 34-8-0. During this period the record price of £ 7 was reached in London. Since then the price of gold has come down and for the last few days the ruling rate has been in the neighbourhood of Rs. 34 per tola (137 s. in London).

The export of gold on large scale which began when the Gold Standard was suspended continues and since October 1931, Rs. 184.50 crores worth of gold has been exported from India. The following table gives the value of gold exported for each month since October, 1931.

TABLE VII

Export of Gold from India  
(in lakhs of rupees).

	1931	1932	1933
Jan.		927	476
Feb.		757	496
Mar.		689	498
Apr.		424	456
May		330	522
Jun.		487	563
Jul.		617	260
Aug.		452	446
Sep.		656	570
Oct.	905	567	344
Nov.	857	672	253
Dec.	1777	1013	242
Total	35,39	75,91	51,26

Jan.-Feb. 10, 1934 16,14

Feb. 10—Feb. 16, 1934 5,50 (Bombay only approximate)

The effect of raising the gold value from 20.67 dollars per ounce to 35 dollars per ounce will be evident from the following figures of weekly exports.

TABLE VIII

Average	1932		Rs. 146 lakhs
"	1933	"	98.5 "
Week ending	Jan. 27, 1934	"	151 "
do	Feb. 3,	"	479 "
do	10,	"	473 "
do	16,	"	550 "

We shall now consider India's International trade during 1933 in some detail. The total export of merchandise during that year amounted to Rs. 148.3 crores which is 7.3 per cent higher than the 1932 figure of Rs. 138.17 crores. The imports have decreased in the same time by 14.9 per cent from Rs. 133.65 crores in 1932 to Rs. 116.05 crores in 1933. This cannot evidently continue for ever, but the longer such a situation continues the more will our country benefit. Considering the export and import trades together, we find that our total foreign trade has declined by 2.9 per cent from Rs. 271.82 crores in 1932 to Rs. 264.35 in 1933.

TABLE IX  
Foreign Trade of India  
(in lakhs of rupees)

	Imports		Exports	
	1933	1932	1933	1932
January	1066	1093	1171	1356
February	922	998	1244	1255
March	1088	1091	1363	1323
April	960	1322	1042	1072
May	975	1183	1085	980
June	869	1210	1301	960
July	870	1122	1242	920
August	990	1112	1434	1025
September	875	1141	1165	1202
October	1062	998	1291	1176
November	1001	1114	1319	1238
December	918	979	1186	1250

Some of the principal items are as follows :

TABLE X

(in lakhs of rupees)

	1933	1932	variation per cent
Exports : Raw Jute	1093	919	+19
Jute manufacture	2147	2205	-2.8
Raw Cotton	2575	1604	+60
Tea	1903	1690	+12.7
Rice	1143	1716	-33
Oil-seeds	1468	1253	+16
Imports : Cotton twist and yarn	268	383	-30
do. Piece-goods	1441	2046	-30
do. Raw and manufactures	2276	3302	-33

A perusal of the following figures giving the total number of packages of piece-goods and yarn imported into Calcutta will show how much the Japanese trade has been affected by the enhancement of the import duties.

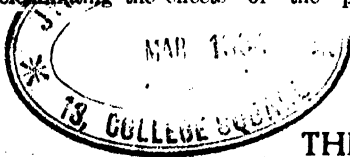
	Total	From Great Britain	From Japan.
November 1933	.....	4737	3306
December 1933	7329	3888	2863
January 1934	12603	5932	5185
January 1933	20043	6340	11687

### THE RATIO CONTROVERSY

It is not possible here to examine thoroughly the claims put forward by the two sides. The controversy had a temporary recrudescence for some time and as in 1926 we had several long statements made by eminent publicists on this old problem. The main issue was to determine whether the rupee is overvalued in terms of the sterling. The supporters of devaluation tried to prove their point by referring to the decline in the Balance of Trade and in the export trade and in wholesale prices. Without entering into the controversy itself, we would like to say that the exports, imports and therefore the Balance of Trade are not separate entities by themselves. For instance, in India the jute and tea industries contribute about 20 per cent of the total exports. A depression in these two industries alone due to factors peculiar to them will lead to a fall

in the exports more than in proportion to the general decline due to world causes. It is clear that it would not be correct to attribute the fall to overvaluation of the currency. Similarly the particular causes affecting one or two important industries might show the total exports or imports of other countries in a light more favourable or otherwise than they really are. It is therefore dangerous to base one's argument on the statistics of international trade without eliminating the effects of the peculiar circum-

stances affecting the more important industries of a country. In the next place, so far as we can judge, the only reliable and safe criterion to find out whether the currency of a country is overvalued or not is to examine how far the cost of living and wages have adjusted themselves to the value of the currency. Unfortunately, this criterion is not suitable for investigation in India where no universal cost of living index is in existence and where the wages-system is too unorganized to allow of any accurate comparison.



## THE AGONIES OF BENGAL

By A. C. GUHA

**B**Y a strange irony of fate, Bengal, which, in the heyday of her glory, outshone all other provinces in the vast Indian peninsula, has now fallen on evil days.

Bengal's misfortunes began with the Partition of the province in 1905 which subjected her to extensive amputations and reduced her strength to half of what it was before. In the event of a re-union between Hindus and Moslems who live side by side and cannot have many separate interests, they could by common consent secure a constitution adapted to their mutual needs.

Next after the Partition came the Meston Settlement to deal Bengal a knockdown blow. It left her so stranded that she, formerly the richest of provinces, is now unable to pay her way. It diverted from the coffers of Bengal to those of other provinces about 50 crores of rupees, the cumulative proceeds of the export duty on jute grown almost exclusively by her agriculturists. An unprecedented slump in the jute market followed and all but killed the most flourishing industry of the Province.

As if anything, remained to complete the picture of Bengal's disolation, hundreds of thousands of her men and women were thrown out of employ and simultaneously with this, terrorism rapidly gained ground within the last year and a half. This last catastrophe has paralysed Bengal's political progress.

This long list of misfortunes, heavy beyond endurance as it is, by no means exhausts the

catalogue of Bengal's woes. The last Census has revealed that the population of Bengal has increased 8 per cent within the decennium which ended in 1931, while her food reserves have remained stationary. This may turn out to be the proverbial straw on the Bengal Camel's back. If the country is starved to death through shortage or failure of food supplies, not a vestige of the Bengali race will remain to enjoy the blessings of Swaraj when it comes. The writing on the wall is visible ; and if Bengal or any other part of India pays no heed to it, it will only precipitate the day of judgment and "plunge her headlong into a bottomless abyss."

Apropos of India's food situation, Lord Linlithgow, the foremost authority on Indian agriculture says :

"India's political problems, anxious and baffling as they are, are as dust when weighed against the problems of the future food supply of India's ever growing millions."

Yet we in India are too busy with constitution building, to think of any thing else, even though it be a matter of life and death to us.

Already, malnutrition and underfeeding have exacted a heavy toll and produced in the natives of Bengal a chronic predisposition to wasting diseases such as Beri Beri, Tuberculosis and others—too numerous to be named.

Recently Sir John McGaw, Director General of Indian Medical Service, a wide-awake philanthropist and physician of eminence, has drawn a most lurid picture of

the gloomy conditions which prevail in Bengal and of the worse which cloud her future. Another authority, Mr. Porter, Superintendent of the last Census, no less eminent in administrative economics than Sir John in medicine, and whose official position gave him an opportunity of investigating up-to-date data at first hand, made some highly relevant observations on this subject, which we make no apology to reproduce.

"Any increase of population must lead to increased distress, unless the potentialities of the province are developed. Like the rest of India, Bengal is notable for its undeveloped resources and the insufficiency with which such resources as it has, are exploited. If the total cultivable area, only 67 per cent of which is now actually under cultivation, were brought under cultivation and if improved methods of cultivation, yielding an increase of 30 per cent over the present yield, were adopted, it is clear from a simple rule-of-three calculation that Bengal could support, at its present standard of living, a population nearly twice as large as that recorded in 1931. It is clear at least that it is not yet time to indulge in gloomy forebodings on the ground that Bengal is over-populated, provided full use is made of the available resources of the country."

Mr. Wilkinson, the well-known author of "The World's Population Problems" has come to pretty much the same conclusion as Mr. Porter has. He observes :

"The Indian peoples have in their agricultural resources alone, sufficient potential power of production, to support any increase of population which is likely to take place within the next hundred years."

But, unless agriculture is vastly expanded and every inch of cultivable but now uncultivated waste, brought under tillage, Bengal's situation will be like that of Tantalus in days of yore.

While the people of India are indifferent to their own agricultural interests, prominent statesmen abroad have often stressed their paramount importance. It was, perhaps, a conviction of this nature which prompted the British Government to send out to India a farmer Viceroy to succeed a lawyer and simultaneously, to appoint a Royal Commission on Indian agriculture. It is a pity that out here in India, we are slow to take advantage of the opportunities placed within our reach. The apathy towards agricultural interests and preference for political ideals is all the more lamentable as the latter often leads to will-o'-the-wisps and tends to bring into dangerous prominence the many fissiparous tendencies

that divide castes, sects and communities in India. It is for this reason that the late Viscount Milner advocated the formation of a national party which would assign the foremost place in its programme to the fostering of agriculture. The Great War has conclusively shown that food supply is more important than torpedos and aeroplanes. In these circumstances, the only salvation of Bengal lies in the expansion of her food resources and agriculture.

It behoves us, therefore, to go back to land in the first instance. It is fortunate that the undeveloped agricultural resources of Bengal are large.

According to official estimates there are extensive areas of immediately cultivable but uncultivated wastes to the order of nearly six million acres, exclusive of forest, current fallows and land not suitable for cultivation. The area is equal to barely an eighth of that which is cropped and it is incumbent on every real patriot to see that every inch of this virgin soil, which has the advantage of being free from diminished returns, is brought under tillage. To do this would however require a mint of money but it could never be better spent than in easing the economic pressure on the people of Bengal which may lead to absolutely disastrous consequences later on. Not to speak of starvation which the shortage of food supplies would involve there is just at present more than half a million of the unemployed in this country and the Government has absolutely no excuse for withholding the necessary capital for developing agricultural resources which would provide food and work for them. Great Britain is spending one hundred thirty million pounds per annum for feeding its workless, "with nothing to show for it" as observed by Mr. Lloyd George. The United States of America is pouring out something like £80,500,000 per annum on unemployment benefits, over and above gratuitous relief. A mere fraction of the amount spent by either country would rescue millions in Bengal from the jaws of death. The first and foremost concern of the State is to keep its subjects above bodily want and the neglect of this function would be a voluntary abdication of the most essential prerogative of sovereignty and a flagrant

breach of the contract which it has made with the peoples who placed themselves under its care. It is sad to think that funds are forthcoming for absolutely unproductive and unnecessary expenditure, while none is available for this fundamental need of Government.

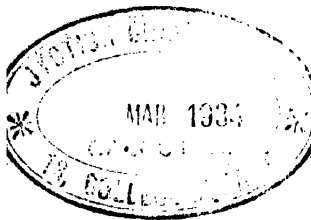
I would suggest a short and simple method of raising money for this purpose. In the money market of today, it is the easiest thing for the Government of India to raise a loan, say, of one crore of rupees and to place this sum at the disposal of the Bengal Government for distribution among men, preferably among *Bhadraloks* who would undertake to reclaim cultivable wastes. I understand that Sir Daniel Hamilton signified his willingness to guarantee the repayment of this loan with interest at the rate 5 per cent per annum. This would enable Government to earn 5 per cent on money locked up in idle reserves.

An alternative to the method suggested by me, perhaps a preferable one, is the expansion of currency to meet an extraordinary but urgent demand. Both the League of Nations and the expert MacMillan Committee favour this alternative.

From the budget speech of Sir George Schuster, it would appear that there is now a possibility of finding money for capital and productive expenditure and it is a pity that Sir Daniel's offer was allowed to fall through. But I hope it may be revived, if the Government of Bengal takes an interest in the matter.

The Central Government should, in the fitness of things, now disgorge the crores of rupees which it took from the coffers of Bengal and should distribute the amount as loans to Bengal agriculturists to enable them to pay old debts or to contract new ones for developing new areas. This is the most effective means of relieving rural indebtedness.

In conclusion, I fervently hope that a new policy of dealing with unemployment and terrorism, by acquiring waste lands and parcelling them out among the middle classes of Bengal, on whom the brunt of economic distress has fallen, will be inaugurated. With the proposed relief of economic tension, both unemployment and terrorism would die a natural death in the course of time.



MISS CHARLIE  
Sculptor : Sudhir R. Khastgir

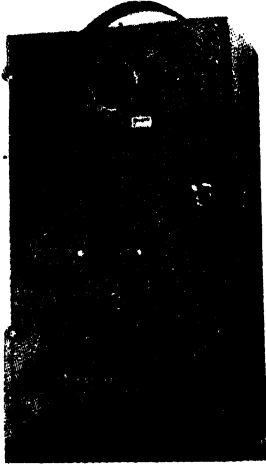


## GLEANINGS



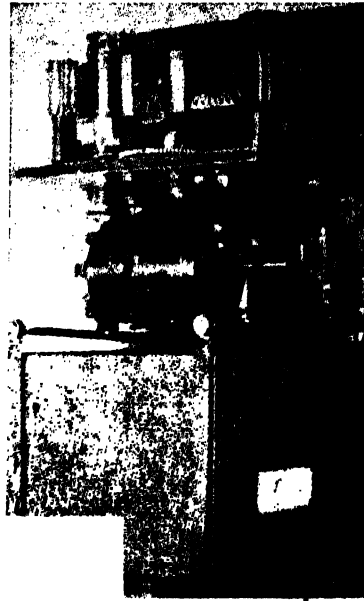
### Criminals Photographed in the Act

Positive identification is the weapon most feared by organized crime and the ruthless criminal. Efforts have therefore been made for many years to produce a workable camera which would photograph the hold-up while the act is being committed. Now with the aid of especially fast film and very efficient lenses the problem of doing just this seems solved. Universal focus and ample field of view of the lens are of course essential to success. The problem is a hard one and considerable equipment is required; anywhere from one to five cameras are used so as to photograph the hold-up from various angles. The system is intended primarily for banks, other institutions that pay out or receive considerable sums of money, and jewelry stores.



The front of the concealed camera

The cameras are concealed at strategic points by grillworks or other masking devices and may be started in operation in a number of ways which will not attract the attention of the bandits. Once the cameras start, a complete record of the robbery is secured. It has been determined that the average hold-up occupies only about three minutes. Each camera will make 240 exposures for each loading and it takes 12 minutes to run off the film. The exposures occur at regular intervals of approximately three seconds. This is sufficiently frequent to follow the acts and movements of all parties concerned. Three exposure-time values are repeated consecutively, one of which will be approximately correct for the existing illumination at the time the camera is in operation. Of course the more light the better, but there will often be cases where the light will be comparatively dim. Under normal illumination of about five foot-candles of light reflected



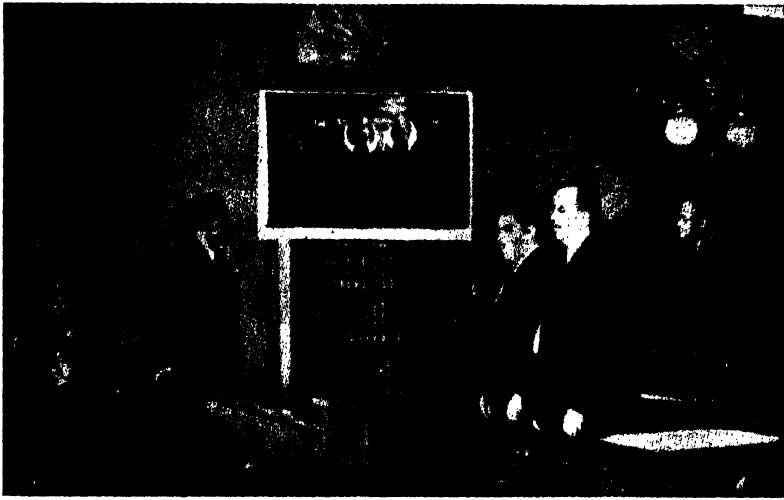
The mechanism is operated by batteries; even if cables are cut the camera continues to work



A scene at a hold-up. "Hands up!" is a too well-known slogan. The bandits are being photographed by the concealed silent camera

from the object, the shortest exposure used will produce identifiable pictures. Under low illuminating values the longer exposures will produce recognizable pictures down to one foot-candle of light reflected from the object.





The scene is reproduced on a screen in court

The system is inaudibly started electrically, and when once started there is no stopping it. If the bandits should discover one of the wires, or if they were cut in an inside job, nothing can prevent the cameras from functioning, even the lens is protected by bullet-proof glass. Naturally the cameras must have motors to drive them, but they do not depend on an outside circuit and they are all driven by dry batteries so they cannot be disabled by cutting, shorting or destroying any part of the outfit. After the exposures have been made the negatives are developed and positives are made which can be utilized by the police in comparing the pictures in the "rogues' gallery." They may also be projected in court and there is a good prospect of re-enacting the crime. Two of our illustrations show a photographed hold-up where the victims are faced to the wall, and the same scene being projected in court for the benefit of the judge and jury. The system is known as the "Oshkosh Photo-Identification System."

—*Scientific American*



### Valve Cuts off Gas in Quake To Prevent Explosions

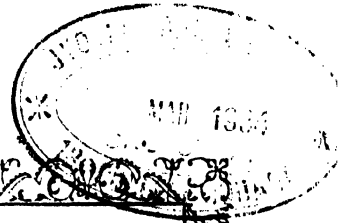
For the prevention of fires and explosions during and after earthquakes, a safety valve has been produced for shutting off gas or electricity. It works by means of a bronze ball mounted on a supporting stem.

Man at right points to balanced ball which actuates gas shutoff when earthquake strikes

Only a vibration sufficiently strong to damage the building can shake the ball from its stem, causing the valve to cut off gas or power supply.

—*Popular Mechanics*





## NOTES

### *Trial and Imprisonment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru*

In the course of "The Last Letter" written by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from prison to his daughter, which was published in our last issue, he said :

"I have been a dabbler in many things ; I began with science at college and then took to the law and, after developing various other interests in life, finally adopted the popular and widely-practised profession of jail-going in India !"

When he wrote those lines perhaps he did not *definitely* know that he would soon be given an opportunity again for the practice of his profession, though he must have had vague anticipations. For when he was arrested at Allahabad on the 12th February last, seeing the police, the Pandit said smilingly, "I was looking out for you for some days."

In the last paragraph of "The Last Letter," the Pandit wrote :

"We have finished, carissima, and this last letter ends. The last letter ! Certainly not ! I shall write you many more."

He knew, not how soon he would be at leisure to write a fresh series of letters to his daughter from prison.

After his arrest at Anand Bhawan in Allahabad Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was brought down to Calcutta for trial, as the three speeches which were considered seditious had been delivered in this city. Two of the speeches were delivered in English in the Albert Hall on the 17th and 18th January last and one in Urdu at Maheswari Bhawan on the 18th idem. The Pandit was tried in the court of the Hon'ble S. K. Sinha, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, who framed a charge against him under section 124-A of

the Indian Penal Code (sedition). He was offered bail but did not accept it. Being asked by the court to plead to the charge, the Pandit said he would not make any plea, nor would he take any part in the proceedings. But with the permission of the court, he made a statement, in the course of which he said :

"As regards the two speeches delivered by me at the Albert Hall on January 17 and 18 last, I should like to congratulate the reporters for the very good transcriptions submitted by them. There may have been some minor omissions here and there but that was inevitable as I spoke very rapidly and extempore. On the whole, these reports are substantially correct and do represent what I said. But I am afraid, I cannot extend similar congratulations to the reporters who reported my speech at Maheswari Bhawan. Anything more scrappy and incomprehensible I have seldom met. It seems Urdu and Hindi as they are spoken and written in Bengal are very different from what they are in my part of the country. The speeches delivered by me may have been seditious or not, but they certainly contained some logic and sense. This report of my speech is sheer nonsense and does less than justice to me."

In regard to the matter contained in the speeches, Panditji admitted that not only in these speeches but for many years before this his activities had been seditious.

"I should like to express my gratitude," Panditji continued, "to the Government of Bengal for the opportunity they have accorded me by taking these proceedings against me to associate myself in a small measure with the past and present lot of the people of Bengal. That is a privilege I shall long treasure."

He was stopped by the court from proceeding further while he was saying that his two speeches at Albert Hall were largely concerned with events in Bengal—in Midnapur, Chittagong and elsewhere.

The above is the newspaper report of a part of his statement. Part of it is also referred to in the judgment of the Magistrate, given below, and that should be considered authoritative. The Magistrate's judgment was as follows :

"The accused Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been

charged with having delivered three seditious speeches, the first at the Albert Hall on 17-1-34, the second at the same place on the following afternoon and the last at Maheswari Bhawan, a public hall in Sovaram Basak Street, the same evening. The first two speeches were delivered in English and the last one in Urdu. Government reporters who attended these meetings took shorthand and longhand notes of all the speeches. Transcriptions were made thereafter, as also an English translation of the speech in Urdu. The accused admits the correctness of the report of the first two speeches; he has stated that they represent substantially all that he said on those occasions. The report of the third speech, however, he states, is somewhat of a travesty of his utterance. As this last speech is mainly a repetition of what he had said on the two previous occasions, it is unnecessary to enter into the alleged inaccuracies of reporting.

"The meeting at the Albert Hall on 17-1-34 was convened to voice a public protest against excesses committed by the troops in their route marches in the district of Midnapur. The second and third public meetings were held with the object of discussing the present political situation in India and the duties of the Indian people.

"In view of the statement made by the prisoner in pleading to the charges, it seems to me it would be altogether superfluous to discuss a single line of any of the speeches. The accused has stated in Court that for many years his activities have certainly been seditious if by sedition is meant the desire to achieve the independence of India and to put an end to foreign domination; he has laboured to that end with all his strength for many long years; as the years go by, his conviction has grown stronger within him that there can be no freedom for the Indian people so long as there is a trace of British rule left on the face of the country; he has, therefore, attempted in a small degree to put an end to British rule in this country; if that is sedition, he admits he has been seditious for many years.

"A cursory perusal of the speeches shows that they are animated by an implacable hostility to the established Government. In the first speech reference is made to recent events in the district of Midnapur. The speaker sees in the measures taken by Government to restore law and order in that province nothing but the attempt of an arrogant Imperialist power to humiliate not the city of Midnapur, not the few people of the district but the whole of India, because it is a matter of humiliation to every Indian from the Khyber Pass to Cape Comorin. For this he attributes the blame not to any individual or group of individuals but to a system, a cruel and vicious system that afflicts all who adapt themselves thereto; it is this machine, he says, that crushes the whole country. He goes on to speak of the innate and inherent vulgarity of Imperialism, its utter cruelty and its vandalism, its shamelessness, its callousness. There is a good deal more in the same train.

"It seems superfluous, in the face of all this, to observe that the speeches in question are highly seditious. The speaker's intentions are avowed and admitted.

"I find him guilty under Section 124-A I. P. C. On the first charge he is sentenced to undergo two years' simple imprisonment. No separate sentences are passed on the other two charges.

"The prisoner will be placed in Division I."

It would serve no useful purpose to discuss whether the Pandit's speeches were seditious or not. Nor has the full text of his speeches been published to enable either lawyers or the lay public to arrive at any conclusion. Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code is wide and elastic enough to rope in any criticism which is not in effect a petition in disguise. No criticism worth the name to which the Government is subjected is ever indulged in in order to rouse affection for the Government or the opposite of the feelings of hatred or contempt. This is, of course, a commonsense view of the Section. But even distinguished Judges of Indian High Courts have differed in their interpretation and enunciation of the law of sedition in India. No doubt, the original intention with which the section was drafted was different. It was made clear by Sir James Stephen, who was Law Member of the Government of India in 1870, in one of his speeches, in the course of which he said that "the offence would fall under this Section if only there was a disposition to resist the law by force. So long as a writer or speaker neither directly nor indirectly suggested or intended to produce the use of force he did not fall within the sedition section."

We were among those present in the Albert Hall when the Pandit delivered his speech on what had been alleged to have been done at Midnapur during the route marches of troops. It would be considered presumptuous if we said that that speech did not strike us as seditious, but we can certainly assert that there was not in it the remotest suggestion of the use of force to put an end to imperialism or British domination in India. And we are certain that the other two speeches were equally free from "violence." For the Pandit is not a hypocrite, and he condemned terrorism in quite unequivocal language at a students' meeting in the course of his same brief visit to Calcutta during which he made the three speeches complained against.

Part of the Chief Presidency Magistrate's judgment runs as follows:

"In view of the statement made by the prisoner in pleading to the charges, it seems to me it would be altogether superfluous to discuss a single line of any of the speeches. The accused has stated in Court that for many years his activities have certainly been seditious *if by sedition is*

*meant the desire to achieve the independence of India and to put an end to foreign domination; he has laboured to that end with all his strength for many long years; as the years go by, his conviction has grown stronger within him that there can be no freedom for the Indian people so long as there is a trace of British rule left on the face of the country; he has, therefore, attempted in a small degree to put an end to British rule in this country; if that is sedition, he admits he had been seditious for many years."*

This extract from the judgment shows that the Pandit's admission that he was seditious was conditional, the conditional words being those which we have italicized above, and his admission was not made specifically with reference to his three speeches complained against but with reference to his political activities for many years past. Now, in our opinion, as the charge against him was based upon his three speeches, it should have been shown that *these* were seditious. This has not been done. A general and conditional admission should not be made the ground for conviction for an alleged offence on a particular occasion.

As regards Mr. Nehru's conditional admission, it can certainly be said of *all* leading Congressmen, if not also of a large number of the rank and file, that they also have been trying for more than a decade "to achieve the independence of India and to put an end to foreign domination." If placed in the dock, they will all admit with the Pandit that for many years their activities have certainly been seditious, *if* endeavours like those made by them be seditious. In that case all these Congressmen would deserve lifelong imprisonment on the ground of that conditional admission.

Nor would the sentence include Congressmen alone. All the leading Moderates want Dominion Status. Dominion Status implies that the Dominions are equal in political status to Great Britain. Every Dominion—be it Canada, or Australia, or South Africa, or the Irish Free State, or New Zealand—would repudiate the assertion if it were said that the Dominions were *under* British rule. They are under self-rule. They are *equal* partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations, *not* subject states within the British Empire. Therefore, whoever wants Dominion Status and works for its attainment, works for putting an end to

foreign domination, British rule and imperialism. However remote Dominion Status may be, it has been admitted to be a legitimate goal by Lord Irwin as Viceroy and other British statesmen. We do not think the Government would be prepared to imprison all those who want either independence or Dominion Status.

In conclusion, it must be said that the conviction of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, after he had openly told Calcutta students and the public that freedom could not be won by terrorism but only by a mass movement and that that movement must be non-violent,—his conviction under these circumstances makes plainer what was plain before, *viz.*, that the executive are against all freedom movements alike, be they violent or non-violent.

### *What a "Seditionist" Wants and a "Moderate" Wants*

It has been held by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was guilty of sedition, because, among other things, he sought "to put an end to foreign domination."

*The Leader* is a "Moderate" organ. It wrote editorially on the 17th February last :

So far as the vast majority of people in India are concerned they do not want to sever their connection with Britain, but what they do want is that *the existing system of tutelage and domination should end* and that its people should be allowed full freedom to manage their affairs and that its status should be similar to that of the self-governing dominions. (Italics ours. —Ed., M. R.)

It cannot be said that Pandit Jawaharlal is a seditionist because he wants to sever India's connection with Britain. For in an article which he contributed to the London *Daily Herald* some time ago and which has been reproduced in the January number of *The Living Age* of New York he observes that the realization of his political ideal "does not rule out the fullest co-operation with the British people or other peoples who do not wish to exploit us."

### *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Messages*

It is stated in the daily papers that

Just before delivering himself up to the custody of the police Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent the following telegram to Mahatma Gandhi :

"Going back for rest-cure, Calcutta this time, love and all good wishes."

He sent the following telegram to his daughter, who is at Poona :

"Am going back to my other home for a while. All my love and good wishes, cheerio."

The following telegram he sent to Babu Rajendra Prasad, Patna :

"Sorry cannot help you any more in relief work, wish you and your colleagues all success in your noble endeavours. May Behar emerge victorious from this ordeal. Love."

### *Reconstruction in Bihar*

Describing the requisites of reconstruction Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Bihar leader, sums up :

I have indicated some of the problems which have to be tackled in any scheme of reconstruction, taking a long view of things and not content with mere tinkering. They are difficult enough, but we cannot afford to be deterred by them. They require engineering skill and agricultural knowledge. They require appreciation of practical economies, as distinguished from mere book knowledge. They require a thorough knowledge of the strength and weakness in the character and culture of our people. Above all, they require a long vision and a determined will and a band of sacrificing and devoted workers.

The afflicted people of Bihar will have and deserve to have all the help that their fellow-countrymen can give them. But above all,



By the courtesy of Ananda Bazar Patrika

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with a band of workers engaged in clearing the debris at Monghyr

they require to be inspired with faith and hope and courage and self-reliance. By engaging in clearing the debris with his own hands, in collaboration with bands of other workers, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has rendered signal service to the people of Bihar. Though

removed from the scene of his labours, let us hope his example will continue to inspire all workers. Even European officers have felt obliged to follow his example.

As regards planning, Babu Rajendra Prasad is quite right in saying :

We must make sure that the wrecked towns are not going to be a replica of what they were before, but that they are going to have wider roads, neater and more ventilated houses and healthier surroundings, that they are not going to perpetuate the time-old segregation of the so-called lower castes, or recreate the slum conditions of the so-called advanced towns of modern days—in other words, they are going to be rebuilt so as to ensure the physical, social and moral health of the community.

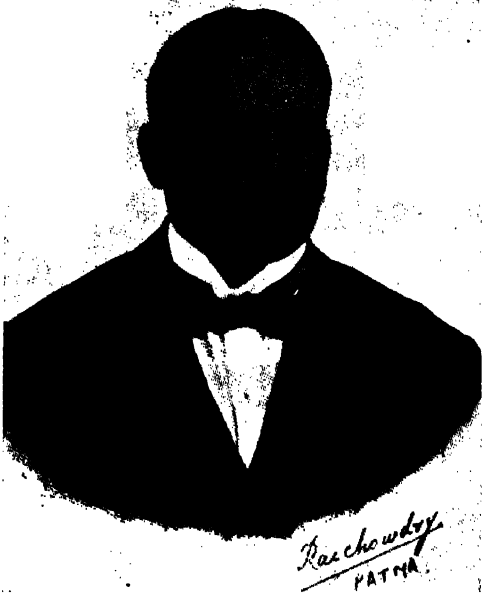
Regarding the problems of the countryside he observes :

In the countryside the problems of reclamation of land and rehabilitation of the cultivators have to be investigated and a line of action clearly chalked out. Can the land be rendered fit for cultivation by ordinary ploughing, deep ploughing or physical removal and disposal of the sand? Can the sand yield to some chemico-mechanical treatment? Can the Himalayan streams be trained and harnessed to irrigate the sandy tract or yield the motor energy to revitalize the humming life of the plains between the Himalayas and the Ganges? What crops can be grown with or without the help of such energy? If rice is impossible, can we have other crops which can be grown on sandy land? There are certain crops which serve to bind the sand with the earth and make what is sandy land fertile. Can they be used here? If so, what are they and how and wherefrom can seeds be got? Will fruit culture prosper? Melons and Kharbuzas are ordinarily grown in sandy lands and Diaras. Where can they be sold, if grown in large quantities? What about ground-nuts? Earth has altered, but not the sun or the seasons. We may expect rains and also floods. What are the crops that prosper in these conditions? Again, large tracts are under water. Can they be utilized for fish culture? Can they be utilized for culture of plants like 'Singhara'? Can we hope to grow paddy in them? If the land has become uncultivable, can it be made to grow timber and converted into forest? If so, what trees are likely to prosper there?

He deals with equal farsightedness and breadth of outlook with the problems of cottage industries, emigration and finance.

### *Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's Presidential Address*

It was recorded in the last issue of this *Review* that the Baroda session of the Oriental Conference was very successful. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, one of the leading historians of India, delivered an able presidential address,



Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

in the course of which he drew up a constructive programme of Indian history by Indians. Said he :

The most notable and satisfactory feature of the present time in our field is the high level of achievement attained by Indian scholarship in its many-sided and varied activities. Here I should like to quote from a competent surveyor, Prof. Sylvain Levi, a member of the French Academy, the Second President of the Oriental Conference, the foremost Indologist of France. In a letter dated the 7th of November, 1933, he writes to me :

"Do not fail to tell the scholars assembled for the Seventh Oriental Conference that I shall be ever grateful to them for the honour that was conferred by them upon me at the 1921 meeting. Indian scholarship in India has made wonderful progress in the meanwhile, and the many periodicals now published by Indian savants in India can, almost all of them, compete with the best scientific journals published in the West."

This is the best brief review which can be rendered in the Sutra style; and coming as it does from an Elder of our Sangha, I am relieved from the task of essaying to render it myself....

Our work has suddenly taken a new turn. Altogether a new orientation has come into play. Indian matters recently come to light, are refusing to own geographical boundaries of the present or ancient India. The Indus script is

claiming a world-wide range. It seems that we are on the verge of the conclusion that the script on the seals found at Harappa and Mohan-jodaro is closely allied to signs recorded from Elam, Cyprus, Crete and probably further. We see on the horizon a light which seems to have lighted the lands from the Indus up to the Atlantic.

This much is certain that we have been brought face to face with a very widespread and long-standing civilization extending, at least, from India to the Mediterranean, traces of which have already been recovered from sites in North and North-Western India, Baluchistan, Sistan, Iran, Mesopotamia and westwards. In India itself the terracottas found at Buxar and at Pataliputra seem to extend the area of that culture much eastwards. It seems premature to limit the "Indus Civilization" to the valley of Indus alone.

Not only in time but in space also Indian historians must extend their vision.

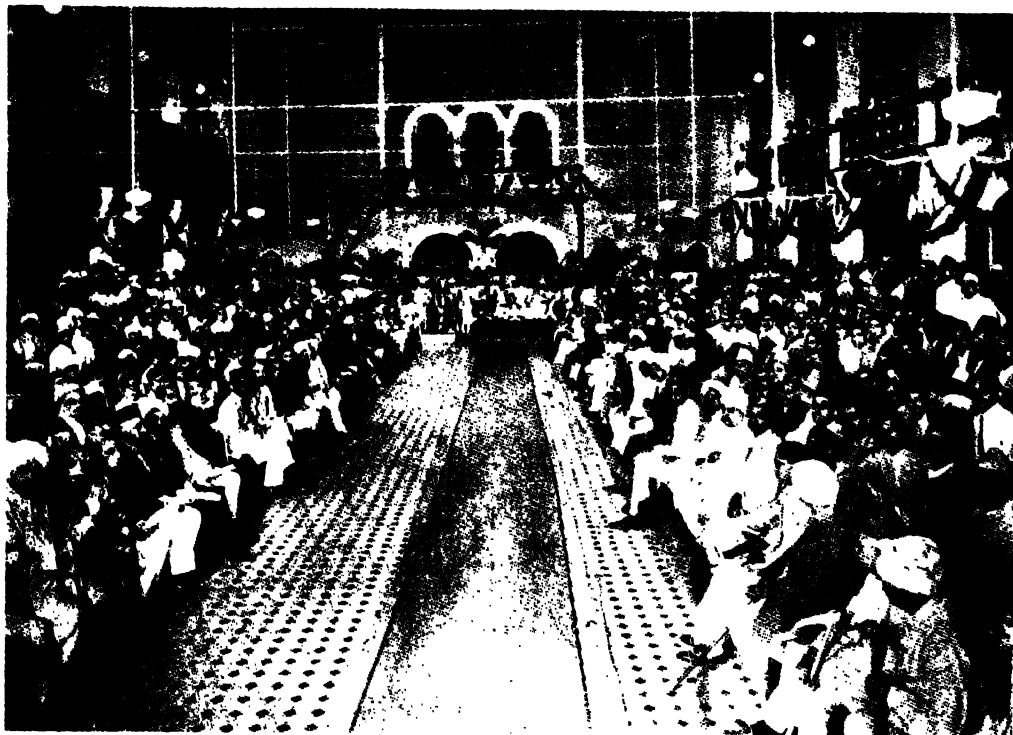
The field of Indian research for the known historical times too is extended beyond the limits of the present-day India by our having realized the fact that Indian history embraces within its fold the Hindu colonies in Indo-China, Cambodia, Siam, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, etc., to the East, and Central Asia to the North. The movement started by my friend and pupil Dr. Kalidas Nag in this country through his Greater India Society, is primarily responsible for impressing upon Indian scholars the importance of Insulinidia and Further India. It has been my good fortune to receive inspiration from my own ex-pupil in leading me to identify references to the eastern portion of Greater India in our own literature, the Puranas, the Manjusri Mulakalpa, and the inscription of Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad pillar, which I have placed before the scholarly world through some recent publications.

Again :

Our knowledge of the expanse of Indian culture in Central Asia is being widened by the various European and American scientific expeditions, e.g., the American Central Asian Expedition in Mongolia and North-West China, the Sven Hedin (Joint) Expedition in Central Asia, the work of Von le Coq and Grunwedel in the Turfan Depression and the neighbouring districts, and last but not least, the explorations which have been done and are being done by our own indefatigable scholar Sir Aurel Stein. Even a sidelight has been thrown on our own history from such an unexpected quarter as the Paikuli Sassanian Inscription of 293 A.D., thanks to the researches of Dr. Herzfeld.

### *India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie Scholarships*

On behalf of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie we wish to announce that the following scholarships in institutions of higher learning in Germany will be available for Indian scholars (male or female) of out-



Oriental Conference at Baroda

standing ability, for the academic year of 1934-35 :

1. Dresden : One scholarship at the *Technical University of Dresden*, consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM 30 (thirty marks) per month.

2. Hamburg : One scholarship at the *University of Hamburg*, consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM 30 (thirty marks) per month. The candidate will be given free private coaching in the German language.

3. Hohenheim (Wurttemberg) : One scholarship at the *Agricultural University of Hohenheim* consisting of free tuition and free lodging.

4. & 5. Jena : Two scholarships at the *University of Jena*, consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM 30 (thirty marks) per month for each scholarship.

6. Munchen : One scholarship at the *University of Munchen*, consisting of free tuition and lodging.

7. Stuttgart : One scholarship at the *Technical University of Stuttgart*, consisting of free tuition and lodging.

8. Tubingen : One scholarship at the *University of Tubingen*, consisting of free tuition and lodging.

9. One scholarship of RM 500 (five hundred marks), the choice of the University being left to the candidate. This scholarship was placed at the disposal of India Institute of the Deutsche

Akademie by the Allianz and Stuttgarter Lebensversicherungsbank A. G., Berlin.

These scholarships are tenable provisionally for two academic semesters only. The first semester begins early in November 1934 and the second semester ends in July 1935.

Applicants for these stipends must be graduates of recognized Indian Universities, preferably scholars possessing research experience. Applications from non-graduates will be given consideration, only if they have recognized literary or scientific achievements to their credit. Every applicant must possess good health and supply at least two recommendations from professors or Indian public men, about his scholarship and character. *It is desired that the applicant should have fair knowledge of the German language, as all academic work in Germany is carried on through the medium of German.*

No application will be given consideration, unless it is guaranteed for by some prominent professor or an otherwise well-known Indian public man, that the applicant is really earnest about his application and will certainly come to Germany before the 1st of September 1934, if a scholarship is offered to him.

It is imperative that a stipend-holder should arrive at Munich by the 1st of September and stay in the city at his own cost till the academic year begins in November, devoting these weeks to intensive study of German language in the German language courses for foreigners at the University of Munich

where he will be exempted from tuition-fees. It is however presupposed that an applicant for a scholarship possesses working knowledge of German. We are forced to take this measure, because a student not having adequate knowledge of German before beginning his academic work fails to get the benefit of his attending the University and often loses six months' time.

We want to make it clear that apart from the scholarship the stipend-holder must be prepared to spend at least RM 100 per month for the necessary expenses not included in the different scholarships.

All applications should reach India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie before the 10th of April 1934. A special committee of experts will select the successful candidates, who will be promptly notified of the decision. Selection of successful candidates will be determined solely by the academic qualifications of applicants. Certificates and testimonials of applicants *will not be returned*.

All applications should be *directly* sent to the following address :

Dr. Franz Thierfelder  
Hon. Secretary

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie  
"Maximilianeum"  
Munich, Germany.

North German Lloyd Company offers a reduction of 10 per cent on the fare for single trip in cabin class or second class for the Indian students of the Deutsche Akademie coming to Germany or returning to India from Germany, provided they travel during the "off-season," i. e., from Europe during April to July and from Colombo from July to January. Detailed information on this subject can be secured from the representative of North German Lloyd at Colombo, c/o the office of Hansseatic Trading Company, Colombo, Ceylon.

### **Rabindranath Tagore and Rural Reconstruction**

[Mr. Robindra Mohon Datta, M.Sc., of Panihati has sent us the note printed below.]

Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., in his "Review of Rural Welfare Activities in India 1932" says with regard to the activities of Sriniketan of the Poet Tagore :

"The dangers appear to be that, despite much inspiring effort, (i) the spirit of the institution, possibly even the institution itself, may not long outlive Dr. Tagore, and (ii) the work done, with lofty intention and unselfish labour, may be unscientific and superficial. These terms must certainly be applied to the rural 'Survey' of Ballabhpur hamlet, a report of which has been published."

In fact, the above sweeping remarks of Mr. Strickland does not hold good in any case. Whether the activities are carried on on scientific or unscientific lines will be quite clear from the following extract from the Bengal Public Health Report for the year 1929 by Dr. C. A. Bentley, Director of Public Health,

Bengal (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1930) :

"127. Visva Bharati.—A few lines in connection with the health activities of Visva Bharati will not be out of place here.

(1) Village Survey :—Rural survey of Raipur village was completed during the year; the survey of Goalpara, Bandhgora and Bhubandanga are progressing.

(2) Village Reconstruction :—(a) Ballavpur.—About a hundred years ago this village was very prosperous and had a population of 500 families which have now dwindled to only 23 families. A thorough survey of the village was completed in 1924-25. A co-operative health and rural reconstruction society was formed in 1925 and was registered on the 10th November of the same year. Since then 2,820 feet of new road have been constructed, 6,716 feet of drains opened and 11½ highas of jungles cleared. Every year the roads are repaired and the drains cleaned. 6,682 grains of quinine were distributed in 1929 against 9,128 in 1928 and 31 dobas were kerosinized with 32 lbs. of Kerosene. In the year under review the percentage of cases from malaria among those who took quinine was 33 against 17.3 in 1928, 18.0 in 1927, 52 in 1926 and 85 in 1925. The incidence among those who did not take quinine was 52.6 in 1929. This unsatisfactory increase in the malaria rate is accounted for as follows : (i) The gradual decrease in the number of cases of malaria during the previous years created a mistaken impression among the people that there was no more danger from malaria, resulting in a discontinuance of the practice of taking quinine regularly in the year under report ; (ii) all the dobas and tanks could not be Kerosinized as some of these were still surrounded by thick jungles ; (iii) most of the people were too poor to use mosquito curtains. Forty-eight persons were vaccinated against small-pox. Of the 4 dais trained in 1927, one successfully attended calls from 8 villages within a radius of 5 miles.

(b) The following table shows the Health Work done in villages Benuri, Lohagarh, Bahadurpur, Bhubandanga and Bandhgora :—

[The tables show the total population, numbers of health societies, extent of jungles cleared, roads repaired and cleared and new roads opened, drains cleared and new drains opened, dobas filled up, dobas cleaned and cleared, dobas kerosened, amount of kerosene used, quinine distributed, and malaria cases among members and non-members.]

The above extracts speak for themselves. Will Mr. Strickland now retract his unjustified remarks against the Poet?

### **Agricultural Institute for Rajshahi?**

It was in December last that *Current Science* wrote that "a scheme for starting an Institute for imparting training in Agriculture has been



formulated, following a conference between representatives of the Government and the executors of the endowment made by the late Kumar Basanta Kumar Ray of Dighapatia. The training will include both practical and theoretical aspects of agriculture, and will be a two-year course. The recurring costs will be met from the interest, which amounts to about Rs. 16,000 per year." The Kumar made the endowment a good many years ago. But his wishes have not yet been given effect to by the Government, nor is it known definitely when they will be.

### *Agricultural Education in Bengal*

Bengal is the most populous province in India, and its population is not less agricultural than that of the other provinces. But there is no agricultural college in Bengal, such as there are in some other provinces. In the latest (the tenth) issue of *Statistical Abstract for British India*, published in 1933, it is stated that the total expenditure from all sources on agricultural colleges was: in Madras Rs. 1,04,023; in Bombay Rs. 1,73,308; in the United Provinces Rs. 1,75,418; in the Panjab Rs. 1,41,740; in Burma Rs. 2,31,735; in the Central Provinces and Berar Rs. 75,212; but in Bengal *nil*. Against Bihar and Orissa there is shown no provincial expenditure, as the expenses of the agricultural institute of a high grade at Pusa, amounting to many lakhs, are met from Imperial revenues.

### *Irrigation in Bengal*

It is not merely in the matter of agricultural education that the Government has not done for a predominantly agricultural province like Bengal what ought to have been done, but in irrigation also there has been similar neglect. There is no province of India of which all parts can do without irrigation from irrigation works. Bengal is no exception. Many of its districts, particularly in West Bengal, stand in need of irrigation. When Mr. G. S. Dutt was magistrate of Bankura, for example, it was estimated that there were in that district under its Hindu Kings some 30,000 to 40,000 irrigation tanks, besides an irrigation canal, several miles long, known as "Subhankarer Dandra." Most of these have silted up in

course of time, without practically any substitute for them. The like has happened in many other districts.

The following table, compiled from the *Statistical Abstract for British India*, Tenth Issue, 1933, shows the mileage of productive irrigation works in different provinces of India in operation and the total capital outlay on them:

Province	Mileage	Capital Outlay
Madras	3,749	12,65,53,942
Bombay	1,986	19,44,75,766
Bengal	<i>Nil</i>	67,43,541
United Provinces	2,372	22,00,25,636
Punjab	3,266	32,78,02,051
Burma	354	2,12,21,281
N.-W. F. Pr.	86	74,07,400

It is noteworthy that, though Bengal, according to the latest *Statistical Abstract*, had not a single mile of productive irrigation works in operation, yet the expenditure of Rs. 67,43,541 is shown against her.

As regards "unproductive works"—the expression is taken from the *Statistical Abstract*, the following table also will show that Bengal has been discriminated against:

Province	Mileage	Capital Outlay
Madras	716	4,03,94,528
Bombay	2,832	12,82,87,004
Bengal	70	84,92,053
United Provinces	447	3,11,86,812
Punjab	1,047	59,67,198
Burma	140	1,70,30,509
Bihar & Orissa	718	6,27,63,915
Central Provinces	352	6,63,17,678
N.-W. F. Pr.	138	2,20,14,647

If "unproductive" means unproductive, then more than thirty-eight crores of rupees have been wasted on these works.

### *Bengal Water-ways*

The Bengal Legislative Council has passed a Water-ways Bill. Its object is to improve the existing water-ways of Bengal for the purpose of navigation, and possibly also to construct new ones for the same purpose. Serviceable water-ways for navigation may be used for irrigation also to some extent but not as much as works constructed primarily for irrigation. Yet, as we have seen, little has been done for irrigation in Bengal by the Government. What may be done for navigation will benefit mainly East Bengal, from which Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi hails, and

which does not stand in need of irrigation so much as West Bengal.

But supposing water-ways used for navigation will facilitate irrigation as much as irrigation works proper, let us see what Government will spend for such water-ways. The magnificent sum of Rs. 2,50,000 per annum is to be spent for the purpose! It has been shown in the previous note that in the Panjab the sum of Rs. 32,78,02,051 has been spent on productive irrigation works in operation. To reach the Panjab standard of expenditure the Bengal Government will take just the brief period of thirteen centuries, or, to be precise, thirteen hundred and eleven years and a few months and days!

### *Government Educational Expenditure in Bengal*

It is not merely in agricultural education and irrigation that Bengal has been neglected. This has been the case in other matters also calculated to directly benefit the people. Take education. Expenditure on education from Government funds in different provinces is shown in the table printed below, compiled from the latest *Statistical Abstract* and *Census Report*.

Province	Population in 1931	Educational expenditure from Government Funds
Bengal	5,01,14,002	1,51,03,615
Bihar & Orissa	3,76,77,576	64,25,995
Bombay	2,19,30,601	2,04,27,146
Burma	1,46,67,146	84,95,340
C. P. & Berar	1,55,07,723	55,10,868
Madras	4,67,40,107	3,11,83,313
Panjab	2,35,80,852	1,85,13,340
U. P.	4,81,08,763	2,21,88,938

In considering the figures given above, it should be borne in mind that the Government of India derives more of its revenue from Bengal than from any two other provinces of India combined.

### *Official Up-to-date-ness*

The Tenth Issue of the *Statistical Abstract of British India* was printed in July, 1933, and the latest Census of India was taken in February, 1931. So between the printing of the *Statistical Abstract* and the taking of the census, there was roughly an interval of two years and a half. And in the meantime an abstract of census statistics had been officially

published. The two India volumes—*Report and Tables*—of the census of 1931 had also been printed in July, 1933. Yet, we find that the Tenth Issue of the *Statistical Abstract* gives the census figures according to the census of 1921!

### *The late Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyengar*

By the death of Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyengar, late editor of *The Hindu*, Indian



Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyengar

journalism has lost one of its most distinguished devotees. In addition to the other qualifications which a journalist should possess, he possessed an expert's knowledge of constitutional law and finance. He served his apprenticeship in journalism under his uncle Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyengar and wrote a book on the governance of India. Subsequently he became editor of the Tamil daily *Swadesamitran*. He succeeded his uncle in the editorship of *The Hindu*. This daily has had a succession of eminent editors. That under him it did not suffer any loss of

reputation testifies to his remarkable abilities. He was an adherent of the Congress and belonged to the Swarajya party, and acted for some time as secretary to both. He was for some time a member of the Legislative Assembly and made many able speeches there. He went to London as a "delegate" to the second so-called Round Table Conference and gave proof there of his knowledge of matters constitutional and of his controversial powers.

### *The late Mr. Madhusudan Das*

Mr. Madhusudan Das, who died last month at the advanced age of 86, was Orissa's first graduate. He was a distinguished lawyer and a still more distinguished practical patriot of Orissa. He devoted himself heart and soul to the resuscitation of the arts and crafts and cottage industries of Orissa. He lost large sums of money in the Utkal Tannery and other patriotic ventures. He was a Christian but was never de-nationalized. When the Prince of Wales came to India, Mr. Das was a minister of the Bihar and Orissa Government. So he had to attend the *darbar* of the Prince of Wales. But he refused to do so in European costume. It was decided in consequence that Indian ministers could attend the *darbar* in Indian dress. When Orissa was a part of the Province of Bengal Mr. Das was a member of its Legislative Council four times. In 1913 he was elected a member of the Imperial Council by the Bihar and Orissa Council. Under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, he was a minister of the Bihar and Orissa Council.

When it was proposed to reduce the salary of the B. and O. ministers, Mr. Das offered to serve without any salary, provided he was allowed to practise in the law-courts as a lawyer, for he was comparatively a poor man. Some of his reasons for being allowed to practise were that Bihar and Orissa was a comparatively poor Province, and hence all that could be done to reduce public expenditure should be done; that in the Local Self-Government Department many persons work as chairmen, members, etc., of municipalities and district and local boards

without salary, and therefore, "in an organization in which all the workers are honorary a salaried Minister mars the symmetry and harmony of the organization"; and that when persons like the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga and the Raja of Mahmudabad could be members of the Executive Council and it was not considered impracticable or incongruous for them at the same time to manage their vast estates and become parties to and witnesses in law-suits, it could not then be held objectionable for a minister to be a practising lawyer. But the Bihar Government did not accept his proposal. So he resigned.

At one time he had great influence over the Chiefs of Orissa, and they followed his advice and he kept watch over their interests. During the last years of his life he suffered from ill-health and financial worries, but never lost hope and enthusiasm for Orissa. He was one of the presidents of the Indian Christian Association.

### *The late Sir Provas Chunder Mitter*

Sir Provas Chunder Mitter was apparently in the best of health when he suddenly died of failure of the heart last month. He began life as a practising lawyer and ended his career as a Government officer, dying in harness. He was a very experienced and able officer, possessing complete mastery of the details of Bengal's educational and financial problems. No one had a more thorough grasp of the land revenue problem of Bengal. He had served the Bengal Government both as a minister and a member of the Executive Council. In politics, he belonged to the old Congress school, now known as the Indian Liberal party. He had served both the Indian and the British Indian Association in honorary official capacities. The fact that he was a member of the Rowlatt Committee and signed its report made him unpopular. As a "delegate" to the so-called Round Table Conference, he went to London twice, and was the first to claim for Bengal the proceeds of the Jute Export Duty. If Bengal gets even a portion of that duty, no small part of the credit will be his. He is also entitled to praise for the diminished capitation charges to be henceforth taken from India. It is

said that the outline of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme was his handiwork.

He was long connected with the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes in Bengal and Assam, for some time as its president and some time as its patron, and used to contribute to its funds. This Society has some 450 schools under its control, with some 18,000 boys and girls as pupils.

### *The late Swami Sivananda*

Swami Sivananda, President of the Ramkrishna Mission and Belur Math, passed away last month at the ripe old age of 80. He was a direct disciple of Paramhansa Ramkrishna. From youth upwards he was of a religious turn of mind. Coming in contact with and under the influence of the Paramhansa he renounced the world, gave up his job and became a sannyasin, rising gradually to be the head of the Mission. He spent some time in Ceylon as a preacher, and established several Ashrams in different parts of India. His life was uneventful, as that of sannyasins generally is.

### *Anglo-Soviet Trade Pact*

Anglo-Soviet trade relations have been re-established by the Anglo-Soviet Trade Pact. It "provides for the reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment of Soviet goods in the British Empire excluding the Dominions." This is an indirect recognition of the fact that the Dominions are no longer under British rule and imperialism. Apparently for wishing for such a condition for India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been sent to jail for two years.

The Pact proves that the communist Bolsheviks and the capitalist Britishers do not consider one another untouchable.

There has been a similar commercial rapprochement between capitalist America and communist Russia.

One touch of gold (or is it silver or paper ?) makes the whole world kin.

### *Government Servants and Politics*

NEW DELHI, Feb. 16

An important change defining what is meant by Government servants taking parts in politics and

elections has been gazetted today amending the Government Servants' Conduct Rules and substituting the following for sub-rule (1) of Rule 23, (1) Subject to provisions of Rule 22 and of any general or special order of the local Government no Government servant shall take part in, subscribe in aid of or assist in any way any political movement in India or relating to Indian affairs.

Explanation of the expression political movement includes any movement or activities tending directly or indirectly to excite disaffection against or to embarrass Government as by law established or to promote feelings of hatred or enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects or to disturb the public peace.

(2) No Government servant shall permit any person dependent on him for maintenance or under his care or control to take part in or in any way assist any movement or activity which is or tends directly or indirectly to be subversive of Government as by law established in India.

#### EXPLANATION

A Government servant shall be deemed to have permitted a person to take part in or assist a movement or activity within the meaning of clause (2) if he has not taken every precaution and done everything in his power to prevent such person from so acting or if when he knows or has reason to suspect that such person is so acting he does not at once inform the local Government or officer to whom he is subordinate. —A. P.

The old rule directed Government servants not to take part in or subscribe in aid of any political movement, etc. The changed rule prohibits assisting in any way any political movement. So the prohibition now becomes more comprehensive, vaguer and more elastic. That is the beauty of all such rules.

According to the old rule, if a Government servant had any doubt as to whether any action which he proposed to take would contravene this rule, he was to refer the matter to the local Government or the authority to which he was immediately subordinate, and thereafter act according to the orders received. Thus the old rule made things safe for those Government servants who could not themselves decide what to do. Would it be permissible for them now to seek the guidance of higher authorities ?

The explanation of "political movement" is comprehensive in its vagueness. It is difficult to say what may or may not embarrass Government. What *is* embarrassment ? Can or does anything really embarrass the august entity known as Government ? Henceforth many beneficial, or at any rate harmless, social, caste or communal movements and activities may come under this explanation.

Those who depend on or are under the care or control of Government servants are henceforth to consider themselves to be unpaid Government servants. Government servants may henceforth be made responsible for whatever their sons or other relatives, forming a joint family, may do, unless the joint family be legally broken up, or the sons, etc., are disinherited and driven away from home; for these are included in "every precaution" and "everything in his power."

The father or other guardian, when he is a Government servant, is practically to be required to do a bit of informer's work, without extra payment, in relation to his wards.

The altered conditions of Government service may not bring Government into increased hatred or contempt. But they will not enhance the affection or respect which the near relatives and friends of Government servants should feel for them.

### *Calcutta Celluloid Works Ltd.*

The Calcutta Celluloid Works was at first established as a private concern by Mr. J. N. Bose, who has learned the art of making celluloid and celluloid articles in Japan. Having succeeded in producing articles of high quality and finish, which we have ourselves seen and liked after use, he has recently converted the factory into a limited liability company, with a strong board of directors. We are glad to find our own impressions confirmed by the opinions pronounced by distinguished industrialists and men of business. Recently Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray, accompanied by Sj. Rajsekhar Bose, late manager of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Mr. J. C. Das, managing director of the Bengal Central Bank Ltd., and others paid a visit to the factory.

Mr. J. N. Bose, Managing Director of the Company, took him over the whole factory and explained to him each stage of the work that is being done there. Acharya Ray was perfectly satisfied with all that he saw. The finished articles of daily use appeared to him to be of very good quality. It was a matter of great gratification to him that this purely Indian concern was such a success within a short period of time. He cordially congratulated the Company on its success and wished it a long, glorious and useful career.

### *Madras School of Arts Exhibition*

The Madras School of Arts Exhibition continues to be popular. *The Hindu* reviews it as follows, in part :

The third annual exhibition of the Government School of Arts is a most interesting show and a striking evidence of the progress which the school is making from year to year. The average is distinctly higher and the technique as varied as it is interesting.

Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, the Principal, exhibits extremes of handling in his "Namaz" and "Mountain Maid," the one precise and delicate, the other bold and virile, differences which are well in harmony with the themes of their subjects. Mr. Chowdhury's two portrait busts of his wife and of Sir Archibald Campbell are works of great merit. Mr. V. R. Chitra is perhaps the only one to work in the traditional style and as such his works possess a distinct value of their own. His little portraits of Kashmiri maidens are delicately charming. His "Returning from the Pond" and "Musicians" are remarkable specimens of tempera work. Mr. Syed Hamel's "Through the Leaves" is a high key subject well carried out. A powerful picture is Mr. Lokayyas "Meditation of Siva." "Pohait" and "Priest" by Mr. V. D. Govindaraj are two works which leave little to be desired from them. The "Old Couple" by Mr. Dastidar is, perhaps, the most outstanding work in the show. Mr. B. M. Sein's "Twin" breathes the same sentiment though entirely different in its composition. Quite the best sculptural work seen for some years past in Madras is "Rasa-lila," a somewhat large panel in relief which depicts a well composed group of dancers and possesses a wonderful sense of movement.

#### CRAFT SECTION

It is in the craft section that progress is most evident and the specimens of work exhibited here cover a wide range of activity. For the first time in an exhibition one can see displayed suites of furniture suitable for Indian homes. The designs are by Mr. V. R. Chitra, who has evidently spent a good deal of thought and care in the work. The lacquered furniture of the school is pretty well known by this time and in the present show some choice specimens are exhibited. Charming examples of jewellery enamels are in a case by themselves. Their design and colouring are most tasteful and novel. This craft which, though quite new to the school, has been well mastered and the specimens of work compare very well with those of more reputed firms.

### *The Aga Khan to be Prime Minister ?*

A rumour has been set afloat that the Aga Khan will be made the first prime-minister of Federated India.

Broadly speaking there are two classes of politically-minded Indians. One class will work the White Paper scheme, the other will not. Nothing need be said regarding the numerical strength or the comparative ability, devotion to the cause of the country and

the sacrifices made for it by these two parties. The prime minister will be chosen from the former class. If the choice is to fall on the ablest man, irrespective of communal considerations, there are men far abler, more public-spirited, more devoted to the cause of India and more in touch with the country than the Aga Khan. If the choice must fall on a Muhammadan, even then there are abler, more public-spirited and fitter persons than the Aga Khan.

### *The Railway Budget Deficit*

The Railway Budget continues to show a deficit, though it is less than in the immediately preceding years. It is said the railways have seen the worst, and better days are in store for them. May it be so.

Of the causes of railway deficits some are temporary, economic depression, for example. With the gradual disappearance of this factor, there would be a corresponding decrease in the deficit.

As many a little makes a mickle, some Government measures, for example those in Bengal to cope with the non-violent Congress movement or similar ones meant for combating terrorism, must have contributed, to however small an extent, to produce deficits. To frustrate the efforts of Congressmen to hold the last session of the Congress in Calcutta, tickets were not issued from many stations to Calcutta for some days as freely as usual. Similar steps were taken in some districts to prevent the holding of political conferences by Congressmen. Recently by order of the District Magistrate of Chittagong the running of some of the usual trains to and from Chittagong was discontinued for a certain period. In the Midnapur district also freedom of movement has been considerably hampered. Young Indian strangers are looked upon all over India—particularly Bengalis and in Bengal, with suspicion owing to political causes. For this reason adventurous young men even of a non-political bent of mind are not unoften disinclined to travel.

Strategic railway lines have never been paying. As these were constructed and are meant to keep Britain's hold over India—at least mainly, the cost of their construction and upkeep ought to be paid by the British people, at least in great part.

The costliness of railway administration in India is due to a great extent to the fact of its being top-heavy. Pandit Chandrika Prasad has shown again and again that in no country of the world is there such a vast difference between the salaries paid to the highest grades and those paid to the lowest class of railway servants. The highest and higher salaries can be considerably reduced without any loss of efficiency, and so they ought to be reduced. The lowest grade employees ought to get at least a living wage.

The railways should and can be completely Indianized in the course of a definitely fixed short period, Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans being considered as and treated on a footing of equality with Indians. This would make it easier to effect economies.

Third-class passengers are the mainstay of income from passenger traffic. Yet the railway administration cares the least for the health, convenience and comfort of third-class passengers. We are not quite sure whether in all railways all third class compartments even in through trains are provided with lavatories. Third-class lavatories, where they exist, ought to have a sufficient supply of water, and also light at night and daylight during day time. There should be fans, for use in summer, in all third class carriages. It is true, third-class passengers have no fans in their houses. But there they are not compelled to keep inside their rooms always; they can often live in the open. And it should be borne in mind that, except in big towns, even second class passengers do not all have fans in their houses, and yet the railways give them fans.

In through trains for long night journeys there ought to be some sleeping accommodation even for third-class passengers.

Several times every year higher class passengers are offered considerable concessions for return journeys, and ordinary return tickets also can be had by these passengers at concession rates. Third-class passengers have no such advantages. They should be given these advantages. Even for ordinary single journeys the fares taken from third-class passengers can and should be reduced.

The Eastern Bengal Railway is a State railway just like the East Indian Railway. Yet the fares in the former are higher than

in the latter. It has been said that the length of the lines in the former are less than the length in the latter, and therefore higher fares have to be charged. But that is no justification. In all provinces, there are some districts of which the civil administration, postal work, etc., are carried on at a loss. But for that reason the Government do not charge higher registration fees and court fees and postal rates in those unremunerative districts than in other ones. Moreover, the high rates of fares in the E. B. Railway stand in the way of growth of passenger traffic and of profits.

Passengers in central, east and north Bengal have another disadvantage. Travelling in these parts is comparatively slow. For example, the distance from Calcutta to Allahabad is much greater than the distance from Calcutta to Chittagong. Yet one can travel from Calcutta to Allahabad in 13 or 14 hours, but the journey from Calcutta to Chittagong takes some 24 hours. True, part of the latter journey has to be performed by steamer. But there is no reason why river navigation should be so slow as it is. The steamer fares charged do not err on the side of cheapness.

The treatment of the third-class passengers by railway servants admits of still further improvement, though it must be admitted that there has been some improvement.

Regarding goods traffic, it is sure to improve and prove remunerative if the railways adopt a policy and rates which would promote Indian industries. There should not be even the shadow of a suspicion left that the railways are meant mainly to push the export of raw materials abroad for their import to India in the form of manufactured articles and to promote imports of other foreign manufactured goods also. Indian railways should do all that is possible in the way of reduction of freight, etc., to promote Indian industries and agriculture.

### **Statutory Railway Authority**

The railways in India have cost the Indian taxpayer some 850 crores of rupees, when loans were taken for them they were guaranteed on the security of the general revenues of India, and at least 75 crores of rupees have been paid on interest charges alone. The railways are in fact the property

of the people of India. What the intention of the present Government of Great Britain is in seeking to set up a statutory railway authority by legislation in the British Parliament, does not matter. Whatever the intention, if the statutory railway authority be set up by parliamentary legislation—not by legislation by the highest Indian legislature, and if, as has been proposed in the White Paper, the Secretary of State has the power of recruitment of the railway services, the people of India would be practically expropriated and the Indian railways would be managed in the interests of British merchants, manufacturers and shippers and in those of job-seeking Britishers.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh had tabled a cut motion in the Legislative Assembly which resulted in a debate on the subject of the Statutory Railway Authority.

"It was Mr. Neogy's ruthless analysis of the London scheme that brought the Assembly to realize the dangerous implications of the language of the London Committee's report, and how necessary it was to emphasize the opinion which Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, himself a member of the London Committee, declared yesterday, namely, that legislation setting up the Railway Authority should be undertaken in India and not by the British Parliament."

Mr. K. C. Neogy, leader of the Democratic party, pointed out forcibly that

the meaning of the motion was that the fullest freedom be preserved for this Assembly to legislate in whatsoever manner it liked for setting up a managing agency for the administration of railways in India costing Rs. 850 crores to the Indian taxpayers and that the same right should remain unfettered for this Assembly's successor in regard to amendment of such statute. He and his party would vote only in that sense and not in the narrow sense mentioned by Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar that legislation should be undertaken in India and not by Parliament. Whatever authority was set up for the administration of railways, whether it was called Statutory Railway Board or any other name, it must be subordinate to the Central Legislature and would act as mere agents for the purpose.

Recalling his own speeches in the Assembly on the subject, which he described as a voice in the wilderness, Mr. Neogy pointed out how this point about the Statutory Authority was practically kept away from the influence of the legislature and was smuggled in by the Government of India in their despatch on the Simon Commission Report and specifically mentioned in the report of the Federal Structure Committee of the first so-called Round Table Conference.

When objection was taken by member after member against this way of doing things the Maharaja of Bikaner was quoted as having approved of it, but the Maharaja of Bikaner disowned it. With such a past as to its origin the matter was again discussed by the Consultative Committee in India when the Indian members again recorded their decision against legislation being undertaken in England on the ground that it would interfere with the authority of the Government of India in railway matters.

Mr. Neogy proceeded to describe our railway systems as the biggest socialist institution of the world, as they were owned by the people, worked for the people and for the benefit of the people. We think they would really be a socialistic institution when they would be entirely Indianized, being controlled and run by Indians alone. Mr. Neogy reminded the Assembly that, in years past,

when loans were taken, they were guaranteed on the security of the general revenues of the country and how at least Rs. 75,00,00,000 were paid as interest charges alone. That is why the proprietorship of the present or the Federal Government was recognized even in the Government scheme. But what about the agency? The legislature might not exercise full or detailed control, but the fundamental principle that the taxpayers of the country were the principals of the railway property must be fully recognized and not left in any doubt. They could delegate the authority for administering railways to anybody. It could be by legislation or by convention, as was done in the case of separation of the railway finance from the general finance. India would therefore object to legislation by means of adaptation clause, for that really meant Parliamentary control, as the meaning of that phrase was brought out during the discussions on the Reserve Bank Bill.

Mr. Neogy then rebutted the points in Mr. Mudaliar's speech.

He feared that, far from the Secretary of State wiping himself out the moment the Statutory Authority was established, he would really pop his head like Jack in the box; for in the matter of appointments and dismissals the power was largely in the hands of the Governor-General and it would be the Governor-General taking orders from the Secretary of State. It had been clearly specified that the president of the Board would be appointed by the Governor-General and would have the right of access to the Governor-General. Where was the need for this right of access? Then the Governor-General would appoint half the number of members of the Board and in the case of the Chief Commissioner of Railways, his appointment would be subject to confirmation by the Governor-General, which means again taking orders from the Secretary of State.

#### SERVICES AND FINANCE

Mr. Neogy referred to the voting powers of the Assembly and said that the moment separate authority was appointed without the Assembly being given the right of legislation for, and the control of, its managing agency, then the Public Accounts Com-

mittee's scrutiny of the railway accounts, now exercised, would disappear and the auditor-general would not be able to observe the first canon of his duties as regards public expenditure, and this technical check to over-extravagance would be gone.

As regards recruitment of services to railways, Mr. Neogy thought that the Secretary of State would interfere not only when questions connected with communal claims came up, but in the matter of Indianization also the Secretary of State would exercise control by regarding the railway service as a key service, even as Sir Thomas Ryan, when appearing as Secretary of the Railway Board as a witness before the Islington Commission, treated it. He had this fear, because the White Paper stated that "the question of recruitment by the Secretary of State to superior medical and railway services is under examination and His Majesty's Government hope to submit their recommendation to the Joint Select Committee."

Sir Henry Gidney interposed, pointing out that no decision had been reached and the Secretary of State had promised to submit a note.

Mr. Neogy quoted from the London Committee's report to show that the Secretary of State would always interfere in the service and the Public Service Commission in India would be consulted only with regard to the framing of rules for recruitment.

Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. James spoke after Mr. Neogy. They were followed by Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. Ranga Iyer, Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Sir Joseph Blore. The President brought the debate to a close by saying:

I have been told that the object of the sponsors of the motion and that of the Independent, Democratic, Nationalist and the Centre parties is that they desire to convey their opinion, that "the Constitution Act should merely contain a clause requiring the establishment of Statutory Railway Authority and that its constitution, functions and powers shall be subject to legislation, initial as well as amending, in the Indian Central Legislature."

This was incorporated in the report of the day's proceedings, and Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh was allowed to withdraw his token cut motion.

The Assembly has pronounced its opinion; but the Secretary of State, the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the British Ministry and the British Parliament are not bound to act according to the views of the Assembly. Hence our apprehension is that the people of India would be deprived of their proprietorship of the Indian railways and they would be kept in economic bondage partly by means of these lines of railroad.

#### *Proscribed American Publications*

We did not know that "Gandhi *versus* the Empire" by Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, an



American publication, had been proscribed by the Government of India. But the following paragraphs from *Unity* of Chicago say that it has been :

"*Gandhi Versus the Empire*" by Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, unanimously conceded by the American press to be the best book on Gandhi and modern India, has been banned by the British Government of India, according to advices from India.

"The Government of India have prohibited the importation by post into British India of (a) the book entitled "*Gandhi Versus the Empire*" by Haridas T. Muzumdar, published by the Universal Publishing Company, New York, U. S. A., or (b) any translation, reprint or other document containing substantial reproductions of the matter contained in the said book."

"*Gandhi Versus the Empire*," by Dr. Muzumdar is in good company. The previous American publications proscribed by the British Government are Will Durant's "*The Case for India*," Dr. J. T. Sunderland's "*India in Bondage*," and Bishop Fred B. Fisher's "*That Strange Little Brown Man—Gandhi*."

The British Government's proscription of "*Gandhi Versus the Empire*" is in the opinion of the author, Dr. Muzumdar, very curious and unintelligent, "because four-fifths of the book consists of Gandhi's own writings and speeches, especially his ten historic speeches at the Second Round Table Conference."

### ***Revival of Filipino Freedom Question***

In the course of one of his letters contributed to the dailies owned by the "Free Press," Dr. Sudhindra Bose of America refers to the revival of the question of Filipino independence. Says he :

After a year of bitter fighting over the Hawes-Cutting Filipino independence act in the Philippine Islands, the controversial question is now back in Washington again. The Philippine Legislature, which has rejected the Hawes-Cutting bill, has sent to this country an independence mission headed by Senator Manuel Quezon, dominant political figure in the Islands. Quezon and his fellow-missioners are now in Washington to appeal to President Roosevelt and Congress for a new independence act. Quezon said the Filipinos demand that "we should be granted our independence as soon as we establish the Philippine republic—which cannot take more than two or three years."

#### **A NEW PROGRAM OUTLINED**

Many liberal-minded Americans say, the last thing they want to do is to have to fight to keep the Philippine Islands, which they do not want and which do not want them. The Foreign Policy Association of New York and the Carnegie World Peace Foundation submitted to President Roosevelt last week a six-point programme of independence for the Islands, designed to "furnish a fair and equitable arrangement" satisfactory to both the United States and its insular possession.

Evidently it is not sedition in the United

States of America for a dependency to ask and agitate for independence.

### ***Distribution of Salt Import Duty Proceeds***

Major D. Graham Pole put a question in the British Parliament in connection with the distribution between the Provinces of the proceeds of the additional import duty on salt. The Under-Secretary of State for India has been in communication with the Government of India on this matter and writes to the Major :

"I am now able to inform you that there is no present intention of discontinuing the distribution of seven-eighths of the proceeds of the additional import duty on salt between the Provinces that consume imported salt. Under this arrangement Bengal received Rs. 5.37 lakhs in 1931-32 and Rs. 5.50 lakhs (Revised Estimate) in 1932-33 ; but the amount distributable depends on the proceeds of the tax, and as the rate of duty was reduced last March, it is not unlikely that the share of Bengal in 1933-34 will be less than in the previous years."

The Legislative Assembly Salt Industry Committee observe in their report that

When the additional import duty was first imposed, it was decided that seven-eighths of the proceeds should be allotted to the Local Government in which imported salt was consumed in proportion to their share in the trade. Reports obtained from the Central Board of Revenue show that very little money has been devoted by the local Governments out of these proceeds to expenditure in connection with the development of the salt industry in their areas and that practically the whole has been absorbed by the Local Governments concerned, for use in meeting expenditure incurred on general purposes. The Committee are informed that out of the one-eighth share that was reserved by the Central Government there will be available by the end of the next financial year a sum of Rs. 2½ lakhs after allowing for the actual expenditure and commitments of the Central Government in respect of developments at Khewra and other purposes, and the Committee recommend that the Government of India should inform the local Governments that they are prepared, if schemes are submitted, to allot money for local salt development work from this balance.

### ***Chittagong Doings and Interests***

From the collective fines imposed on the Hindus of Chittagong and the various restrictive and repressive measures taken against Hindu boys and young men there, outsiders may be under the impression that the people

of Chittagong, particularly the Hindus, have developed only one interest, *viz.*, terrorism, and specialized in it. But, the fact is, the cult of terrorism is confined to a minority of which the numerical strength is not known. Chittagong people have developed other and far different interests. During a few hours' recent visit we got acquainted with the Arya Sangit Samiti, an association which cultivates and teaches music; an electric supply company; the Chittagong Sahitya Parishat, which promotes the cause of Bengali literature and cultivates acquaintance with it; and a private girls' school which has got an enrolment of 240 pupils in the course of two years—and this in addition to a Government girls' school of longer standing, which has a larger number of pupils. Chittagong is the only mofussil town in Bengal which has a daily paper, *Panchajanya*. But that which took us to Chittagong was the ceremony of laying the foundation of a new cotton mills, which was performed by Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta. The Company is non-communal and has a strong board of directors. There is every probability of the Mills proving a great success. "The natural resources of the district of Chittagong and its neighbouring districts for cotton industry are immense. Over 3 lac maunds of raw cotton is grown in Chittagong alone. Its humid climate and large supply of skilled weavers in Chittagong and Noakhali, its port and its facilities in rivers and railways are special features suitable for Cotton Mills."

We have also had the privilege, during our visit, of taking part in the unveiling of two portraits of that fearless leader, *Desapriya* Jatindra Mohan Sen-Gupta.

#### *Midnapur Magistrate has No Use for Mahatma Gandhi*

The District Magistrate of Midnapur has written to Mr. B. N. Sasmal that it is undesirable that Mahatma Gandhi should visit his district just now. This does not mean that the Magistrate has no use for non-violence or a preacher of non-violence in that district. The Magistrate certainly wants that the people of Midnapur collectively and every individual non-official there should refrain from the use of force. As for officials in the executive and police departments, from the days of Lord Irwin, if not from an

earlier period, we have been accustomed to the doctrine that minimum force may and should be used by them against non-officials, if necessary, when they indulge in civil disobedience and on other similar occasions, the choice of the occasions and the decision of what is the minimum being practically left to those local men on the spot. Moreover, we have been recently told in the Bengal Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Reid that some damage to non-officials' property in consequence of some activities of officials is unavoidable. Such unavoidable damage implies the use of minimum force by officials. Now Mahatma Gandhi, being a thorough-going "Non-violenceist," may not subscribe to the doctrines of the justifiability of minimum force in the official sense and of the unavoidableness of some damage to non-official property on some occasions. So, if during a visit to Midnapur, he heard of such use of force and such damage, he might give frank expression to his opinion about them. This might lead to complications, which the Magistrate probably wished to avoid.

Moreover, though for the present Mahatma Gandhi has kept all his political activities in abeyance, nobody can forget or has forgotten that he is India's greatest political leader, the field-marshal in fact of India's non-violent freedom's fight. So his mere presence might rekindle the dying embers of the non-violent martial fire.

#### *Indian States Protection Bill*

Some years ago there was passed a Princes' Protection Act, on the main ground that some editors were blackmailers and the helpless princes required to be protected against such rascals. Since its passage, that Act has been made use of only twice or thrice, showing that among the seven hundred and odd princes and chiefs, two or three have had some grievance remediable by that Act. The "liberties," such as they were, of all Indian journalists ought not to have been curtailed for such a trifling reason. These same rascally blackmailers have been again trotted out by Sir Muhammad Yakub in his Assembly speech in justification of the Indian States Protection Bill. He says some princes give feasts to journalists and present them with thick packets of currency notes. Supposing

that is true, the Bill ought to provide punishment for the bribing princes also, which, of course, it does not.

The new bill has been named the *States Protection Bill*. But though Louis XIV of France said, "I am the State," we have not got 700 Louis XIVs among us, nor has any prince declared that he is the State. So protection of the princes is not identical with protection of the States. It may be objected that the administration of the States must be protected. But as there is reign of law in very few States, the rulers' will being law, the princes and the administration are identical. So the name *States Protection Bill* is a misnomer.

It is the people of the States who require protection, rather than the princes. In very many States they are subjected to oppression and misrule. In most States there is no Press, and where there is any, there is not even as much freedom of the Press as there is in British India. So the people of those States in which there is misrule cannot ventilate their grievances within the States. Their grievances are ventilated, and that, too, rarely, in papers in British India. Even that means would practically cease to be available on the Bill becoming law. It has been and may be said that newspapers indulging in fair and legitimate criticism need have no fear. But journalists know to their cost that there is no definite criterion of fair and legitimate criticism, and that the tendency of all such laws is to increase the arbitrariness of the executive.

Another way in which the States' people could ventilate their grievances was to hold conferences in British India. But the new bill has a section which would enable the Magistrate of the place where such a Conference might be proposed to be held to stop such an assemblage of men. So, when the Home Member asked people to reconcile themselves to autocratic rule in the States, he was not joking!

The States, no doubt, require to be protected against conspiracies against them in British India and against *jathas* intruding into them from British India in order to overawe them. But the introduction of a Bill providing against these things long after the

fate which overtook Kashmir and Alwar, looks like elucidating the meaning of the proverbial shutting of the stable-door after the horse has been stolen. Nevertheless, if a law penalizing only conspiracies and *jathas* of the above description be enforced in a non-communal manner, it may do some good. All the other clauses of the Bill should be scrapped.

It has been said that, as the Princes or their nominees would sit in the Federal Legislature side by side with the representatives of British India, if there be criticism of the States in British India the harmonious working of the Federation would not be possible. That is a funny idea. The different Provinces would form parts of the Federation. Is it intended or contended that there should not be any criticism of one Province in or from another? If it be allowable, as it certainly is, for men and papers in one Province to criticize and agitate against the doings in another, why should the men and papers in any part of British India be prevented from having their say on the happenings in any Indian State? Surely the States are not sacrosanct.

Mr. James made a speech in the Assembly in connection with this protection bill from which it seems that the Government want the Indian States to enact Arms Acts, as otherwise the smuggling of revolvers, etc., by terrorists and would-be terrorists cannot be completely prevented; and so the princes want, as a sort of *quid pro quo*, that they should be protected against British-Indian criticism! Is there a bargain like this?

In any case, it would be interesting to know who among the Princes have asked for protection. The contentment of the people, produced by good government according to a popular constitution, is the only sure protection and the only protection worth having. He who asks for protection against criticism has a guilty conscience, and writes himself down as an imbecile or a tyrant, or both.

It has been surmised that the *States Protection Bill* would be an inducement for the princes to join the Federation. But have they really wanted such an inducement? If so, while they themselves want protection against blackmailers, they would themselves be considered guilty of blackmailing.

### ***Silver Jubilee of Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society, Ltd.***

The celebration of the silver jubilee of the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society, Limited, on the 13th February last at the Calcutta Town Hall under the presidency of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was a brilliant success. The striking progress which the Society has made bears witness to the practical idealism and foresight of its originator, the late Mr. Ambikacharan Ukil and of Mr. Surendranath Tagore and other active promoters, as well as to the ability and industry of its present general manager, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker and his co-workers. We wish still greater progress and success to the Society than it has yet achieved.

### ***Work Done by Bengal Industries Department***

A press note has been issued on the work done by the Industries Department of the Government of Bengal in 1932-33. Considering the very limited resources at the disposal of the Bengal Government, much useful work appears to have been done by the Department.

The most noticeable features of the work of this Department during this period were :

- (i) a new orientation of Government's Stores Purchase Policy ;
- (ii) the appointment of the Board of Industries and the bringing into operation of the State Aid to Industries Act ; and
- (iii) the inauguration of a scheme of economic reconstruction in order to attempt the solution of the problem of middle-class unemployment.

### ***The Bengal Budget***

This is the budget season. While provinces like Madras and Bombay have been able to draw up budgets showing small surpluses, the Bengal budget shows a deficit of more than two crores of rupees, amounting to about 25 per cent of the entire amount of the budget. This is not the first time that the Province has a deficit budget. Bengal has been the milch cow of the Government of India since the beginning of British rule. Bengal publicists have known this fact for years. And for some years past the Bengal Government also have been admitting that the Government of India have been taking from the Province more than from any two other provinces combined. It would not do to say, Bengal must suffer because she has the permanent settlement of

land revenue. That settlement was not the work of the people of Bengal. If it must be unsettled, let the successors of those British administrators who were its authors break their pledges and do it. In any case, if that settlement was wrong, that mistake cannot justify the legalized spoliation of Bengal by the Central Government, which has been going on for decades.

### ***Bill for Suppression of Terrorism***

The Select Committee has made some minor improvements in the Bill for the suppression of terrorism in Bengal. The death penalty for the manufacture, sale or possession of arms without licence has been retained. No wonder, Mr. N. K. Basu, one of the members of the select committee, has not signed its report.

### ***Protection of the Name Khaddar***

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's bill for the protection of the names Khadi and Khaddar, as applied to cloth woven in handlooms from handspun yarn, has passed through the Legislative Assembly unopposed. Bombay mill-owners had been making money by manufacturing mill-made Khaddar—that was the *raison d'être* of the bill.

### ***Renewed Trouble in Kashmir***

There is trouble again in Kashmir. For, in the opinion of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, "*even the administration of a British Prime Minister has failed to win the confidence of the people of Kashmir*," etc., etc. Hence, the Muslim politician-poet, "in view of the alarming situation that has arisen (or has been made to arise ?), considers that the time has come when the Paramount Power should boldly face the situation with a view to insure lasting peace in this unfortunate valley." Will a Muslim Prime Minister and a Muslim Maharaja be able to insure lasting peace ? Alas, there is no lasting peace even in Germany, Austria, France, etc., where there is self-rule or what passes in the world for such !

### ***Revolution Abroad***

If the Bengal Government, backed by the Bengal Legislative Council, had the power, revolution or something like it could have been prevented in Austria, France, Nicaragua, Cuba, etc. But as these countries are not under firm British rule, there is much trouble there.

## *Russo-Japanese War Again*

Moscow, Feb. 11.

Ominous details of Japanese military measures in Manchuria are enumerated by General Blaecher, Chief Commander, Soviet Far Eastern Armies, in an address at the annual Communist Congress. He declared emphatically that Japan was preparing for a war against the Soviet and had converted North Manchuria into a drill ground wherefrom to jump off to the Soviet. She had undertaken tremendous strategical road, railway and air port construction and had accommodated one-third of the whole Japanese army there.

The Soviet was taking counter measures and had reinforced the army with the best units and mechanism, while the frontier was belted with iron and concrete "able to withstand even the strongest teeth of the aggressor."—Reuter.

## *Racial Discrimination in Railways*

In Indian State Railways,

during the year 1932-33, out of 5,774 posts carrying a salary of Rs. 250 a month and over, 2,355 were held by Anglo-Indians and 1,252 by Europeans, and out of 2,654 posts carrying the same salary on the company-managed railways 512 were held by Europeans, and 1,165 by Anglo-Indians. The European and Anglo-Indian employees enjoy better conditions of service than Indian employees of the same grade. For example, the authorities of the East Indian Railway spend more money on one single school at Mussoorie which is reserved for European and Anglo-Indian children, than on all the existing Indian schools combined, maintained by them. The Indian employees and their families do not receive the same facilities for medical relief as the European and Anglo-Indian employees and their families do.

## *Subhash Chandra Bose's Views*

In the course of a statement to the Press, sent from Geneva, Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose observes :

In the domain of our external policy, our own socio-political views or predilections should not prejudice us against people or nations holding different views, whose sympathy we may nevertheless be able to acquire. This is a universal cardinal principle in external policy and it is because of this principle that today in Europe a pact between Soviet-Russia and Fascist Italy is not only a possibility but an accomplished fact. Therefore, in our external policy, we should heartily respond to any sympathy for India which we may find in any part of the world.

In determining internal policy, it would be a fatal error to say that the choice for India lies between Communism and Fascism. No standpoint or theory in socio-political affairs can be the last word in human wisdom. The socio-political theories and institutions of the modern nations are the product of their history, environment and needs. They are liable to change and development just as human life is. Moreover, it should be remembered

that some of the most interesting institutions of the present day are still experiments. Time must elapse before they could be declared to be successful, and, in the meantime, we should not mortgage our intellect anywhere. My own view has always been that India's task is to work out a synthesis of all that is useful and good in the different movements that we see today. For this purpose we shall have to study with critical sympathy all the movements and experiments that are going on in Europe and America. And we would be guilty of folly if we ignore any movement or experiment because of any preconceived bias or predilection.

Obviously Mr. Bose has kept an open mind.

## *The Late King of the Belgians*

The late King of the Belgians, who died last month as the result of a mountaineering accident, fought during the last great war with great ability and courage for preserving the independence of his country against the German invasion. This won him the admiration of his people and impartial foreigners.

## *Separation of Burma*

Many reasons have been assigned for the separation of Burma from India. But the real reason is that British exploiters want to exploit the vast mineral and forest resources of Burma without any effective opposition, such as united Indo-Burman opposition may prove to be if there be no separation.

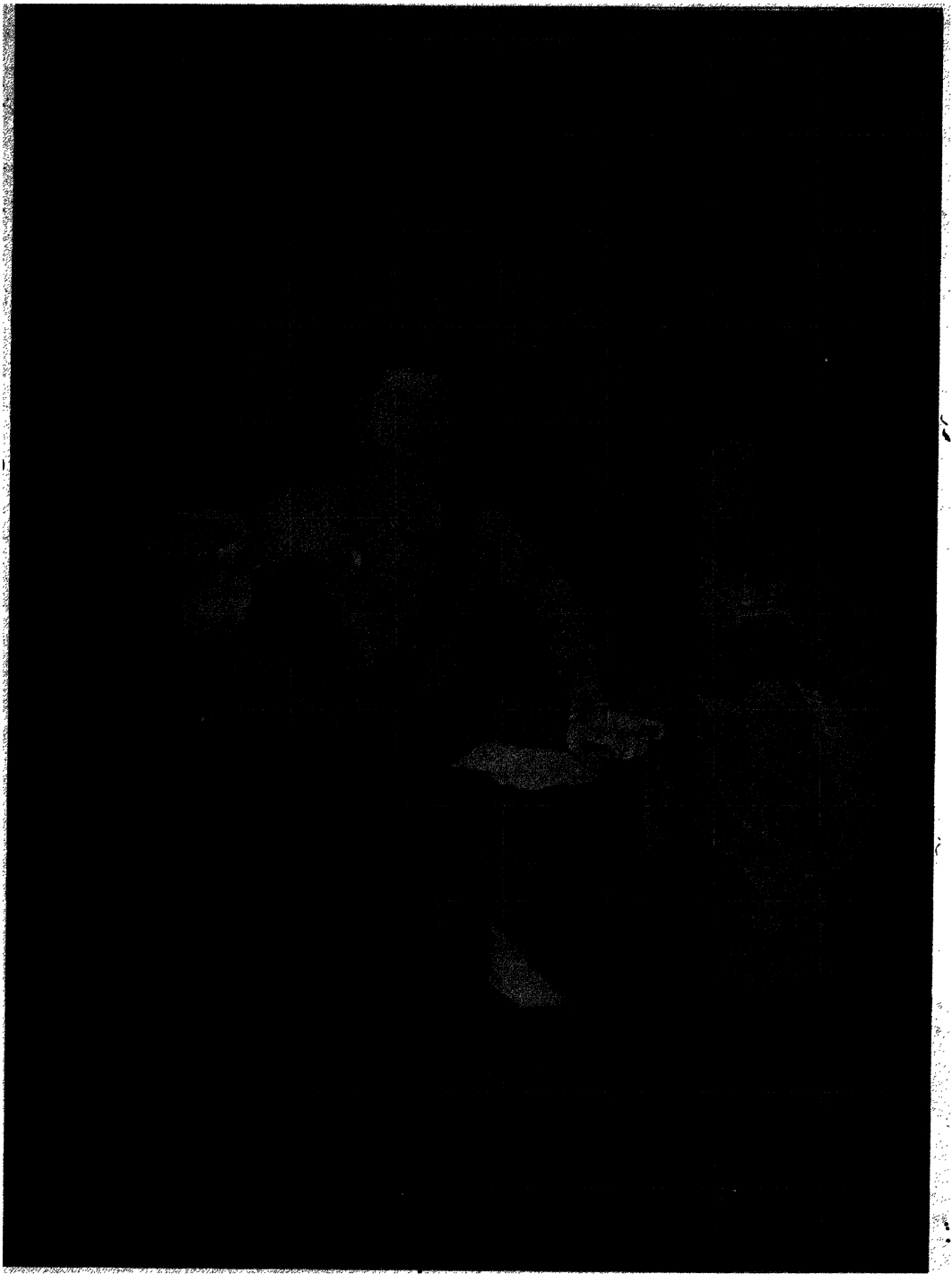
## *Winston Churchill on the Last War*

In his book on the "World Crisis" Mr. Winston Churchill asks : "What did the Thugs do which the Christian nations did not do in the last war ?" As for the steps taken by both sides to secure victory, he observes : "When all was over, torture and cannibalism were the only two expedients that the civilized, scientific, Christian states had been able to deny themselves : and these were of doubtful utility."

## *Indian Pins and Paper-clips*

We have used the paper-clips and pins manufactured by Messrs. Gor and Co. of Bombay and found them satisfactory.



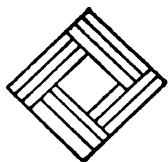


**KRISHNA AND BIDUR**  
**By Durgashankar Bhattacharya**

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## SHOULD THE LEAGUE BE ARMED ?

*Reasons against an International Police Force*

By WILFRED WELLOCK

THE failure of the Disarmament Conference has had one surprising result : it has caused a large number of prominent peace workers to espouse the cause of an International Police Force. The effect of this has been to place the demand for such a force in the very forefront of peace propaganda. For that reason the proposal, with all its implications, must be carefully examined.

The chief argument in favour of an International Police Force appears to be that it is the only condition upon which the Powers can be induced to disarm, since it alone offers the security which halting States demand return for a surrender of military power. In other words, "pooled security" is held to be essential to disarmament in this heavily-armed age. The case against the proposal is, in my opinion, overwhelming.

### IS IT A POLICE FORCE ?

In the first place, the term "police" force is a misnomer, and gives a false impression of what is intended by the proposal. Indeed, the International Police Force is not a police force at all, but a military instrument pure and simple. Were its purpose to protect the world from pirates and brigands, etc., in certain waters, or in certain wild places of the earth, something might be said for

it, but it is definitely intended to be used to subdue and coerce "offending" Powers. Police forces "lock up" offenders, have them tried and, if found guilty, put in prison. But you can't imprison a guilty nation, nor indeed a guilty Government, nor groups of warmongers and armament-makers in a foreign land. The International Police Force would be expected to invade an offending country and if need be, to kill a larger or smaller number of its people, the innocent with the guilty, including women and children. It might indeed be used by a majority of States within the League of Nations, and be opposed by a minority group of States, and thus become involved in a world war.

### BETRAYING THE REAL PURPOSE OF THE LEAGUE

Thus we must ask whether the placing of a powerful military instrument --and it must be powerful to serve its purpose --in the hands of the League would not betray the real purpose of the League, since it would inevitably tend to make the League think in terms of military power and cause it to devote less and less attention to the methods of peace, whose use it is surely the supreme mission of the League to foster. The establishment of an International Police Force would unquestionably emphasize the idea that force is



indispensable to the maintenance of international peace, whereas what we want to see is the League becoming an effective peace instrument, appealing to and developing the great reservoirs of moral and spiritual energy which are available, but which have never yet been harnessed to the cause of peace. Furthermore, by introducing the revolver do we not jeopardize truth, and thus the cause of peace, since by exalting the factor of "might," which has been the bane of the centuries, we tie ourselves to the very evil from which we desire to escape?

### AN IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

Obviously the supreme purpose of the League of Nations, and by the fulfilment of which it will ultimately be judged, is to substitute moral for military force, and all the energy of pacifists and of pacifist organizations ought to be directed to making the League the world's most powerful moral instrument. But despite its many welcome achievements, we must face the fact that when the supreme tests arrive, the League collapses, either from lack of faith in the moral appeal, or because the Powers which control it are swayed by selfish and imperialist motives or considerations connected with the evergrowing menace of the class war. The Sino-Japanese conflict over Manchuria is a case in point. That issue provided the League with a golden opportunity of vindicating its moral power and authority; but, for such reasons as I have named, it failed ignominiously to use it.

But then many other clashes are taking place between the Great Powers which are equally ominous—as, for instance, between Japan and the U. S. A., Japan and Russia, many Capitalist States and Russia, and between Italy, France and Germany over the control of certain Balkan States and even Austria. Moreover, does it require much foresight to predict at no distant date conflict within the League between Fascist and Anti-Fascist States, and ultimately between Fascist and Socialist (and Communist) States, whence the League would become the battle-ground in a momentous struggle for ascendancy in world civilization between two conflicting social

ideals? In view of the development of the class war and of the attitude of most capitalist Powers towards Soviet Russia, what Socialist or independent thinker would have confidence in a League of Nations' decision in a dispute between Japan and Russia, for instance?

It is, therefore, clear that to place an International Police Force in the hands of the League as it exists today would be to present new temptations to Powers which even now were giving vent to imperialist ambition.

### THE LEAGUE AND CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE

To my mind there is something inherently antagonistic to the spirit and purpose of the League of Nations in the whole idea of an International Police Force. If the League is ever to be an effective peace instrument, it must endeavour to get down to the roots of peace by inquiring into the grievances under which nations and peoples are suffering into the oppressions of Imperialism; into racial and emigration issues, and into Minority issues, etc. This it should do fearlessly, governed by the single desire to find the truth and establish justice, brushing aside every barrier to these ends, all race and class prejudice, all the presuppositions of Imperialism. On these lines the League would soon establish its moral authority in the eyes of the whole world: WHENCE IT WOULD HAVE NO NEED OF A POLICE FORCE.

Surely, then, the problem of the Peace Movement is how to create Governments which will use the League to realize these great purposes. In advocating an International Police Force peace workers are starting at the wrong end of the problem, since what the League needs is moral authority, and since, in present circumstances an International Police Force would almost certainly be used to further the ends of Imperialism and thus to strengthen the very instruments of oppression, which are the cause of all the fear and distrust that are today poisoning the wells of international intercourse and undermining the authority of the League. The real need of the League is moral authority, and this can only be secured on such lines as I have indicated.

WOULD AN I. P. F. ACHIEVE  
DISARMAMENT ?

Let us now consider the claim that an International Police Force would bring about substantial disarmament. Many sponsors of the proposal state that its inauguration should be accompanied by the abolition of all national military aviation and the internationalization of civil aviation. If they mean to hold on to that condition, they may as well give up the proposal at once, since Powers (like France, say,) which are feeling too insecure to disarm without pooled security while the military scales are decidedly in their favour, are not likely to disarm confronted with the possibility of an armed League in which they are in a minority. The very fear that the balance of power within the League might change, would prevent even the securest Powers from accepting any appreciable measure of disarmament, while such disarmament as they conceded would be made in the belief that they would be able to maintain their ascendancy in the League. Thus once you accept the proposal to set up an International Police Force, you are likely to be driven into accepting a minimum of disarmament "at the commencement," on the promise of larger instalments later on. Such a concession to militarism, however, would be no more likely to bear the desired fruit than has the undertaking of the Allied Powers to disarm recorded in the Treaty of Versailles.

So far from disarmament resulting, there is good reason to believe that an International Police Force would lead to an increase in world armaments, since Imperialist Powers would probably feel compelled to visualize situations in which they might be in a minority in the League and thus be called upon to face very powerful combinations of military force, including the International Police Force. Furthermore,

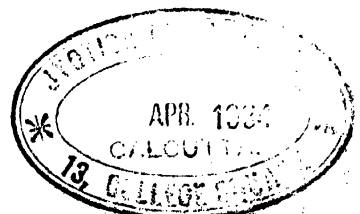
the very existence of the International Police Force would tend to make its control the central issue among the Powers, and thus to divide up the League into groups of Powers, as in the pre-League days of the Balance of Power. The effect of these conditions would undoubtedly be to create among the Great Powers larger demands for military forces than ever before.

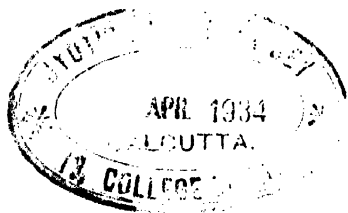
ABOLISH EXPLOITATION !

Surely it is obvious that so long as the League is chiefly composed of States which are founded on exploitation, its moral authority will be almost nil. In these circumstances general disarmament is out of the question, while to arm the League would vitiate the position and actually lead to increased armaments. Not until the Great Powers have abandoned social and imperialist exploitation, are ready to take all their disputes to arbitration and to adopt the fullest and widest measures of international economic co-operation will the League be able to give the world peace and disarmament. This surely indicates the path peace workers ought to follow.

TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES

In the above statement the technical difficulties to be overcome in operating an International Police Force have not been discussed, since I deemed it better to concentrate on the principles involved. But those difficulties are insuperable in a League composed, say, of Imperialist and Fascist States, some of which extol war. In these circumstances it would be impossible to prevent an International Police Force from breaking into fractions by reason of disaffection due to "nationalist" feeling. But that is only one of many practical difficulties which would have to be faced.





## IN BAIGA LAND

By VERRIER ELWIN

**I**MAGINE the Garden of Eden after the Fall, Adam and Eve restored to a conditional tenancy in its glades and forests now ravaged by the sin of man, the whole area however neatly tidied up by the Forest Department, and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil fenced off in a closed coop of its own and reserved entirely for the use of officials. There you have Baiga Land, a country that seems utterly remote and infinitely old, having the romance of Eden without its plenty. For indeed the Gonds and Baigas will tell you that these hills formed the home of the first parents of mankind, and their modern descendants are almost as wild and naked as they.



Children in a Baiga Village.

Not long ago I went with Srikant and Panda Baba to Baiga Land. Srikant is one of Pandit Jawaharlal's 'old women' who is giving his life to the dangerous and lonely task of village service. Panda Baba is the leading Gond wizard of our district. You must know our Panda Baba. He is an elderly man of immense style and character. Like Sir Willoughby Paternoe, he has a leg. His stores of knowledge appear to be drawn from the primitive origins of our race. He has a group of disciples whom he is instructing in

the elements of magic. He carries a sort of battle-axe but it is not your crude instrument of slaughter used by the masses— it is slender and delicate, but with a razor's edge. Panda Baba has great tact. See him wheedling three annas worth of ghee out of a reluctant *mukadam* with just that blend of push and deference that a Bishop might employ to extract a financial grant from a Provincial Governor! The shyest raconteur unburdens himself when that sage old head begins to nod appreciatively by his side. It was essential that we should have this man of the spirit with us.

Away we went into the forest. Only three or four visitors a year are daring enough to brave the journey even to Karanjia, but Karanjia, for all its bears and tigers, is a centre of civilization compared to this. Day after day we plunged deeper into this vast loneliness: at first we were in the living forest—there were birds, we could hear the chatter of a monkey teasing a tiger, we would meet people on the road. But later we reached the forests of Baiga Land where hardly a bird rustles the leaves in that uncanny silence and where you may go ten miles without meeting a soul. How thrilling this forest is, with its endless trees which now close in upon you and now open wide to a bare burnt glade, the trees sometimes tall as the mast of some high Admiral, sometimes short and all their leaves withered by the frost. The greens, the browns and the black burnt grass make up a sombre but handsome picture, while in the early morning when the frost lies white upon the ground and the mist is rising from the streams or curling caressingly about the hills, the place is a fairyland indeed.

The Baigas, thirty-seven thousand of them, are to be found scattered all over the hills of Mandla, Bilaspur and Balaghat. In Chhattisgarh live their more civilized descendants, the Binjhvars: the Bhainas of Bilaspur

are in a left-handed relation to them ; and the Bhuiyas of Chota Nagpur are regarded as another and perhaps the parent--branch of the same family. But you can read all about this in Russell's great book *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*.\* All I want to do here is to tell of some of the villages we visited and of the things we heard and saw.



A group of Baigas. Hothu is sitting in the centre smoking.

At Dhurwari, a forest village in the Karanjia circle, we found the first Baiga settlement ; and it was here that an elderly Ahir, squatting by our fire in the evening, told us that if we wanted to see real Baigas we must go to Ludra Taliyapani, Chakmaktola and Pakeripani. It added thirty miles to the tour, but such names were irresistible, and so early the next morning we started off by a tiny foot-path across the hills. I forget how many hills we crossed that day and night found us still climbing. It was quite dark when we arrived. But what a welcome we had ! There was a well-ordered little hut for travellers, and in ten minutes the *mukkadam* had brought charpoys and seats and wood : two huge fires were made to keep out the bitter cold and soon most of the village were sitting round it, chatting away in the most homely manner. It was a strange and absorbing sight to see those wild handsome faces in the firelight, their long hair, their half-naked bodies. There

\* There is also some interesting material supplementary to Russell in the 1931 Census of India, Vol. XII, Part I, pp. 403 ff. My article is independent of either account, and offers much new material.

were many old men, far more than you would see in a Gond village, and their ravaged faces had a great dignity. We made friends and went to bed, for we were tired.

It is always exciting to reach a place at night and then see what it looks like in the morning. We were not disappointed. Ludra Taliyapani is a typical Baiga village on the sunlit rocky slopes of a tall hill, and everywhere there is a sea of hills and forest, save that in front you see below you the Maniari Lake which looks mysterious and lovely in the distance. A Baiga village is entirely different from a Gond village. In the latter every house stands by itself in its own field, and normally a home consists of four little houses arranged about a courtyard. But the Baiga houses are joined one to the other in a long row or round a very large square—tiny little houses they are, generally without proper doors, generally with walls of mud and straw roughly cowlindged. (The Gond have bamboo and is



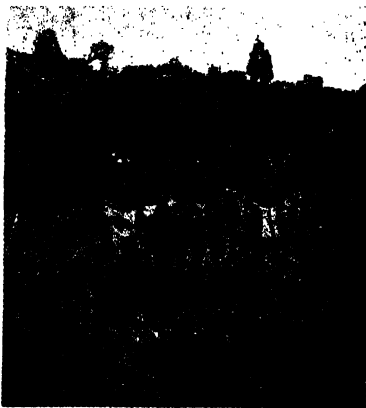
### Typical Baiga types.

Baigas—old and young. It is a bitterly cold morning, hence the "Nanga" Baigas are wrapped in clothes.

always neat and charming with a wash of white mud). But the Baiga houses have a very 'slummy' appearance and it is not easy to keep the great court clean. The Baigas wear more clothes than they used to, but they still wear less than almost anyone else and except when it is very cold, they like to go practically naked. The better houses are

filled with a fantastic variety of oddments—bows and arrows, a stag's horns, peacock's feathers, rows of little packets hanging from the roof in which all sorts of treasures are concealed, a large bin for rice, a bed, some cooking pots, a fishing net and so on. In the poorer houses there are only the barest necessities of life. The Baigas live on *pej*—rice boiled in water—a little chappatti, and roots. They will eat almost any animal, but not monkeys, cats, dogs, vultures or beef.

We asked one old man about the days of long ago. 'Then it was Sukhiraj,' he said, 'How we used to eat in those days.' And his old face lighted with enthusiasm as he enumerated at least thirty articles of diet till everyone's mouth was watering. 'But now—a little *kodon*, disease and death: that is our life.' 'Yes,' said another old man, 'The world is full of evil spirits nowadays. We can't understand where the Gods have gone to. It is the Kali Yug.'



Are they to grow up as illiterate as their fathers ?

The poverty of the Baigas is, without exaggeration, terrible. They are almost entirely illiterate. Many of them cannot add. They have no sense of distance. They say that a *kos* (normally two miles) is the distance between one pipe and the imperative desire for another. They are thus readily exploited by the money-lender and merchant. They used to make mats and other things and take them for sale

in the markets, but now, they say, people stop them and take their things away from them, so even the few home-industries they have are dying out. No doubt they are lazy and thriftless, dirty and superstitious. The Gonds criticize them for their haphazard ways. 'They call up the spirits anyhow,' says Panda Baba, who is a rigid ceremonialist. But how courageous they are, how loving and loveable, faithful to their friends, honest with one another, and with what a heroic merriness of heart they triumph over all their sorrows. The women are less dignified, less distinguished than the men, a trifle hoydenish perhaps. The Gonds, I thought, might produce a Tess: the Baigas would hardly rise above an Audrey.

The Baigas are very old. The Gonds consider that they were created immediately after the beginning of the world. They themselves say that first there were Nanga Baigas, then Nanga Gonds and then Nanga Babas or Yogis, that is Hindus. They tell many different stories of their origin. Their ancestors, Naga Baiga and Nagin Baigin were born of serpents in the midst of the forest, and seeing their nakedness Parameshwar offered them a *dhoti* nine yards long. But they refused it as being unnecessary, and some gods who were watching the scene remarked, these are not Naga Baigas but Nanga Baigas. From that day they do not wash or dress. After this God himself taught them to cut trees and to sow their seed.\*

Sitting by the fire we pressed them for stories. How did they spend the long dark evenings? Just sitting, they said. They knew no stories. Then Panda Baba came to the rescue, a touch of flattery, a hint at *baksheesh*, and the thing was done. Hothu told us his tale. He did it very well, in intelligible Chhattisgarhi Hindi with just enough dialect to flavour it, with slow expressive gestures, long pauses and an inimitable trick of crumpling up his forehead at the funny bits.

An ant and a piece of charcoal set out on a journey. They came to a river and stopped to consider who should cross first. At last the charcoal went first and the ant followed him. The ant said, 'So a coal-black ant and a piece of coal have

\* Russell and Mr. Ikramullah in the Census Report give different versions of this story.

become friends ! After they had crossed the river the water became black. Presently a stag came to the river, and asked the water, 'How did you become black, O water ? Till now you were quite clear.' 'Hear me, O stag,' replied the water. 'An ant and a piece of coal have turned me black, and now I shall turn you lame.' The stag drank the water and went limping up the hill to find mahua fruit. When he came to the tree, the mahua asked, 'What is the matter ? An hour ago you were going to eat so much, but now you are taking nothing.' The stag replied, 'You belong to the plant caste and I belong to the animal caste, so what can you understand ? But as I became lame, so do you become small.' And the mahua who had been very large became small. The stag limped away home.

Then a bird settled on the tree and began to eat. 'What is the matter ?' it said. 'Yesterday I was satisfied with one of your fruits, but now with four or five I am still hungry.' And the mahua said, 'Hark to the tale of the cold-black water, the limping stag and the tiny tree.' When it heard it, the bird began to say *Chee-pee, Chee-pee*. It flew away and found a bar-tree for food. But it could eat nothing. All the time it flew to and fro saying *Chee-pee, Chee-pee*. The tree said, 'What is the matter ? Till now you used to come silently for food. Now you eat nothing and talk all the time.' The bird said, 'Hark to the tale of the coal-black water, the limping stag and the tiny tree ; the poor little bird that missed its dinner—and bitter berries shall grow on thee.'

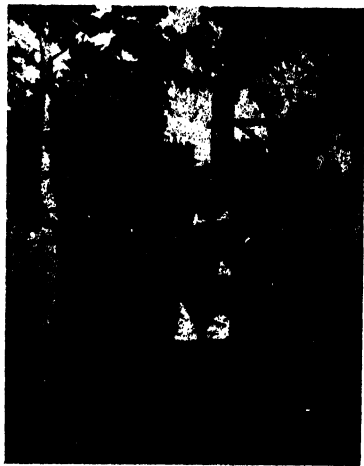
Early in the morning the women of the village went to fetch water, and one of them was the sort of girl who is always eating this or that. She plucked some berries and began to eat. 'What is the matter ?' she asked the tree. 'Why are you so bitter ?' The bar-tree replied, 'Hark to the tale of the coal-black water, the limping stag and the tiny tree ; the chee-pee bird and the bitter berries—and now a pigmy thou shalt be.' She had been a tall woman : now she became small. She went home and when her work was done, she took *pej* to the men of the house in the fields. 'Come, brothers, eat,' she said, taking food out of the pot. 'Who is this ?' said the men. 'Our girl was tall, but who is this pigmy ?' 'Come and eat,' she replied, 'and I will tell you the secret !' When she had told them she said, 'Now you shall become bent.' And the ploughmen's bodies became contorted.

All day long they ploughed and in the evening they went to their Rani. When she saw them she said, 'Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, what has happened ? Tell me, for whatever you may say, you are my helpers and protectors.' 'Very well,' they said, 'Hark to the tale of the coal-black water, the limping stag and the tiny tree ; the chee-pee bird and the bitter berries ; the pigmy maid and the ploughmen three.' And then—

And then to my great regret, the story, though it would have delighted Chaucer, becomes—not indecent—but a little gross, and I had better stop. But I have told enough to show the kind of fairy-story they enjoy.

That night we had a dance under the

moon. They did the *Duserah*, which is the origin of the more musical and sophisticated Gond *Saila*. In complete silence, save for the monotonous beating of a drum, the boys of the village went round and round in a circle which now widened and now contracted. Whenever there was a change of movement they uttered together a thin weird bat-like cry. After a time three old men walked into the middle of the circle and, huddled very close together, began to sing in faint piping voices. It was unforgettable—the high hills around, the lonely forest, the cold moon, those wild faces by the fire, and this unearthly fantasia of sound and movement.



A Baiga girl, who can now read and write, at the Montessori School of the Gond Seva Mandal at Karanjia.

Just before we left the next morning, I said casually to Hothu that if he wanted to tell one more story, there was just time. To our surprise and delight he said he would, provided that Panda Baba sat beside him. So we all sat down and he gave us this little folk-tale.\* Whether it is genuine Baiga art or not, I am not in a position to say, but it is a good story—and as Hothu told it, it was twice as good.

There was a king who had six wives, but not one of them bore him a child. Daily the king

\* Those interested in these things should read the story of Rai Linga in Mr. Trench's *Grammar of Gondi*, Vol. II. It seems to me that there is a distinct family resemblance between the two tales.

would go hunting. One day he made a platform beside a lake and sat there watching for animals to come to drink. In the top of the tree sat the Queen of the Forest and she was weeping. Her tear-drops fell on the breast of the King. He called three or four servants, and said, 'Look, look, water is falling on my chest.' They all looked up into the tree but could see nothing. But there was a one-eyed man there and he cried, 'There is something there.' Then he called to the Queen of the Forest, 'Tell us, are you a *devata*, or a *rakshas* or a *blut* or a *pret*, what are you? Come down.' But she replied, 'No, I dare not; you may beat me.' But at last she came down and they prepared her a splendid meal which she ate. 'It seems,' whispered the King's servants, 'as if she has not eaten for many a day.' She stayed with the King for a night and the next day he took her home with him.

When the six queens saw it, they said, 'So that is what he was up to when we thought he had gone hunting.' In the city the news spread quickly and there was great excitement. The citizens came to the palace to see the Queen of the Forest. Three nights passed and then with great ceremony the King married her. The other queens were very jealous: they would not talk with her, and she felt very lonely, especially as the King went out daily for hunting. Two or three years passed and then God blessed the Queen of the Forest with a child. She said, 'Look, my King, daily you go out hunting, and leave me alone here. Who knows what may not happen when the child is born.' The King said, 'I will put a big bell on the top of the palace, and when the child is born, ring it and I will come at once.'

At last the child was to be born and the King was away from home. In her pain the Queen of the Forest forgot to ring the bell. Then those six queens took her and pushed her into a grain-bin by the small hole at the bottom. Her beautiful son fell down outside. They took him away and put a stone in his place. It was so dark there that the poor queen could not see what had been born to her. They put the child in the buffalo-shed and hoped that the buffaloes would trample on it. After two days the King returned. They showed the stone to the King and said, 'Your jungly Queen has given birth to a stone.' He put his hands to his cheeks and with a face full of sorrow sat down. Then the Queen of the Forest was shaved in four places, and was sent away to work in the fields driving away crows. Then two of the queens went to see the baby and found a buffalo suckling it. So they took it to the goat-shed instead. After two or three days the old man and woman who used to graze the goats came to clean the shed and began to remove the grass and refuse. The woman found the baby and wrapping it in a cloth took it away. Then she called the old man and said, 'See, I have found the son of the Forest Queen in the goat-shed.' The old man killed a goat and made the signs of birth in his house and declared, 'In our old age God has given us a son.' Then he went to get milk-medicine for his wife. At last milk came from the old woman's breast and she began to suckle the child.

In eight months the child could sit and stand. In three or four years he could walk and run. He saw other children playing and asked his

father to make him a bow and arrow. He shot green pigeons on the big tree and brought them to his father. In his catapult were seven stones. The other children often missed but this boy always hit the mark. The children used to ride on horses to the river to bathe, and so Lal (which was the name his foster-parents gave him) went and asked his father to make a horse for him. The old man took twenty rupees to the carpenter and asked him to make a horse for his son. 'You must have it ready in five days,' he said. 'Here are ten rupees and in five days I will give you ten more.' In five days he brought Lal his horse. The boy kissed it and said, 'You are the horse that will take me to my mother.' Then he went with the other children, driving his wooden horse. They had a race, but the wooden horse went much faster than any of the others.

Lal went home and took his food. Then he went to the river where the six queens were bathing and ordered his horse to drink. 'Go, drink water,' he said. He dipped its wooden mouth in the water. The queens heard him, 'Fool, why are you asking a wooden horse to drink? Has your father seen, or have you seen a wooden horse drink water?' Then the boy answered, 'That is all right. But have you seen or has your father seen a stone ever born to a human being?' The queens began to murmur among themselves and their hearts beat fast. Some of them bathed, some did not. They returned home, but they took no food, but went and lay down on their beds. When the King came in, he was surprised because daily it was their custom to give him water and to serve him, but on that day they were all lying on their beds. 'What has happened? Have you got fever?' he asked. They told him what the boy with the wooden horse had said. Into the King's mind the thought flashed, 'Perhaps this is my true son,' and he sent his soldiers to bring the boy to him. The old man shivered with fright when they arrived demanding the boy. They wept and cried, 'What will happen to our boy?' But Lal said, 'Don't be afraid,' and he went off boldly to the court. There he told the whole story, and when he had finished he said, 'Go and bring the Queen whom you have kept in your fields to drive away the crows, and then I will prove all my story.'

Two soldiers went to bring the Queen of the Forest, and when she came the King asked her to stand on the threshold. Between Lal and the Queen was placed a screen of sevenfold thickness. Lal said, 'If the woman on the other side of the screen is my mother, then if she presses her breast, milk will flow: it will drench the screen and will come to my mouth.' Then the Queen of the Forest pressed her breast and the milk flowed out through the screen into Lal's mouth. He cried, 'See this is my mother.' He turned to the courtiers and said, 'You are wise men. Tell me, have you ever seen a stone born of a human being?' They replied, 'Never. Truly you are the Prince.' And so the King brought back the Queen of the Forest and he banished the other six queens from his court.

'And the moral of that,' concluded Hothu, 'is that the greatest love in the world is the love of children.'

Then back we went into the jungle and away to the Baiga Chowk.

The most characteristic thing about the Baigas is not their nudity, but their devotion to Bewar Cultivation. The Baiga selects a portion of the forest, fells the trees and sets the whole thing on fire. He sows his seed in the ashes and after the rains, gets his crop. After three years he moves on to another patch. But when the Forest Department began for the first time to take the jungle seriously, it became necessary to control the custom which was undoubtedly injurious to the forest. A block of 20,000 acres was set aside for the use of the Baigas, and Bewar was forbidden anywhere outside it in British India. This block is the Baiga Chowk. Here some seventy families have settled and still practise their ancient method of cultivation, though many of them have been persuaded to take to the use of the plough. But no Baigas plough save with a wistful heart. Bewar is their tradition: it is in their blood: it is the mark of their race: it is the sole reminder that they were once kings of the forest. God himself came to their great ancestors as they were eating roots in the jungle and showed them how to do bewar, giving them the first seeds with his own hands. The Baigas have a passionate love for Bewar. I have no doubt that this almost religious devotion is connected with their reverence for Mother Earth. Now, because of hunger and the strange laws of the Kali Yuga, they have to dishonour her with the plough.

I shall never forget Silpuri, the main village of the Chowk, with its dozens of children, its friendly people, its romantic setting. We had a wonderful afternoon of dancing there. For the Silpuri Baigas, dancing is a fine art: they have special dresses for it and a regular programme of different dances. First was the *Dissarah*—for men only—as we had seen at Taliyapuri. Then came the *Jurpath*, in which a row of boys faces a row of girls with two drummers in between. The rows advance and

retreat, bowing and singing. There followed the *Tapadi* or *Reena* dance for women only. In the Gond *Reena* dances that I have seen, the women go round and round in a circle, bowing and making very complicated movements with the hands. Here there were two rows of women, who remained in a bowing position, sometimes turning their backs on each other, and for a time actually kneeling on the ground swaying to and fro. Finally there was the Baiga *Kurma*, the famous dance that is common to many forest peoples. This was a little different from the Gond *Kurmas* that I have seen. The men stood in the centre, a stationary pivot and a very large circle of women went round them. From time to time three girls and then a couple of boys detached themselves from the main company and went round and round the pivot very rapidly and in the opposite direction, their dancing being some of the finest I have witnessed.

Srikanth was very busy taking down the



The Baiga Kurma.

The men and drummers in front, the row of women behind.

songs, which he wrote out in Kanarese characters. In the evening we called Panda Baba, who was the only person who could understand them, even the singers being doubtful of the real meaning, and we got them translated. Here are some of them. It is interesting in view of the prevailing opinion about primitive songs, to note that not one of those we heard was indecent or even coarse in character.





Deo, the protector of the house. Parameshwar is far away ; but Bura Deo is near. Below him, and perhaps included in him, are many lesser deities. There is Nang-Banshi who lives in the great trees of the forest and Bhawani Deo. Near rippling streams, by stones and bushes, dwells Bageshwar Deo, the lord of the wild beasts. The most friendly of the gods is Thakkur Deo who is a very old God and is worshipped with a white goat. When he possesses a man, the villagers can tell him all their troubles and Thakkur Deo explains who are bad among them and why they suffer, what evil spirits should be avoided and how they can protect themselves. Narayan Deo also sits in the courtyard and keeps off many evils and diseases of far-off lands. Dhulla Deo is another kindly God, for he drives away the evil spirits that would trouble a marriage feast. He is worshipped with a red cock. In the cattle shed, Khut Deo is worshipped, for he is the God of cattle. Ancestors live in the kitchen. Mahadev presides over the liquor-shop. Nag Deo is honoured with milk and flowers. The really mischievous spirits are Bhut and Mashan. Bhut for the Baigas is a particular spirit who stops the crops from growing and comes upon a man to give him fever. Mashan lurks in stones and trees near the highways and fields where he can meet human beings and annoy them, spoiling their bewart and robbing them of food. And finally all trees and plants are animate with souls—'Otherwise how could they live ?'

If you ask Panda Baba what the Gonds think of Baigas, he will lean towards you and in an amused and confidential tone—like that of an Archdeacon unbending after his third glass of port, he will say, 'Well, you know, they clean themselves with leaves and not with water ; and so we never eat in their houses.' And if you go on to say, 'But that is very odd, because you all revere Baigas as your priests and gurus,' he will reply ; that

is another matter. You see the Baigas belong to the Earth. When Naga Baiga was born, Mother Earth was glad and gave him this boon that whatever his hands touched should prosper. The Baigas are so near the earth that the earth loves them and tells them her secrets, and so they can direct us in our sowing and they know where all the evil spirits are living and can help us to avoid them !

The Gonds call them, for example, for the Bidri ceremony at the sowing of the seed. The different families each bring a little seed which is placed under a tree. The Baiga pours milk upon it, and sacrifices several chickens. He repeats appropriate spells and burns incense. Finally he distributes a little of the seed to each family and they all give him something to drink.

The Ladu ceremony is intended to protect the house from sickness and other evils. A pig is dedicated for the sacrifice by having little pieces of its ear and tail cut off and



The Dasserah Dance

by being castrated. It is then kept for three years, and fed. When the time comes it is offered to Narayan Deo. It is laid across the threshold of the house, a plank is placed over its body and on this plank men sit. They move the plank to and fro, slowly crushing the unhappy animal to death.

When a man is killed by a tiger, the villagers, armed with guns, axes, bows and arrows, gather at the spot. A Baiga makes

a small image of the dead man either out of flour or earth, and places it on the very spot where his blood was shed. Then he tells a *katha*, beginning from the creation up to the time when the man was killed. By the time he has finished he will have fallen into an ecstasy, and leaping up, he rushes through

This, they believe, will close the mouth of the tiger.

The caste-rules of the Baigas do not differ greatly from those of other tribes. There is a village *panchayat* which supervises their affairs. They will take food from Gonds but not from the Brahmins, though the women will

not take from anyone. They are put out of caste for the following offence:—adultery with someone outside the tribe; getting worms in a wound; going to jail (though in some places where no one has been to jail for twenty or thirty years, they do not know what the rule about this is); being beaten by a shoe—the man who beats must pay one rupee, the man who allows himself to be beaten must pay five; killing cattle even by accident; if a woman gets her ear torn; if a man allows



The Jarpath Dance. A line of boys faces a line of girls, with drummers in between.

the crowd into the forest. Then, roaring like a tiger and leaping in the air, he returns and tries to seize the image. But three or four of the bystanders catch hold of him and prevent him from going near it. Then they take a black cock and throw it in the air towards the forest, with the idea that if there is any tiger about, it will take the cock and leave them alone. At the same time they all shout at the top of their voices. By now the spirit of the tiger will have left the Baiga and he is able to carry the image down to the river. The people stand round in the water, holding a threefold thread. They sacrifice a chicken. Then they clap their hands to rouse Parameshwar and the Baiga says, 'For one generation let this spell endure. For two generations let this spell endure. From age to age let it retain its power. Drive the nail and break the thread. Let the dry cowdung sink, let the stones rise to the surface of the river, but let not this spell ever lose its power.' Then they break the thread and immerse the figure in the river. Afterwards they return to the forest and drive a nail into a tree or a great stone and repeat the charm.

himself to be beaten by a woman—when we asked if there was any penalty on a man for beating a woman the question was greeted with roars of laughter; and for eating beef. But anything that is done for the sanitation of the village, such as the removal of the corpses of animals, etc. is not penalized.

We heard of a few superstitions. When they hear the Kiddari bird, they do not start on a journey. If a man sneezes once, it is a bad omen: to sneeze twice is good: to sneeze three times is bad, and so on. Quivering in the left eye is bad—in the right eye is good. They do not mind animals crossing the path in front of them. If they strike their foot against a stone, they return to the house, for the stone is telling them that some disaster may happen to their home.

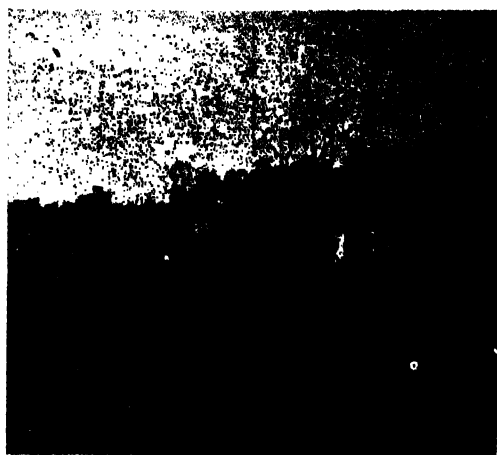
I have not had the opportunity of seeing a Baiga marriage—the ritual is fully described by Russell. For a divorce they take a bit of straw, a piece of broken earthenware and a rupee. In the presence of the *panchayat*, the straw and the pot are broken and the rupee is given to the *panchayat*.

At death, all—good and bad—go to

Parameshwar. There is no hell. But to do good pleases God, while to do evil grieves Him. The spirits are reborn in their own family circle. The disembodied ghost goes searching through the world for a place where it will be loved and at last returns to its own family. When a child is born, the *gunia* (magician) watches the child until it begins to drink its mother's milk. Then he declares that so-and-so has returned to the stormy ocean of existence. The Baigas are equally pleased at the birth of a girl or a boy. 'God knows what is best for us,' they say. The funeral ceremonies are simple. If the dead man has 'clung to his bed' for a long time, he is burnt; if he is young and has died suddenly, he is buried. A little money and cloth is placed in the grave, and some wine is poured out on the ground. 'You will not drink with us again, so take this now.'

As I look back over this article I see that I have allowed myself to forget for the moment the appalling poverty, destitution and ignorance of this heroic and fascinating people. But I am not really one of those anthropologists against whom Mr. N. M. Joshi would protect the forest people. You are certain to be enchanted by them, but you are equally certain to lie awake at night—and for many nights—haunted by the scenes of suffering that you have witnessed, and wondering what judgment must be passed on society that can calmly allow such things to continue from generation to generation. In a tour of a hundred miles we did not come within ten miles of a school or dispensary—indeed most of the way we were twenty or thirty miles distant from either. The Forest Department has refused the offer of the Gond Seva Mandal to open a school for the Baigas, in spite of an assurance that it would not be used in any way for political propaganda. But always the liquor shop was available: always there was a money-lender to entrap the people with interest at 50 p. c. or 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  p. c. When we returned to Karanjia, we found the papers full of the terrible earthquake disaster and the relief that was going to the stricken area from all parts of India. But I said to myself, 'Here

are people who live permanently under what are almost earthquake-disaster conditions.



In the Baiga Chowk

They die more slowly it is true: the fear that strikes their hearts is not sudden and dramatic, but it haunts them all their life—and only education can banish it. Scratching a bare subsistence from the earth, living often on roots and berries, shivering with cold under their scanty rags, the prey of all who care to exploit them, indebted, diseased, forgotten and despised, no one cares for this poor dweller in the forest.

"No mother have I, nor brother, no friend  
in all the world.

But there's One that maketh music on  
His flute."

*Note:* The above account of the Baigas will be found to differ from and to supplement the chapter in Russell which summarizes all the earlier literature on the subject. The differences are probably due to the very varied customs that obtain among the forest peoples in different districts. But this article must not be regarded as a scientific essay. It is a preliminary excursion into a very large subject. I hope that in the course of the next few years I may be able to prepare a small monograph on the Baigas, and I would be grateful if anyone acquainted with the Balaghat and Bilaspur districts could suggest to me the best places to visit in this connection, and if anyone could lend me a copy of Col. Bloomfield's *Notes on the Baigas* and Warli's *Mandla Settlement Report*, or give me any other information or assistance.

Gond Seva Mandal, Karanjia P. O.

*Mandla District. C. P.*

# ART OF BIOGRAPHY: AN INTERVIEW WITH GUEDALLA

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

I had a few days ago an interesting visit with Mr. Philip Guedalla, the brilliant English biographer and historian. Though of Jewish origin, Philip Guedalla is one of that rarest group of contemporary literary men who are appreciated in America as much as in their native England. During the last fifteen years, he has written more than a dozen books, in which he has given unforgettable pen-pictures of historically famous figures in literary, political, and military fields. His studies of Washington, Napoleon, Disraeli, Palmerston, and of Kitchener, Baldwin, MacDonald and others among the moderns, and his recent biography of Wellington have given him a rank and following possessed by few biographers. Turning the searchlight of his new historical methods upon literary figures, he has won equal fame as an interpreter of literature and its makers. It is no exaggeration to say that there are not perhaps many English men of letters who do not sigh for a Christmas gift of writing like Guedalla.

The general topic of our conversation was biography. With rapier-like wit, Mr. Guedalla discussed his idea and his ideal of the art of biography. In this conversation he did some expert operating on the popular conceptions of modern biography.

Mr. Guedalla said that he had met George Moore when he was working on the life of Palmerston and Mr. Moore advised Mr. Guedalla: "My young man, curve him like a vase." Charming and excellent advice as that might be for another type of literary art and for biographies of men whose lives obligingly started with a narrow neck, swept into the maximum bulge and receded gently to an artistic close, for the life of some men it was bad advice. Biography, Mr. Guedalla intimated, should be first of all true, and it was true of very few lives that they followed the conventional lines of the Greek vase. Telling a biographer to curve his subject like a vase would be like telling a driver of a

street car to approach his destination in a voluptuous curve, Mr. Guedalla said. The problem of the biographer is not unlike that of the street car driver. They must both go where the rails lead.

Philip Guedalla is of the English Jewry, but as a speaker he is far superior to any of the visiting Englishry—especially English politicians—that I have ever heard in America. This is Mr. Guedalla's second visit to America. He has not only keen wit, satire and irony but has a background of scholarship. He has also been active in the public affairs of England. Graduated from Balliol College, Oxford, with a degree of first class in Modern History, he became a Barrister in 1913 at the age of 23. During the Great War, he served as legal adviser to the War Office and the Ministry of Munitions. Though he has retired from Government service, he still maintains an active interest in English politics.

Mr. Guedalla is as fascinating a talker as he is a writer. To me he was amusing about the phrase modern biography. There is no such thing as a modern biography in the sense that all biography, say after 1910, is brief and brilliant. In that very year there began appearing, he pointed out, a six-volume life of Disraeli and, what's more, in not one of the 3,000 pages does the expression, psychological complex appear. And, on the other hand, nothing written since 1910 can compare with Lord Rosebery's life of the younger Pitt or his little memoir on Lord Randolph Churchill for brevity or brilliance. Moreover, rudeness, in which modern biography is supposed to shine, is child's play today compared to the really thorough rudeness of the 19th century posthumous memoirs.

The so-called modern biography attempts to reconstruct the motives of the subject. Emil Ludwig of Germany in the very first chapter of his biography on Napoleon pictures Mother Letizia suckling her baby Napoleon and purports to tell us what must have passed at that time in

the mind of Letizia. It is utterly impossible, Guedalla observed, for any person to know accurately what any other person is thinking. The biographer can only deduce from the evidence and it is the duty of the really good biographer to sift that evidence, but it is not his duty to fictionize it.

Philip Guedalla did not actually mention Lytton Strachey by name as a biographico-fictioneer, but he referred to him subtly. Strachey, who passed away last year, was one of the prominent English practitioners of fictional biography. Anyone who knows anything about the subject of Strachey's biography may get some aesthetic pleasure from it, but God help the man who comes to Strachey ignorant and wishes to know the truth. The late Mr. Strachey was not in the truth business. His Queen Victoria has very little in common with the actual maiden and wife and widow who lived in the Windsor Castle. His General Gordon could never have worn a military uniform: his Florence Nightingale is but a series of epigrams about a war Nurse.

"The modern biography lives in a border territory," Guedalla said. "It is bounded on the north by history, on the south by fiction, on the east by obituary, and on the west by tedium."

The biographer must approach his subject from a factual viewpoint, said the English biographer-historian. If he uses guess-work in penetrating the motives and thoughts of his subject, he writes not biography but fiction. The interpretation of a biographer may be interesting and entertaining. Nevertheless, if his facts are wrong, his interpretation is wrong also. The biographer should always refrain from making statements of facts until he has found what the real facts are. Biography differs from imaginative literature in that a reader comes to biography in search of information. "He wants to know how this particular person was entangled with the world, what the conditions of life were, what did they do to him, how he dealt with destiny, what he overcame, what overcame him."

Many biographers, intimated Guedalla, have condescending attitude towards their heroes, such as Andre Maurais of France has

for Byron, Shelley and Disraeli. They often put more of themselves in the book than of the man they are writing about. A biographer must not see in his subject a chance for self-glorification. He should keep himself completely out of sight. The duty of the biographer is to re-create his subject after his subject's image, not after his own.

All the biographer needs is honesty of purpose, Guedalla said, and a reasonable degree of humility. A true biographer looks at and not down upon his subject.

Most of the modern biographies, according to Philip Guedalla, are done badly psychologically for they develop a single characteristic in their subject rather than presenting a rounded character. It is a certainty that no human being is unchanged through life. In the cinemas and political cartoons and dramas it is the tradition that no character is allowed to have more than one characteristic: the good man, the extravagant woman, the innocent girl. The attempt to make the subject of a biography a supreme example of one characteristic from the first prattling to the death rattle is ridiculous.

There is a hybrid in modern biography, the mule called "Life and Letters." The life should be one thing, the documents another. No biography should be in more than one volume, is Mr. Guedalla's belief. Any life, even that of a king, can be gotten into one volume by a person who is writing a book and not letting the book write him. "Boredom begins with page one of the volume second."

Readers must view biography with a more critical standard, Mr. Guedalla asserted. Critics flatter and fawn upon the authors too much. Book-reviewers are afraid of being unkind to new works, because they fear posterity will remember them as "having killed Keats."

In America, England, France and Germany since the Great War, the demand for books "purporting to deal with real people and events and not fictional" has increased. This has led to an enormous biographical output. The novel has been able to maintain its volume of sales, but not its quality. No great novelists are arising to take the place of older masters of the novel form: Hardy, H. G. Wells, Joseph Conrad, George Moore and

Galsworthy. The modern novel in England is increasingly coming into the hands of those who have nothing to say. That indicates failing health in art. Indeed, "the writing of popular fiction is no longer an art, but an industry."

Guedalla was not very enthusiastic over modern biography either. The field of biography is overcrowded with writers of little ability, because it is believed to be easy to write. Especially on the continent of Europe are biographies turned out in "mass production, and dumped in America and England on a terrifying scale."

In concluding the interview, Mr. Philip Guedalla repeated that the true biographer is like a Kodak. His business is to record facts and statements as they are, not as they might have been. Biographical writing may be likened to a faithful portrait-painting. The biographer should present his subjects not as demi-gods or supermen, but as the human beings they are. When Velasquez, the Spanish master artist, painted King Philip the Fourth, he drew him just as he was: fat, ugly and repulsive. Velasquez's work was entirely objective, and so should be every biographer's.

## A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

### XLV

**S**ILENTLY and swiftly sped the days and nights like our own good ship which moved in silence even like time. The meter indicated that we were rushing through space at terrific speed, but we had no other means of judging it. There were no mile posts on our unpaved roads, no stationary bodies which flashed past us. The heavenly bodies were so far off that they seemed as motionless as when seen from the earth. For the first few days the rapidly diminishing form of Mars gave us some idea of the rate at which we were flying away from it but it again became a red moon and later the red planet.

Narga made rapid progress with her studies in our language. In a month she learned a sufficient number of words to carry on a conversation in short, simple sentences. She was learning to read and write at the same time. She had a remarkable power for concentrating her thoughts on any subject she chose. She made us speak to her in our own language and quickly learned the meaning of every new word. We had a small collection of selected books including some volumes of poetry and sacred literature. These interested her greatly and she spent most of her time in reading them with me. She asked many questions about the history of the different peoples inhabiting the earth and made minute inquiries about their manners and customs. She pondered over the teachings of great teachers like the Buddha and Jesus Christ. Maruchi would explain to her the great achievements of science. Orlon was more often a listener than a speaker, though sometimes he made brilliant conversation out of

the wide range of his knowledge. Narga could never listen to him unmoved and her eyes melted and her bosom heaved whenever he came near her. But the long years of discipline stood her in good stead and she controlled her feelings with admirable self-restraint. Her example reacted upon Orlon who kept a constant check upon his ardour and was content to let his eyes speak the love that filled his heart. Sometimes Narga would let him hold her hand for a minute and then she would gently withdraw it and look away from him.

Whatever may be said of other people love did not occupy all the thoughts of Narga. When she was not learning our language or reading our books she would engage us in serious conversation, discussing the teachings of the Master and the deep problems that have ever occupied the minds of great thinkers. We were most interested when she spoke about herself. She was utterly free from the slightest suspicion of egotism, and there was an impersonal manner about her which held a great charm. There was a strange duality in her personality which eluded and baffled us while it always won our admiration. She seemed to be able to come out of herself and to scrutinize her own self with cold criticism. We could not forget for a moment the price she had paid when she yielded to the imperious mandate of love and had abandoned everything she prized to follow the dictate of her heart. She had been the virginal priestess untouched by love and she had armed herself with such power that she could deal death by a touch of her lily hand. And yet Love had

found and vanquished her and was carrying her away as a willing captive to another world. But nothing could obscure her intellect or her marvellous gift of detachment. She was so earnest that neither vanity nor frivolity had any place in her nature. She was free from self-pity as well as self-consciousness. Sometimes a wistful look would come into her eyes and we knew that her thoughts were wandering to the domed temple at Opi and the hermitage of the Master. Sometimes the secret passage and the cloud-column of Raba would rise before her eyes, and she would lift her arms over her head, crying, 'Raba! Raba!' Again, these moods would pass and she would speak about herself with her characteristic detachment.

'Love has laid his rod upon me and I have kissed it. I made light of him and he has shown me his invincible power. I feel now that before we can know the greater love which embraces the whole race and extends to all living beings we must experience it in our own persons and cling to that other part of our own selves which means the mating of the two sexes. We can only renounce something that we have had, but how can we give up what we have never possessed? Somehow or other love must have passed me by in my previous lives, but I never knew that I had missed anything until I met one who came down from another world to claim and win my heart. The Master has loved no woman in his present life, but he must have done so in some past life, and in his present incarnation his love has taken the form of compassion for all mankind and all things having life. Since no man I saw in my country ever moved my heart I thought I had merely to follow the example of the Master and the time would come when all my heart would go out to my fellow-beings. I had no consciousness of any omission because I had no clear memory of my past lives. I now understand why the Master considered me impatient and why he would not look into my future. He left me wholly to myself so that I might find a way out of the predicament in which I found myself—the conflict between my heart and my sense of duty. And you see how I have fared in the conflict.'

What could we say? Although Narga was speaking aloud it was a sort of self-communion in which she took us into the confidence of her thoughts. Yet Maruchi ventured to speak and he said, 'Narga, you are far wiser than any of us, still we think you have decided well.'

Narga laughed musically and spread out her hands in a gesture of helplessness. 'What choice has the bird that is trapped? She can only flutter her wings, but there is no way of escape from the fowler's net.'

This set us all laughing and Orlon, who was looking very happy, said, 'But you are not

alone in the net and as you see we are flying away with the net.'

'Yes, to your nest.'

'Is not that right? You will have to share my nest.'

'And that is why you are preening your plumes.'

The conversation took a merry turn and many were the quips and jests that passed between us.

So the time passed. Narga was so assiduous in her studies that in three months she had fairly mastered our language and could converse in it freely. Her fits of pre-occupation grew rarer though at times she was pensive and appeared to be lost in thought. As the days went by she looked forward more keenly to the near future and spoke less of the past and the memories she had left behind. She studied diligently the geography of our world and consulted maps so frequently that she learned all about our continents and countries, cities and towns, seas and rivers. The Earth ceased to be an unknown and unfamiliar object to her and she spoke about it and its peoples with accurate knowledge.

And all around us was the unsolved mystery of boundless space, the brooding Sphinx of unbroken silence. The stars were as far off as ever but they were steady points of light and did not flicker like candles in the wind. Night after night it was the same and yet not the same, because our thoughts were constantly changing and with them the mind-images of what we saw also changed. Narga sat up with us every night, watching the stars. Very often we remained silent for a long time, holding communion with our thoughts. Sometimes Maruchi spoke about the great wonder of the created universe and the perfect orderliness that pervaded it. Sometimes Narga would join the conversation and we listened to her and never ceased to wonder at her wisdom and the wide range of her thoughts. Gazing at the heavens one night she said, 'In our world we are astonished by the heights of the mountains and their great size and the sea fills us with wonder by the width of its extent and its great depth. But if you put all the heavenly bodies together how insignificant is the area that they fill in space! It is space alone that gives a real idea of vastness for it is really illimitable and immeasurable. You can measure the extent of the largest body in the heavens and you can even calculate its weight. Space alone defies all attempts to measure it. It is intangible only in the sense that it is not solid but for that matter water is as little solid and it runs out through the fingers if we attempt to hold it in the hand. We cannot clutch space any more than we can catch water. But we can sense space as well as we can feel the wind blowing around us. Space and time suggest to us the idea of the infinite. Of space we can truthfully say that it has neither



a beginning nor an end and it can be measured in no direction. And yet space is not invisible and you see the Infinite mirrored in it.'

One day, after Narga had finished her morning studies, I asked her, 'Do you still possess your wonderful powers? I ask you this question because I sometimes happen to touch your figures while handing you a book?'

We were alone. Maruchi and Orlon were in another part of the ship, Ganimet was steering and Nabor was sitting near him. Narga smiled and then sighed a little. 'No,' she said, 'I have not yet lost any of my powers. I have withdrawn the particular power you mention for fear of hurting any of you. But the time will soon come when all these powers will pass from me and I shall become like other women.'

I understood that she was referring to her approaching marriage.

'And you regret nothing? Speak frankly, for I claim the confidence of a brother.'

'Some regret is inevitable, for who can lose without a pang a treasure which has been acquired with much pains? But as I have told you all the greater love cannot be had without obtaining the lesser, and since I have missed the latter it has found me and pulled me back to the point from which I must make a fresh start. Sahir, my wise brother, have you never loved?'

'Not yet, my sister. If I loved a woman or had a wife I would not have been permitted to join this expedition.'

'Perhaps you will find some fair woman to love when you return to your own country, perhaps you knew love in your past life. To me it has come with the suddenness and the power of a tempest sweeping all before it.'

Maruchi and Orlon came up and we spoke of other things.

#### XLVI

As the earth grew larger to the eye every night and the end of our long voyage drew near, Narga used to spend long hours watching the planet through the telescope. Soon she was able to distinguish the mountains and the wide expanses of the sea and to locate the continents. Of course, only a half of the surface of the planet was visible. As we approached closer to our own planet we noticed the moon waning and waxing in the two fortnightly periods while the earth loomed nearer and bigger every night. We were in communication with the earth and messages were being exchanged almost every day. We could hardly suppress our excitement at the near prospect of our home-coming.

It was the last night on board the ship for the next morning would find us back in the midst of our friends. We thought of the tumultuous welcome that would greet us on arrival at the landing place. Every one of us with the exception of the pilot was holding a pair of glasses to our eyes. Sleep was impossible

though we wanted to lie down for a few hours after midnight. About that hour when we were still at a considerable distance from the upper strata of the earth's atmosphere, Maruchi suddenly shouted a warning and an order to Nabor, 'Reverse the engines! Don't enter the atmospheric air. Keep cruising about at this height.'

There was a sudden jerk and the headlong descent of the machine was arrested. I turned to Maruchi in astonishment and asked, 'What has happened?'

'Look carefully through your glasses and you will understand,' said Maruchi, and he strolled forward to Nabor to give fresh directions.

Peering intently through our glasses we observed what looked like luminous serpents darting through the air close to the earth. We knew of course that the apparent nearness to the earth was an illusion and the phenomenon we were witnessing was taking place at about a hundred miles from the surface of the earth. The sky above the earth was alive with swift moving lines of light that flashed and faded every moment. Some of them were of astonishing brilliance lighting up the heavens underneath us in long lines of dazzling light and then being wiped out as from a huge blackboard. A ball like a shining star would suddenly burst into sight and disappear leaving a luminous trail which also vanished in a few moments. They rushed out from every direction and crossed one another, and as some went out of sight others flashed into view. It was the same wherever we looked. The earth appeared to be enveloped by magic lines of vanishing light. It were as if an invisible magician was entertaining his audience with feats of magic, and throwing innumerable balls of fire which went out themselves.

We were filled with wonder and awe. Narga asked, 'What is it? It is both beautiful and terrible.'

'It is a meteoric shower,' said Orlon.

'I have heard of it, but never seen one myself,' remarked Narga.

'Sometimes forty years will pass without such a phenomenon being witnessed, and again meteoric showers have been seen for two or three successive years.'

Maruchi came back slowly to where we were sitting and said with smiling courtesy, 'Narga, this is a display of nature's own fireworks in honour of your arrival on our planet. Half the world is watching this lavish exhibition of nature's pyrotechnics, the only difference being that, while people living in the world are looking up at this fiery shower we from our point of vantage are looking down upon it. It would be perilous for us to enter the atmosphere of the earth just now and we shall wait till the shower is over. We cannot risk a collision with a flaming meteorolite.'

Narga smiled at him and said, 'I must congratulate you upon combining the knowledge of

the scientist with the accomplishment of the courtier.'

The machine was moving slowly in wide circles, hovering over the shower of meteors. For two hours we watched the shooting stars, and when it was all over we sought our beds to snatch a few hours of sleep if we could.

The first light of dawn found us out of bed and looking down at our dear mother Earth to which we were descending. I found Narga was also up and was holding a pair of glasses to her eyes. Maruchi and Orlon had not yet come out.

Narga knew that there was no Raba on our planet and consequently she was not surprised to see that the atmosphere of the earth was clear and there was no coloured vapour rising in the sky.

'Narga,' I said, 'we shall land an hour after sunrise. Have you brought the robe you wore that morning in the temple at Opi when we saw you floating in the air?'

Narga's eyes widened a little in surprise and she said, 'Yes. Why do you ask?'

'Please put it on now to oblige me. If you wear it on sacred occasions only I consider this a very sacred occasion in your life.'

Narga smiled and saying, 'It will be as you wish,' disappeared into her room.

Maruchi and Orlon came out. 'Where is Narga?' asked Orlon, 'Is she still in bed?'

'Oh, no,' I replied, 'she was here just now and has gone into her room to get ready for leaving the ship.'

I did not tell them that I had asked her to put on her sacred robes. That was a surprise in store for them.

Maruchi said, 'Let us don the robes that the monks at Opi gave us. We shall appear like the Magi of ancient times.'

Maruchi evidently wanted to present an impressive appearance when we landed. I smiled when I thought how insignificant we would look by the side of Narga.

We quickly performed our morning ablutions and put on the flowing monkish robes and the tall conical caps. We wore sandals on our bare feet.

Narga was still in her room when we came out, but a minute later the door of her room was pushed open and as she came out Maruchi and Orlon fairly gasped with astonishment. We saw again the same vision of beauty that we had seen in the temple at Opi and the splendour of the robes dazzled us with their magnificence. In addition, Narga was wearing some ornaments that we had not seen before and diamonds flashed on her throat and in her hair.

For a long moment we gazed at her, rendering her the silent homage of our eyes and then Maruchi said, 'Narga, you have dressed yourself as befitting so great an occasion.'

Narga looked at me demurely and said, 'I have merely obeyed the orders of my learned tutor.'

Maruchi nodded at me approvingly.

We looked out. The machine had slowed down and was moving through the air at a moderate speed. We slid back one or two window panels and the cold air rushed into the ship. Maruchi stretched forth his hand and said, 'Behold, Narga, your first welcome to your new world.'

Two fleets of aeroplanes lavishly beflagged, were approaching us from right and left. As they formed up on two sides of us Nabor greeted them with a blare of his musical instruments. Flags were waved and trumpets pealed in acknowledgment.

Narga looked at Maruchi and said, 'A flatterer need not tell the truth. The welcome is for you because no one here knows of my existence, but I gladly share your welcome.'

The sun was up and the morning light flooded the landscape below us. A few more minutes passed and then Orlon took Narga by the hand and pointed downward.

Down below was the landing place. The open space where we were to alight was strongly guarded and there was a cordon of police holding in check the immense crowd that lined the strong fencing round the open area. There was a sea of upturned faces and repeated cheers burst forth from a hundred thousand throats as our machine landed, ran along a short distance and came to a standstill.

The members of the organizing committee of the expedition hurried forward to meet us. Maruchi stepped down first and I followed him. Nabor and Ganimet came after me. The staid old gentlemen of the committee stared at our strange costume, but questions had to wait while very warm greetings were exchanged to the incessant cheering of the crowd.

And then the president, somewhat bewildered, asked, 'And Orlon? Where is he?'

'He is coming,' replied Maruchi with an inscrutable smile.

Even while he spoke Narga and Orlon came forth. Orlon helped her to step down on the grass and then the twain came forward, hand clasped in hand, and stood in full view of the multitude.

A sudden and absolute hush fell on the cheering crowds. The president and members of the committee gazed in dumb astonishment at the radiant and dazzling vision before them. The sunlight flashed on the robes and jewels of Narga while she stood in all the glory of her peerless beauty. There was a faint blush on her cheeks, but otherwise she was calm and quite self-possessed, while her lips were slightly parted in an enchanting smile.

Then Maruchi broke the silence. In a voice that thrilled the hearers he said, 'We went up to a planet and we have brought down a star.'

Narga's eyes shone like twin stars.

THE END

# RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND THE RELIGION OF MAN\*

By PROF. SAROJ KUMAR DAS

WITH his characteristic *naïveté* of expression and the music of his style, Dr. Tagore offers in this present volume, as he lays down in the Preface, the gleanings of his 'thoughts on the same subject from the harvest of many lectures and addresses'—the subject being one of perennial human interest—the Religion of Man. The interweaving of this subject of religion—the acknowledged source of his 'inspiration'—serves to string together his discourses, on a protean variety of topics, into the connected chapters of a unitary volume. The easy and insensible transition with which the reader glides through the chapters of this book, clearly attests the fact that they 'are deeply linked by a unity of inspiration,' which is consistently left suggested and never actively dissected into arguments. That is what invests all his utterances with a peculiar forceful appeal, which is inexplicable otherwise. Being the consummate artist that he is, Rabindranath does not seek here to reinforce his thesis in the manner of the less gifted who would, in order to ensure cheap and easy success, "say it with" religion, and thus very often take the name of religion in vain. Indeed, this indefinable yet impressive 'unity of inspiration' is not a unity afore-thought—the result of perspiration—but becomes a unity in after-thought, directly it is 'brought into a definite focus' of self-consciousness and self-expression. This is as it should be; for our author is *par excellence* one of those that 'builded better than they knew.' Here is also to be found a fresh corroboration of Goethe's dictum that we never rise so high as when we do not know whither we are going!

To our mind what confers a unique value upon Rabindranath's presentation of the case for Religion is the candid confession, expressed with the force of an assured conviction, 'the Religion of Man has been growing within my mind as a religious experience and not merely as a philosophical subject.' (*Preface*.) This is as much a judgment of *fact* as a judgment of *value*. While laying a well-deserved emphasis on the experiential side of religion, Rabindranath does not altogether ignore the ideational side; for what he *enjoys* as the innermost experience of his 'personal life' he offers to the world at large to *contemplate* in 'its own ideal value.'

Apart from the autobiographical interest attaching to his presentation of the case for 'religion,' Rabindranath has pressed the right key in 'the Religion of Man.' With his prophetic insight he has herein restored the central fact to the centre, and reinforced the hometruth that Religion is an 'experience' of God and not a 'proof' of Him. Call it 'modernism' or call it 'mysticism'—it does not matter much. The thing is there and will speak for itself, without relying on philosophical labels, which are anything but instructive, if not positively misleading. Nowhere is the tyranny of 'isms' more acutely felt than in the sphere of religion. Indeed, what the world today seems to be suffering from is not so much the atrophy, as it is the hypertrophy, of the religious side of a man's nature. It is idle to deny that a man's religion, as at present circumstanced, stands in danger of being smothered or stifled out of existence by the rampant growth of its external paraphernalia. Thus the result has been—what it is always expected to be—that we cannot see the wood for the trees. The religion we need, therefore, is something different from the religion we have. But what we actually need is not a new religion, but a new orientation of religion.

Now, the appeal to experience, rather than dogma, in matters pertaining to religion, is admittedly one of the vital strands of Modernism and the spell of Modernism consists in stressing this point with peculiar emphasis. While fraternizing with this tenet of Modernism, Rabindranath makes no secret of his dislike for the so-called 'modernism,' which always makes an apotheosis of the present and the actual in studied ignorance of the claims of the Eternal and the Ideal. In one of his famous addresses on the spirit of Japan, he is reported to have said: "While I agree that the spirit of the race should harmonize with the spirit of the time, I must warn them (the modernists) that modernizing is a mere affectation of modernism, just as affectation of poetry is poetizing.... True modernism is freedom of mind, not slavery of taste." The evidence of true modernism in Rabindranath—if evidence were at all needed—one finds in his steady refusal to chime in with the time-spirit, with the Soviet prescript, for example, of abolishing all religion. He has sufficient insight to realize that a phenomenon which has, from the very dawn of history, held its sway over men's minds cannot be a mere freak of nature. The thing for which men have cared to live or dared to die is not one that can

\* Rabindranath Tagore: *The Religion of Man* (Being the Hibbert Lectures for 1930), George Allen and Unwin Limited, London. The Macmillan Company, New York.

be made or unmade at our sweet will. Symptomatic of this modernist disparagement of religion is a recent work of Prof. Whitehead's—entitled *Religion in the Making*—which affords an instructive comparison with *Religion of Man*. The comparison reveals a profound divergence in respect of their characteristic view-points and methods of approach. A thorough-bred rationalist with a Cambridge training in scientific researches, Prof. Whitehead brings to the execution of his task a rare specimen of rigorous thinking and judicial neutrality which the average writer on the subject of religion is sadly lacking in. Having reviewed the history of religion in the growth of human civilization, Prof. Whitehead returns the verdict that 'the uncritical association of religion with goodness is directly negated by plain facts,' and concludes with the rather startling announcement that 'religion is the last refuge of human savagery.' No more severe indictment on religion could be pronounced, and that in the name of historical scholarship or scientific accuracy. Rabindranath, however, stands in a class apart and follows a different line of approach altogether. Indeed, his engrossing concern is with *Religion*, and not with religions. He would not, of course, dispute the facts of religious intolerance and persecution that stare us in the face from every page of the history of religions, but would differ from the wrong valuation that we so often make of them. When doctors thus disagree in their diagnosis, it is no wonder that they would suggest quack remedies. But Rabindranath, like the Bengal saint of hallowed memory, would set his face resolutely against these and exclaim: "Eha bahya age Kaha ar" (i. e. "This also is superficial, do talk of something deeper"). With his characteristic penetration, he threads his way through the tangled skein of the external paraphernalia to the spot where the heart of religion beats. Following his lead we reach the inmost sanctuary, the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and acknowledge with him the idea of the humanity of our God or the divinity of Man the Eternal. Before that high altar we are ordained into the redemptive gospel that 'religion is the reconciliation of the super-personal Man, the universal human spirit, in my own individual being.' It is, however, no new message that Rabindranath preaches in *The Religion of Man*. As early as in his dissertation on the Meaning of Religion' (*Dharmar Artha*), he had laid down: "The *dharma* of the hero is heroism, the *dharma* of a king is kingship or government and the *dharma* of man is his Humanity—there being no other name to designate itself." Now, the basic 'reconciliation' of which he speaks in *The Religion of Man* is frankly mystical, and this description serves to bring out the peculiar excellence of Rabindranath's presentation of the case for religion. Here it is that we best appreciate the natural shortcomings of Prof. Whitehead's verdict on religion. Indeed, what we take exception to in this verdict is not

its crass realism, but its misplaced emphasis. The criticism derives all its plausibility from the identification,—and that an unwarrantable one—of the timeless essence of religion with its historical accidents. Believing, as he clearly does, that 'religion is what a man does with his solitariness' and that 'religion in its decay sinks back into sociability,' it is difficult to see how he can square this belief of his with the stricture he has passed on religion—making the decadent forms of religion the peg for this indictment to rest on.

Now to come to a closer grip with the detailed findings of Rabindranath in *The Religion of Man*. The one pervasive theme of the book, as he himself announces in the first chapter (entitled "Man's Universe"), is the 'idea of the humanity of our God, or the divinity of Man the Eternal' (p. 17) and 'he is God who is not merely a sum total of facts, but the goal that lies immensely beyond all that is comprised in the past and the present' (p. 206). This, his basic faith, he progressively justifies through the different chapters of the book. Man's universe is the sum total of what Man feels, knows, imagines, reasons to be, and of whatever is knowable to him now or in another time' (p. 23). Accordingly, 'the individual man must exist for Man the great, and must express him in disinterested works, in science and philosophy, in literature and arts, in service and worship. This is his religion, which is working in the heart of all his religions in various names and forms' (p. 17). Behind and beyond this universe there is the perpetual urge of the 'Creative Spirit'—'the consciousness in Man of his own creative personality'—of a Spirit which has its enormous capital with a surplus far in excess of the requirements of the biological animal in Man' (Chap. II, p. 43). Man draws upon this capitalized 'surplus' and 'through his imagination, which is the most distinctly human of all our faculties,' has to finish what 'has been left unfinished by his designer'; for 'in fact, man is a raw material for himself, which he alone must fashion into some difficult ideal of completeness upon a background which is bare.' But in this art of soul-making 'he is aware that he is not imperfect, but incomplete.' (Chap. III, pp. 54, 59). This urge of the 'creative spirit points to a 'spiritual union' which is not to be attained through the mind; for 'our mind belongs to the department of economy in the human organism.' It is to be attained only on a supra-mental level when 'we come into touch with the Reality that is an end in itself and therefore is bliss.' (Chap. IV, p. 67). A vision of this Reality was envisaged by the prophet Zarathustra in his conception of the 'House of Songs'—'Ye, who wish to be allied to the Good Mind, to be friend with Truth, Ye who desire to sustain the Holy Cause, down with all anger and violence, away with all ill-will and strife! Such benevolent men, O Mazda, I shall take to the House of Songs!' Thus spake Zarathustra, and his is the immortal glory to have

been 'the first prophet who emancipated religion from the exclusive narrowness of the tribal God, the God of a chosen people, and offered it the universal Man' (Chap. V, pp. 80, 88). It is 'the vision' of the blissful Reality that ultimately counts; and Rabindranath makes the candid confession 'that my religion is a poet's religion. All that I feel about it is from vision and not from knowledge' (Chap. VI, p. 107). The vision reveals 'the Man of my heart'—the Supreme Man of whom it can truly be said 'that he is infinite in his essence, he is finite in his manifestation in us the individuals' (Chap. VII, p. 118). 'Our religions present for us the dreams of the ideal unity which is man himself as he manifests the infinite.' Thus the poet may be said to have given 'the best definition of man when he says :

We are the music-makers,  
We are the dreamers of dreams.'

Truly, might man as 'the music-maker' say with Browning's 'Abt Vogler': 'It is we musicians know.' For 'music, though it comprehends a limited number of notes, yet represents the infinite' (Chap. VIII, p. 122, 127-28). As already observed, man's 'true life is in his own creation, which represents the infinity of man' and 'imagination is the faculty that brings\* before their mind the vision of their own greater being.' Thus, 'man by nature is an artist' and 'art is the response of man's creative soul to the call of the Real.' (Chap. IX, pp. 134, 139). Man's nature or *dharma* 'which represents the truth of the Supreme Man' is 'realized by our imagination, but not created by our mind,' and 'Religion consists in the endeavour of men to cultivate and express those qualities which are inherent in the nature of Man the Eternal, and to have faith in him' (Chap. X, p. 144). 'Today, more than ever before in our history, the aid of spiritual power is needed,' so that 'this meeting of men' may prove fruitful; and this is possible if we 'the dreamers of the East and the West keep our faith firm in the Life that creates and not in the Machine that constructs.' (Chap. XI, pp. 160, 163).

The teacher has to remember that the 'primary object of an institution should not be merely to educate one's limbs and mind to be in efficient readiness for all emergencies, but to be in perfect tune in the symphony of response between life and world, to find the balance of their harmony which is wisdom.' (Chap. XII, p. 178).

'As in the world of art, so in the spiritual world, our soul waits for its freedom from the ego to reach that disinterested joy which is the source and goal of creation' (Chap. XIII, p. 184)—is the very text of his discourse on 'Spiritual Freedom,' which forms, in our opinion, the pivot of the whole thing. Herein Rabindranath stands in the illustrious company of those seers and prophets of this ancient land of ours, whose

message of spiritual freedom greets us once more across centuries of oblivion. When viewed in its doctrinal aspect, this message of spiritual freedom will be found to be in essential agreement with that philosophic tradition which the different schools of Indian thought unite in enforcing. 'Know thyself' and be free, know in a corporate as well as in an individual capacity, and endeavour ever afterwards to bring that corporate wisdom to a luminous personal focus—this has been the message of all alike. With no loss of meaning can it be expressed in the language of St. John: 'And ye shall know, the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' Thus in doctrinal sympathy with the prophet and the schoolmen, Rabindranath holds that 'bondage in all its forms has its stronghold in the inner self and in the outside world; it is in the dimming of our consciousness, in the narrowing of our perspective, in the wrong valuation of things' (p. 190). The peculiar efficacy and persuasiveness of his message consists in this that he does not offer it in the manner of a doctrinaire.

Now, what is it exactly that he seeks to convey by the phrase 'spiritual freedom'? To the average critic or thinker, with a realistic bias or empirical leanings, the phrase 'spiritual freedom' comes to connote, by way of misplaced emphasis, natural and easy enough, just the reverse of what its author seeks to convey thereby. Whatever else it might mean, this much is certain that 'freedom in the mere sense of independence has no content, and therefore no meaning. Perfect freedom lies in a perfect harmony of relationship, which we realize in this world not through our response to it in knowing but in being' (p. 172). It is not merely in a religious context but also in the social or political field, the lack of freedom is based upon the spirit of alienation, on the imperfect realization of the One' (p. 188). Rabindranath clearly anticipates this difficulty and solves it in his own inimitable way. 'But we know,' to quote his own words, 'that, though it may sound paradoxical, it is true that in the human world only a perfect arrangement of interdependence gives rise to freedom' (p. 188). Accordingly, 'the history of the growth of freedom is the history of the perfection of human relationship' (*Ibid.*) Thus, freedom truly understood, that is, spiritually construed, is taken by Rabindranath to be a synonym, not of independence, but of 'interdependence' based on 'mutual understanding and co-operation.' This clearly explains the importance of the qualifying epithet 'spiritual' prefixed to the word 'freedom'; without the prefix, it is a mere cipher, with it, it has a local value. When, however, it is taken out of its spiritual context and used without any qualification, it becomes a doubtful asset, if not a downright liability in the spiritual balance-sheet of humanity.

'As the day is divided into morning, noon, afternoon and evening, so India had divided

man's life into four parts, following the requirements of his nature' (Chap. XIV, p. 197) — *brahmacharya*, the period of discipline in education; then *garhasthya*, that of the world's work; then *vanaprasthya*, the retreat for the loosening of bonds; and finally *pravrajya*, the expectant awaiting of freedom across death' (p. 198). 'For

this fourfold way of life India attunes man to the grand harmony of the universal, leaving no room for untrained desires of a rampant individualism to pursue their destructive career unchecked, but leading them on to their ultimate modulation in the Supreme' (p. 202).

## SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE WHITE PAPER

By K. S. THAPER, B. A. (Hons.) (OXON.)

**T**HERE has been so much discussion in the country about the proposals contained in the White Paper on Indian Constitutional reforms that one would be led to believe every bit of it has been thoroughly analysed. But unfortunately the animated party discussions of a few very prominent topics (*e. g.*, the question of the reserved subjects; the safe-guards and the Constitutional position of the Indian States) has prevented a fuller examination of other issues equally important, if not more so, for the actual working of the Constitution. These deal with the nature of the distribution of legislative functions between the centre and the provinces.

If we look around within the Empire we have considerably varying constitutions in existence. From a legal point of view the advantages which a unitary constitution, like that of South Africa, possesses over a federal constitution, are unquestionable. The interpretation of the constitution does not raise very serious difficulties.

It is known that the chief fact which turned Lord de Villiers into a vehement opponent of federation and induced him to throw all his influence as President of the South African Conference into the fight for the Unification of South Africa, was the experience of Canadian conditions derived from a careful study, during a visit to that country of the complexities of the Dominion Constitution. (Prof. Keith)

It is unimportant to discuss, at this stage, these relative merits, since it has been finally decided that India is to be a federation. If so, it is our duty to see that the constitution conferred on India is simple, concise and easy of interpretation. Already two important

federations exist within the Empire, namely, the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia. Out of these two, the Australian Constitution raises much less difficulty in interpretation and consequently leads to fewer disputes regarding the respective jurisdiction of the federal and states legislatures. All powers are retained by the States except those definitely surrendered to the Federal Parliament in thirty-nine enumerated items. To find out the validity of an Act all that the courts have to do is to see if it falls within these thirty-nine items. "Federation in Australia," says Prof. Keith, "where defence formed no driving force, was the slow outcome of the most lengthy deliberation." On the contrary, in Canada, the case is quite different. To quote from the same authority,

It appears to have been the laudable, if idle, hope of the framers of Confederation that they would be able to produce a measure which would so definitely assign to the federation on the one hand and provinces on the other their respective spheres of authority that no question of conflicts of law could ever arise.

And what they did for the purpose was to define two sets of legislative powers. Section 92 gives a list of subjects assigned to the provincial legislatures. But while the residuum is retained in the Centre, section 91 enumerates some of the subjects retained. The effect of this is ruinous. "If so," continues Prof. Keith, "their hope was utterly defeated, for the number of complexities which have arisen regarding the interpretation of the Constitution is deplorable." The courts have to test the validity of every Act not by one but by two enumerated lists and the

test becomes even more difficult when it is realized that, "it is impossible to read even superficially the list of federal and provincial enumerated powers without seeing how they overlap and intertwine" (Prof. Kennedy). Consequently there are more disputes regarding the validity of various Acts in Canada.

It might easily have been expected that greater care would be taken to avoid this unnecessary litigation when the new constitution for India was proposed. No doubt the "historical circumstances—racial, linguistic, social, economic, geographical even sentimental" that tended to obscure issues in Canada are present in the case of India. But that is no reason why we must not yet learn a lesson from the experience of Canada and evolve a document that could avoid these complexities. On the contrary, the framers of the White Paper have gone even a step further to complicate matters. They have defined not one, as in the case of Australia, or two, as is the case with Canada but three different sets of powers. Section 111 enumerates exclusively federal subjects; section 112 enumerates those exclusively provincial, while section 114 contains a large list of subjects for concurrent legislation. So that the validity of every Act shall have to be tested by reference in turn to all the three lists.

In the case of Canada, 'the Act itself seems only on the heads of Agriculture and of Immigration to have realized that conflicts were unavoidable,' and in section 95 which provides for concurrent jurisdiction in this respect, it is clearly set down that in case there is a conflict the federal legislation will prevail. There is no such *definite* statement in the White Paper which reads :

The intention of providing for this concurrent field is to secure in respect of the subjects entered in the list referred to in this paragraph, the greatest measure of uniformity which may be found practicable, but at the same time to enable provincial legislatures to make laws to meet local conditions.

But the "Federal legislature will not in respect of the subjects contained in list III be able to legislate in such a way as to impose financial obligations on the provinces." Does this mean any direct or indirect expense necessitated by the enforcement of the

Acts? Nevertheless, "In the event of a conflict...the federal law will prevail unless the provincial law...received the sanction of the Governor-General," and in that case repeal or amendment by federal legislature is possible only with the prior sanction of the Governor-General. If the Governor-General wishes to avoid political complications, this sanction is never likely to be refused. But that, however, is a matter not so much of legal as constitutional significance.

It is with regard to clauses 111 and 112 that greater cases of conflict will arise. Might not even these exclusively defined powers overlap? It has been repeatedly found in Canada that a particular Act regulating 'Trade and Commerce,' which is a federal subject, may in another aspect encroach upon 'the property and civil rights in the provinces' which is an exclusively provincial preserve.

But otherwise the British North America Act makes definite provision for federal jurisdiction on the residual subjects. Federal legislature can make laws "for the peace, order and good government of Canada, in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces," and it is only, "for greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms of this section," that the legislative functions in section 91 are enumerated.

When we come to examine the corresponding terms in the White Paper we find they are very much complicated. The residue of powers is divided into two categories. All undefined powers which are merely of a local or personal interest belong to the provinces. With regard to the rest "provision will be made enabling either the Federal Legislature or any Provincial Legislature to make a law with respect to a residual subject, if any, not falling within the scope of any of the three lists." So that both the Federal Parliament, and the Provincial Legislatures can pass laws concerning the undefined powers. The only safe-guard is that for the introduction of such an Act the previous sanction of the Governor-General is required. Is it certain that both the Federal as well as some Provincial Legislature will not pass a law dealing wholly or partially

overlapping the same subject? It has been found in the case of Canada, as Prof. Keith points out, that "there has been no rule of disallowing merely because an Act may be doubtful in legality..." So that the Governor-General is likely to leave that to be settled by the law-courts. The Indian States are in a much happier position from this point of view, as they retain all powers which they do not definitely surrender in the Instrument of Accession.

Clause 118 is specifically included "in order to minimize uncertainty of law and opportunities for litigation as to the validity of Acts." Will it succeed in this purpose? It provides for a time limit in which "an Act may be called into question on the ground that exclusive powers to pass such legislation were vested in a legislature in India other than that which enacted it." After the time limit is over the validity of the Act, however much it might encroach upon the preserve of another legislature, is established. So that the Central Government and each of the provinces will separately keep a legal department ever watchful and to bring up at once any Act, where there is a doubtful point involved, to the law-courts for some sort of a *declaratory judgment*. If the Act was left unchallenged till a particular case arose, it may be too late to upset it. In the case of 'The John Deere Plough Company v. Wharton' which arose with regard to the British North America Act the judges declared that

the structure of sections 91 and 92 and the degree to which the connotation of the expressions used overlap render it . . . unwise on this or any other occasion to attempt exhaustive definitions of the meaning and scope of these expressions . . . It is in many cases only by confining decisions to concrete questions, which have actually arisen in circumstances the whole of which are before

the tribunal, that injustice to future suitors can be avoided.

Any such prudence will be impossible in the case of India if these proposals in the White Paper remain unchanged.

Section 122, though not very much to the point, may be referred to in passing. It prohibits any sort of discrimination except legislation "which prohibits sale or mortgage of agricultural land in any area to a person not belonging to some class recognized as being a class of persons engaged in, or connected with agriculture in that area or which recognizes the existence of some right, privilege or disability attaching to the members of a community by virtue of some privilege, law or custom having the force of law." We are not concerned to point out the reactionary nature of this clause but it is of utmost importance to note that any such Act may be brought up to the courts to examine whether it actually does deal with existing privilege, law or custom. It is these vague half-defined powers that are always the source of litigation.

This part of the White Paper is so unsatisfactory from a legal point of view that it is likely to usher in an era of litigation in India on constitutional questions, such as has not been experienced anywhere before. It is still time to define it better. Whether the residuary power is given to the federal legislature or to the provinces is a matter, though of great constitutional and political significance, which does not concern the legal aspect of the document. But whether it is the jurisdiction of the federal legislature or the provincial legislatures, that is defined, there must not be more than one set of powers enumerated, the rest belonging to the provinces or the federal legislature, as the case may be.





# RAMMOHUN ROY

By MADAME L. MORIN

**I**T is with the deepest sympathy of heart and mind that I associate myself to this commemoration of Rammohun Roy's memory. Leaving aside my own insignificant personality, I am proud and happy that France should be represented here and also have the honour of paying homage to this great awakener of India. France has always struggled for and proclaimed the ideals of truth and liberty, the ideal of high and impartial knowledge, which were also his ideals. It is not without emotion that I recall how keenly conscious Rammohun was himself during his lifetime of this link between his ideals and those of my country.

I have been asked by the Indian Institute in Paris to convey to you their tribute of admiration and respect for the personality and the work of Rammohun Roy. The Indian Institute also celebrated the centenary in Paris, but only after I had sailed for this country.

All that I have seen and heard since I have come to your country, has encouraged and confirmed me in the intention of writing the life of Rammohun Roy in French. I have already been working on the subject for some time in France; and although Calcutta is really the place where one ought to study Rammohun Roy, I have been able to discover in French Libraries one or two facts which, if they had already been alluded to, had never been thoroughly established and accurately verified.\*

When I first started the research, I was told by the most competent people that it was like looking for a needle in a haystack. And I must confess that I had to spend long weeks of patient perusal of reports, proceedings, and especially of the daily papers of the time before getting any results. But in the end I have been able to establish the exact date of Rammohun's presentation to King

Louis-Philippe,—14th October, 1832—by the ordinary usher of the ambassadors. This date is mentioned by two different daily papers of the time.\*

Further, by consulting the most ancient volume of the proceedings of the Asiatic Society in Paris, in manuscript form, I have been able to prove that Rammohun Roy was effectively nominated as a member of that learned body as early as the 5th of July, 1824. There are interesting details relative to that nomination, but it would be too long to mention them now.†

Another point upon which a little light has been thrown, is the question of the *duration* of Rammohun's stay in France. Miss Collet says, in her biography of the Raja: "We do not know when he went or when he returned."‡ In fact, the stay of Rammohun Roy had up to now only been located vaguely between the 31st of July 1832 and the 31st of January 1833, both these dates corresponding to letters written by the Raja from England.§

In Mary Carpenter's *Last Days of Rammohun Roy*, however, there is a photographic facsimile of one of Rammohun's letters dated 22nd September 1832 and written in Bengali. I had the idea of showing this letter to a Bengali scholar in Paris, Dr. B. K. Ghosh, and he was able to tell me that it had been written from England. Therefore, on the

\* *Journal des Debats*. 15 Octobre 1832. Page 2. Col. 1. *Le Constitutionnel*. 15 Octobre 1832. Page 3. Col. 1. Complementary information is also to be found in *Journal des Debats* of the 19th October 1832.

† Manuscript Proceedings of the sittings between 1822 and 1844, sitting of the 7th June, 1824, sitting of the 5th July, 1824. (Page 58 of Manuscript).

Complementary information to be found in:

Manuscript Proceedings of Asiatic Society in Paris. Sitting of the 3rd January, 1825. Page 66.

*Journal Asiatique* 1825 (1er semestre). Tome 6. Page 63.

‡ Collet's *Life and Letters of Rammohun Roy*, page 200.

§ Letters written respectively to William Rathbone, Esq., and to Mr. Woodford, (*Miss Collet*. p. 200.)

\* A more detailed account of these researches can be found in *India and the World*, December 1933.

22nd September 1832, Rammohun Roy was not in France yet. On the other hand, I found in the Paris National Library an article of Pauthier in the *Revue Encyclopedique*, dated December 1832, where Rammohun Roy's visit is mentioned *retrospectively*. These two points enable us to curtail the conjectural period of Rammohun's stay in France by at least three months and we are thereby able to limit the researches to the last week of September and the months of October, November and December 1832.\*

A full-size photograph of the above-mentioned Bengali letter is to be found in the present exhibition of Rammohun Roy's relics organized for the duration of the centenary. In France we have a Victor Hugo Museum, a Rodin Museum, etc. If I may be allowed to express a wish, I would suggest that the precious relics of your national precursor should likewise become the nucleus of a Rammohun Roy Museum. They would thereby become available to scholars as well as to the public at large, instead of remaining dormant in the seclusion of private collections. If the expense of a separate building cannot be incurred, surely one of your public museums or libraries could spare a small room and give hospitality to those relics.

What seems to me the most striking characteristic of Rammohun Roy is his powerful personality—unique and admirably concentrated, and yet infinitely rich and diverse, dynamic as well as comprehensive. I consider him as the most wonderful prototype in modern times of your Indian genius, which is not limited as the Western genius is by the principle of contradiction, but manages to combine analysis and synthesis. Diversity, more often than not, results in dispersion. But, while Rammohun Roy cultivated a great diversity of interests, yet his mind remained so concentrated, his disci-

mination so lucid, that he could co-ordinate the various factors into a harmonious whole; and his purpose remained so firm that he could focus his magnificent ideals into practical realization.

He was powerful enough to draw from East and West, from every religion, from all cultural traditions, and clarify all these diverse elements, to wield them into a lofty and rational philosophy, a universal religion.

And yet, personally, I do not believe that Rammohun Roy's greatest achievement has been the creation of a new religion. Before him, India had had many outstanding philosophers and religious men; I know that he was very deeply religious at heart, but as far as his action and influence are concerned, he appears to me particularly significant as a social reformer. I am even strongly inclined to think that most of his outward religious activities (as distinct from his own inner life) were conducted in view of practical aims, ethical reform being viewed as the soundest basis for a new social and political order where Indians could enjoy higher cultural enlightenment as well as a better standard of health, welfare and general prosperity. This can be substantially inferred from many passages in his writings.

Some people stand for undiluted orthodoxy with all its nefarious forms of superstition; others, on the reverse, see no other way of salvation than doing away with religion altogether. Rammohun Roy was determined to do away with the superstitious practices which had undermined India's lucidity and vitality; but in his wisdom, he realized that the religious instinct corresponds to such a vital need, that it cannot be easily uprooted, either in individual man, or in the evolution of large collectivities. He realized through the study of history how potent that force had been in the development of human civilization. He understood that the right course was not to suppress it—it cannot be suppressed—but to purify and simplify it and to use it as a means to serve social equality and fraternity as well as political emancipation.

From a purely philosophical point of view his partiality to the Hindu doctrine is evident. He finds in the Gayatri, the Upanishads and

\* It is however likely that Rammohun Roy had already returned to England by December, and even perhaps as early as November, since a letter of Miss Aikin written in October 1832 is the only letter that we know of referring to the Raja as being in Paris at the time; his presentation to the king took place on the 14th of October, and we can infer from other letters that the Raja only stayed a few weeks in Paris, and that he curtailed his stay owing to the difficulties arising from a language which was foreign to him.

the Vedanta all the spiritual nourishment that a human soul can crave for.

But, on the other hand, he is struck by the social welfare and political progress of Europe; he also becomes acquainted with the moral precepts of the Christian gospel, and he concludes that this simple code of morality has been one of the chief instruments of the social and political achievements of the West. This is not the place to discuss how far this inference is founded, but I feel certain that it was the basis of Rammohun Roy's eagerness to diffuse Christian ethics among his countrymen.

Many passages could be quoted to substantiate this view; I shall limit myself to one or two.

I presume to think that Christianity, if properly inculcated, has a greater tendency to improve the *moral, social and political state of mankind* than any other religious system."

"Everyone who interests himself in behalf of his fellow creatures would confidently anticipate the approaching triumph of true religion should *philanthropy* induce you and your friends to send to Bengal as many serious and able teachers of European learning and science and Christian morality unmingled with religious doctrines, as your circumstances may admit, to spread knowledge gratuitously among the native community, in connexion with the Rev. Mr. Adam..."\* (Letter to Rev. Henry Ware, Unitarian minister of Harvard College, Cambridge, United States, in reply to an enquiry of his, dated February 1824. Quoted in pages 87, 88, of Miss Collet's Biography). (Italics ours).

Every word of Rammohun's declarations has to be read very attentively, if one wishes to understand his real thought underlying the studiously cautious and courteous language.

His religious point of view can also be understood by a careful perusal of his "Humble suggestions to his countrymen Believers in the One true God," where he says about non-unitarian missionaries that "When they endeavour to make converts of us;...even then we should feel no resentment towards them, but rather compassion, on account of the blindness to the errors into which they themselves have fallen. Since it is almost impossible, as everyday's experience teaches us, for men when possessed of wealth and power, to perceive their own defects."

\* Mr. Adam was Rammohun Roy's "convert" to Unitarianism. (Vide Miss Collet, p. 66).

Religion and Philosophy are opposed by some progressive Indians on the ground that they are a source of division among themselves. Another point that Rammohun Roy discerned with marvellous lucidity is that it would be far wiser and more realistic to make this great religious force of India a common instrument of unification, a common basis for constructive action. This can only be done in the broad spirit of tolerance which animated Rammohun Roy himself. And Rammohun, as a matter of fact, did not limit himself to preaching tolerance, which is only a first stage: he personally practised understanding.

He was the first Indian brave and bold enough to break the rules of orthodoxy and cross the Kala Pani, to come and study the culture and institutions of Europe with an open mind, and to observe Europeans and their mode of living with a critical—if sympathetic—curiosity. And I believe this intellectual curiosity has been one of the most important traits of Rammohun's remarkable personality. Without this universal critical curiosity, he would no doubt never have dreamt, and never have achieved as much as he did in every field of human thought and activity. Curiosity leads to comparison, to confrontation of values, to eager desire of knowledge of all forms of civilization. That is why Rammohun Roy was the first to perceive, by a prophetic and generous vision, what cultural fellowship between East and West could bring to both parties if it were understood in the right spirit: how much it could broaden the field of research, how fully it could enrich experience and human understanding, how enlivening it could prove as a mutual stimulant, how powerfully it could foster international brotherhood.

Apart from all these exceptional gifts, Rammohun Roy was also endowed with the specific qualities which make a man a real leader.

First of all, he was a realist as well as an idealist. Everything that he preached by word or pen was instantly translated by him into constructive action or active struggle. His personality is all aglow with inspiration, but it possesses also this healthy sturdiness, this sound and perfect balance, which only come to those who do not refuse to act, but bravely

accept to grapple day after day with hard and unpleasant realities.

Secondly, Rammohun Roy possessed an indomitable energy. He belonged to that type of people who are never curbed by circumstances, but who fight to dominate them until their aim is realized. This untiring perseverance in effort could be illustrated by more than one instance taken from the Raja's life. (Among other facts, let us recall how he created his own press amidst the greatest difficulties, when he was refused hospitality by the press that had printed his previous pamphlets relative to his controversy with the missionaries).

As all real leaders who deserve that appellation, Rammohun was a selfless man, he gave the first place to his cause and not to himself; he was always ready to recede into the background when he thought it necessary; his attitude in the fostering of educational reform is characteristic of this.\*

Always tactful and courteous, he remained implacably firm when essential principles were at stake, thereby commanding respect from his opponents. In our time, many so-called leaders are apt to shirk responsibilities; Rammohun Roy had such a keen conscience

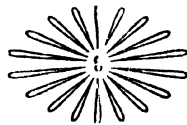
in that matter that he would rather go out to meet responsibilities in anticipation, with the most daring courage. We are inclined to forget that Rammohun was a rebel in his own time; in this respect also, his example is a great lesson. He never allowed himself to be excessive or fanatical; he was a self-possessed, generous, realistic and intelligent revolutionary.

His was a fearless life,—a lonely life also,—but he was powerful enough to stand alone and remain all the greater; as sometimes, at dawn, a tall mountain peak appears in isolation against the pale sky, shining already while everything is still in darkness, proud and fully radiant as the first herald of the rising sun.

Mrs. Naidu, in one of her inspiring speeches, very appositely said that Rammohun Roy had felt the challenge of the past. I know that the Indians of today feel the challenge of Rammohun Roy's lucid and generous vision. Your great precursor has been dead for a hundred years, but his powerful ideals are alive in the heart and mind of everyone of you today. Some of the reforms which he has struggled for have already been realized; it will be your privilege to complete the work and reach the goal. May this date of Rammohun Roy's centenary inaugurate the incarnation of his prophetic dreams into tangible and constructive realities.\*

\* Evidence given by Dr. Alexander Duff, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1853. Quoted by Mr. Hem Chandra Sarkar in his introduction to the last edition of Miss Collet's biography. Page xxxix and xi of Introduction.

\* Paper read at the celebration of Rammohun Roy's centenary.



# CAUSATION OF NORTH BEHAR EARTHQUAKE

By D. C. NAG

The possible causes of earthquakes are:

(i) Fall of rock at the surface or underground.

(ii) Explosions generated by percolation of water through the outer crust to highly heated rock below.

(iii) Operations which result or tend to result in volcanic activities:

(a) Fracturing of solid crust.

(b) Intermittent growth of faults and development of fault-slips.

N. B. The first two are of minor importance.

The forces which cause crustal movements and fractures, are:

(i) Forces which produce tidal effects on account of relative position of earth and heavenly bodies.

(ii) Atmospheric pressure (liable utmost to a few pounds' variation per square inch).

(iii) Pressure developed by expansion and contraction through radioactivity and physico-chemical reactions in the crust.

(iv) Gravitational pressure of the crust resting on a viscous magma.

(v) Subcrustal magmatic pressure which uplifts and tends to burst the crust.

N. B.—The first two are of minor importance.

The constitution and strength of the crust are of considerable importance. Seismology shows that the crust is rigid and solid to a depth of about 25 miles. It consists of about 2 miles of sedimentary rocks (porosity 30 per cent), 7.5 miles of granitic rocks (porosity 0.4 per cent) and 15.5 miles of basaltic rocks (porosity 0.2 per cent). The strength and rigidity of the rocks increase with depth. At 25 miles there is a marked "discontinuity," perhaps due to the local temperature nearing the point of fusion of the basaltic substratum. Strength and rigidity decrease with depth below 25 miles in the underlying basaltic magma which is highly viscous just below the solid rigid crust. The magmatic pressure (which tends to burst the crust) is found to be about 200,000 atmospheric pressure at the present time, being estimated\* from the density, chemical composition and condition of formation of the basic substratum (a product of crystallization from the magma at about 1200°C). The temperature of the subcrustal magma is between 1200°C-1400°C.

The thickness and rigidity of the solid crust are essential for maintaining the enormous subcrustal magmatic pressure which can by no means be due to gravitational pressure of the crust floating on the viscous magma. The gravitational pressure calculated from the average density (2.8) and thickness (25 miles) of the crust can utmost be about 11,000 atmospheric pressure. It is very probable that this high magmatic pressure is developed by ceaseless atomic disintegration by which the heavier elements are being transmuted into lighter ones and the material universe is slowly moving towards annihilation (महाप्रलय). This causes rapid increase of volume in the interior where the heavier elements predominate. The pressure increases steadily. Periodically, at irregular intervals varying from 30 to over 100 million years (average 50 million years), the pressure attains maximum intensity when it ruptures the crust and causes epoch-making geological disturbances (व्युत्पन्न). Recently during Tertiary Age, it has been the cause of the Alpine and the Himalayan upheavals which incidentally developed along the bases of the high mountain-ranges the well-known fractured zone (a zone of weakness in the crust) which extends from the Pacific to the Atlantic right across the Old World. The zone which passes through North Behar has converted it into a seismic area. The weakness in the crust thus created is eventually utilized by Nature as safety valves through which the ever-increasing volume of magma and the enormous heat generated by the ceaseless atomic disintegration in the interior of the earth, are from time to time released particularly at times of periodic major and minor geological disturbances. The operations are essential for the growth of the crust, maintenance of climatic condition and thus the evolution of this planet. The lava, poured out, supplies the materials (silicates, etc.) for the building up of the crust which is perhaps still growing thicker and stronger, and the earth (which is young yet) is probably increasing in volume while the Universe is expanding. The motive forces which cause terrestrial evolutions are inherent in atoms; they are released with atomic disintegration.

Some observations of Schuchert regarding close relation between the past geological disturbances and climatic changes are of considerable scientific importance. There was a marked change in the local climate immediately before and after the recent earthquake. Whether the change in the atmospheric condition was due to the earthquake or it was the local variations in the barometric

\* Quarterly Journal of Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society of India. Vol. IV. No. 2.  
—Co-relation between Specific Gravity, Chemical Constitution and Condition of Formation of Minerals  
Rocks, By D. C. Nag.

## CAUSATION OF NORTH BEHAR EARTHQUAKE

pressure which caused the earthquake, needs very careful investigation. It is noteworthy that extensive submarine and sub-aerial mountain-making and volcanic activities produced opposite effects on climates of geologic times. Geological and biological evidences show (see *Climates of Geologic Times* by Schuchert, 1914) that extensive submarine activities generally accompanied by marine transgression (caused by elevation of oceanic beds) are followed by prolonged tropical climate while cold climate or glacial condition (even in tropical places) appears as if *Suddenly* introduced immediately after periods of world-wide sub-aerial mountain-making and volcanic activities. Thus the grand Himalayan upheaval was immediately followed by extreme cold climate so that glacial condition prevailed in the foot-hills of Himalaya at low levels even considerably below 5000 ft. elevation. The Pleistocene Ice Age in Europe and other Ice Ages followed periods of great mountain-making and volcanic activities. Numerous instances are cited by Schuchert in support of his generalization. Evidently the amount of heat brought up from the interior during mountain-making and volcanic activities and *the way* the heat is dissipated from the surface primarily control the climates of geologic times. While under the submarine condition the heat is long retained by oceanic water, under sub-aerial condition it is quickly lost by radiation; the two conditions thus bring about hot and cold climates immediately after the disturbances. Hence could it not be that the recent local climatic change was incidentally the effect of the earthquake and not its cause as suggested by some? The earthquake might have produced disturbances in the local temperature gradient and the heat brought up was quickly lost resulting in the marked hot and cold climate. The problem certainly becomes a very difficult one considering the insignificance of the recent earthquake and of the actual climatic changes. Quick alternations of hot and cold climate might have been due to succession of fore-shocks and after-shocks which made the problem more complex.

Many theories have been recently advanced through newspapers to account for the causation of the earthquake in North Behar. It has been ascribed to *Isostasy* (a commonly accepted theory) suggesting that the Himalaya which has become lighter by constant denudation is behaving more or less like an isolated solid body floating in the denser subcrustal magma; in other words, the floating up of the Himalaya to re-establish isostatic equilibrium is the cause of the earthquake. It is hardly possible now to prove definitely the actual rise of the Himalaya by any satisfactory evidence. The investigations of the Indian Survey and the Geological Departments may, in course of time, be able to throw more light on the matter. Seismology shows that the crust is rigid and about 25 miles thick. Considering the porosity of the sedimentary, granitic and basaltic layers and hence the available space

at different depths, the fractures in the crust may be expected to develop only in the upper zone. The zone of cavity possibly extends to a depth of about 4 miles and that of fracture to 8 or 10 miles; below this the weakness in the solid crust can be expected to exist in the form of local strains in molecular aggregation. At present the crust is apparently adequately rigid and strong to resist the gravitational effect and withstand an internal explosive force caused by 200,000 atmosphere magmatic pressure. The crust should probably remain in tact even if the interior were hollow, and so it should be too rigid for isostatic adjustment at the present time. But it is very probable that isostatic readjustments take place at times of periodic epoch-making geological disturbances when the basic substrata are more or less fused and the overlying layers are rendered considerably plastic by the enormous accumulation of heat in the subcrustal region. The plasticity should account for the wrinkling, warping and overthrusting of strata which are otherwise very rigid. Isostatic readjustment is more likely only a periodic phenomenon and as such it can as well explain the low density of rocks beneath the high mountains, a fact (established by the well-known geodesic pendulum experiments) on which the theory of isostasy has been principally based. The formation of lighter granitic rocks in the upper zone below high mountain-ranges can also be explained by the local magmatic temperature and pressure at times of formation—the predominance of temperature effect on density.

The severity of the shock in North Behar and its extension over nearly two million square miles suggest deep-seated origin of the earthquake. The primary origin of the earthquake is very likely some deep-seated plutonic intrusions which caused fault-slips and originated secondary centres, presumably, in a series of pre-existing faults at different levels in the upper fractured zone. In the geological history such intrusions through local planes of weakness at great depth in the crust are of frequent occurrence. Sometimes they develop into volcanic outbursts. The sulphurous fumes (?) in the atmosphere of the disturbed area would suggest new fractures extending to several miles' depth where the normal temperature should be a few hundred degrees centigrade—a condition more suitable for the generation of sulphurous fumes from the decomposition of sulphides in the rocks. The numerous hot springs may similarly indicate deep fissures and local weakness in the crust. Many of the fissures are, sooner or later, liable to be choked and closed up but the weakness in the crust remains. This leads to repeated local earthquakes at irregular intervals which may be eventually followed by volcanic eruptions perhaps millions of years hence, when the local weakness in the crust and the magmatic pressure below become considerably more. Volcanic

eruptions may at some distant future convert the afflicted area of North Behar into a highly mineralized zone traversed by many metalliferous veins and dykes which are now absent; precious metals are, as a rule, of eruptive origin.

Joly has very ably shown the importance of radioactivity in geological history, particularly its thermal aspect. He found that high temperature gradient goes with high radioactivity and low temperature gradient with low radioactivity of the country rocks. Temperature gradient mainly depends on local atmospheric condition, physico-chemical constitution of country rocks and the intensity of subcrustal magmatic heat. The average temperature gradient is about  $1^{\circ}$  rise per 100 feet depth. There are fair amounts of radioactive concentrations in the rocks near the surface. All rocks are now considered to be more or less radioactive. According to Joly the radio-thermal source of heat in the crust can produce local fusion and minor geological disturbances. Besides the thermal aspect, the volumetric changes resulting from the radioactive or atonic disintegration produce considerable effect. Thus radioactive concentration in a rock, through its tendency to increase more rapidly in volume, would produce considerable strain in the rock which would burst if situated near a fractured zone; want of sufficient available space or adjacent fracture would induce the formation of high pressure minerals such as garnet which is thus very abundant in the deep-seated Eclogite. The rock-bursting due to radioactive concentration may cause fracturing and fault-slips and thus earthquakes. The frequent disastrous rock-bursting phenomena in the deep Mysore gold-mines may be due to radioactivity but confirmative investigations are needed; the pegmatitic character of the gold quartz is congenial to radioactive concentration.

It may be noted that there is marked concentration of radioactive minerals and hot-springs along a zone running northwards from Ranchi through Hazaribagh and Gaya to Rajgir. The radioactivity of some of the hot-springs of Rajgir and Topoban and some of the local minerals (e.g. allanite from Bahia, Pitchblende from Singur, columbite, etc.) have been demonstrated by research works carried out in the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta. Unfortunately there is no definite knowledge about the radioactive concentration in the northern extension of the zone. Evidently Patna, Mozufferpur, Darbhanga, Sitamari, Motihari and Khatmunda lie on the northern extension. Monghyr, Jamalpur, Bhagalpur, Purnia, and Darjeeling are situated considerably to the east. All the above places were severely disturbed. The disposition of the severely disturbed areas suggests that there might be three principal faults, one running north to south through Mozufferpur, another running north-east to south-west through Monghyr and Gaya and the third running east to west along the foot of the Himalayas. These

faults with a series of minor faults would enclose more or less isolated areas creating very suitable condition for fault-slips and local earthquakes. Hot-springs are generally found along fault lines and so their relative positions may throw considerable light on the location of the faults. It may be worth-while also to investigate the radioactivity and local temperature gradient wherever practicable. The leakage of gold-leaf emanation electroscope, like the one locally constructed and used in the Bose Research Institute, may be tried for the determination of local radioactivity.

Seismologists find that the centres of severe earthquakes are very often about 25 miles below the epicentres and thus probably are at or near the junction of the viscous magma and the solid crust. Similar finding in the case of the North Behar earthquake would strongly support the suggested view of the deep-seated plutonic intrusion as the primary cause of the earthquake. The centres of the after-shocks which are generally not so severe and extensive are likely to be found in the upper fractured zone within a few miles from the surface. The after-shocks may be ascribed to fault-slips and local fracturing caused by gravitational force and local radioactivity: they are of secondary origin. De Montessus (1906) found that about 95 per cent of the severe earthquakes have their origin along the recognized zones of weakness in the earth's crust. The shocks are repeated in the same locality at irregular intervals and there is hardly any basis on which they can be foretold. Seismology may be expected to do wonders. Better organization, improved seismographic instruments and more careful study of fore-shocks may, at no distant future, lead to satisfactory prediction which will be a great boon to humanity. Seismology has already given the most definite information about the internal constitution of the earth.

The destructive effects of earthquake on buildings and the loss of life and property involved have set afoot important engineering problems. The failures of buildings to withstand the shocks appear to be largely due to failure of the mortar used to withstand the jerks and the deviations of the structures from the plumbline caused by oscillatory movements. This leads to horizontal cracks and toppling down of the upper portions of the buildings. Perhaps greater damages are more often done by the shifting of sands from underneath the foundation developing unequal settlement of foundation, vertical fractures and collapse of buildings. The shifting of sands from the subsoil and their accumulation at the surface have rendered many rich agricultural lands in North Behar into sandy barren tracts. Injection of water through fissures and the forcing of water-currents through subsoil greatly facilitated the shifting of sands and their transportation to the surface. The soil has become loose and must be allowed to settle before new building constructions can be safely undertaken.

In 1897, a severe shock was felt at Wari in Dacca. It was hardly possible to keep standing and the local buildings and compound walls were seen oscillating making five to ten degrees angles with the vertical. The shock lasted for a few minutes. No serious damage was done to any of the structures at Wari in spite of their being mostly of brick masonry with mud mortar. On the other hand, many of the more substantially made buildings were either totally demolished or badly damaged in the southern portion of the town situated on the bank of the Bari Ganga. The reason for such marked difference in the destructive feature in adjacent areas may be ascribed to the difference in the local soil, that of Wari being red ferruginous clay while at the southern part of the town adjacent to the river it is sandy. The same reason probably accounts for the collapse of many buildings in Patna, Monghyr and

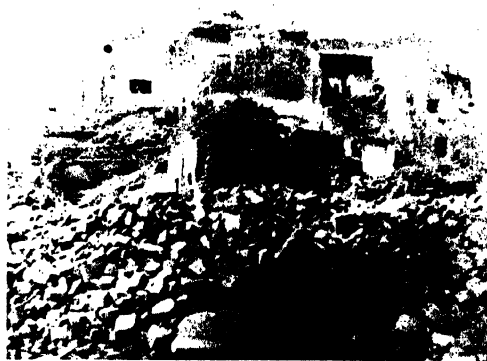
other places situated along the banks of rivers. Evidently masonry buildings are very unsafe on sandy soil in a seismic area. A very thick bed of alluvium, as in Calcutta, has damping effect to earthquake shocks. Small thickness of alluvium is very dangerous as in the case of Monghyr. Structures on rock foundation should be quite safe against tremor if substantially made. For the construction of important masonry structures in a seismic area construction engineers should give special attention, while designing, to foundation, reinforcement by steel and the quality of mortar. In case of sandy soil, if unavoidable, the concrete foundation should be considerably spread out, and pile driving may be necessary. Steel structure and reinforced concrete works are likely to be found safer for the super-structure.

February 26, 1934

### THE EARTHQUAKE DEVASTATION IN NORTH BEHAR



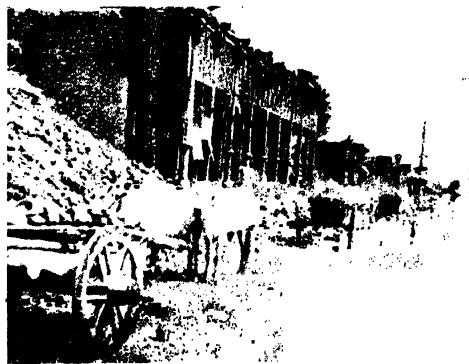
Bangur Building at Chowk Bazar, Monghyr



Chowk Bazar, Monghyr



Chowk Bazar, Monghyr



Chowk Bazar, Monghyr

• Photographs by Mr. Dharendra Chandra Dhar



# EARTHQUAKE—ITS SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITIONS

By G. C. MUKHERJEE, M.Sc.

## INTRODUCTION

**L**IVING creatures, particularly men, may be compared to colonies of ants clinging for dear life to tiny fragments of a wrecked ship in a tumultuous sea and men have somehow been persuaded to the belief that they can hold out only by practising cannibalism on a large scale." In these words Prof. Saha described the precariousness of human existence in this Universe, in his presidential address to the twenty-first session of the Science Congress held at Bombay on January 3, 1934. Just twelve days later occurred the terrible earthquake in the northern Bihar attended with the most severe loss of life and property within living memory.

The fateful day of the 15th of January was a usual winter day cool and bright. The minor Hindu holiday that fell on that day, did not much disturb the daily routine of the majority of the people. At 2 o'clock, peasants were in their fields, shopkeepers were in the market, clerks were in their offices, everybody being busily engaged in his daily routine of life. Thousands of hands were working in the newly-built sugar factories, which were pulsating with full life, it being the height of their season. Only the womenfolk in urban areas were at home, engaged as usual in their domestic duties. In a word, there was not the faintest premonition of the impending calamity in the minds of the teeming population of North Bihar. At about 2-15 p.m. came the earthquake with the suddenness of a lightning bolt and within a few seconds its work of destruction was complete. Before the people could fully realize what was happening and in some cases even before the awe-stricken women of the house could rush out of their crumbling houses, towns were razed to the grounds burying thousands of men, women and cattle under the debris, the majority of victims being women and children. Death cries and shrieks and groans of the wounded people on all sides filled the air. The catastrophe was no respecter of persons.

"Sceptre and Crown  
Did tumble down,  
And in the grave was equal made  
With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

The gorgeous palaces of big magnates like the Maharajah of Darbhanga took no more time in kissing the ground than the huts of peasants. North Bihar had recently become a great centre of industrial activity owing to the sugar boom.

Powerfully built factories of iron and concrete were hurled down as if struck by a Titan's hand, burying or crushing to death hundreds of workmen. The railway bridges made of steel girders and solid masonry designed to support the heaviest loads were broken and twisted like any structure of straw. The ground was rent at numerous places by fissures of various sizes, and moist sand, slime and water were belched out of the bowels of the mother Earth. In the whole of the northern Bihar, hardly a building escaped serious damage, and no considerable area could be found which did not bear on its face some mark of the sudden catastrophe.

The number of lives lost is not yet definitely known as dead bodies are being still recovered from under the debris but the total may go well over 15,000. The towns of Katmandu, Motihari, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Monghyr have suffered most, though Patna, Gaya and other neighbouring towns too have been severely damaged. The shocks were practically felt all over the northern India and even as far south as Bombay and Madras.

## IMPRESSIONS LEFT BY AN EARTHQUAKE

Events like this cannot but create a lasting impression on the human mind, both in space as well as in time. Newspapers, during the last month and a half, have been full of the news regarding the details of the disaster, and sympathetic appeals for relief. And human nature was aroused on its better side, for the alleviation of the sufferings of the stricken people. This is as it ought to be. But at the same time along with the catastrophe a mist of superstitions seems to have flooded the country. Fortune-tellers have rushed to print, claiming that the disaster was predicted by them months ahead from the combinations of planets. Pseudo-scientists apparently educated and holding responsible positions are filling the papers with novel theories which are curious mixtures of mysticism and ill-digested modern scientific knowledge. After the disaster, when people are dazed and their minds are terribly shaken the stories of *pralaya* (world-cataclysm) almost daily predicted by astrologers are finding easy credence.

A large number of religious theories are afloat probably trying to justify the conduct of God Almighty to mankind, the latest being that the earthquake has been sent as a punishment for the perpetuation of untouchability in this country. But this theory does not explain why the calamity has not spared the Muhammadans

and Christians who do not believe in or favour untouchability or why South India, where untouchability is found in its most objectionable form, has escaped with a light shake. Had not the incident been so pathetic, a study of the current beliefs about the recent earthquake would have thrown interesting sidelight on the depths of silly credulousness to which the human mind can stoop. The latest story current in Bihar attributes the earthquake to the Houston expedition which had recently flown over the Mount of Everest, reputed to be the abode of God Siva who had signified his displeasure by giving the earth a mighty shake.

This theory again fails to explain why the visitation should be upon the innocent residents of North Bihar, while the perpetrators of the alleged crime are perfectly hale and hearty and enjoying the reputation of their adventure in England.

Such wild stories are by no means confined to our own country alone, numerous such examples are found even in the Western countries. After the terrible Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which destroyed the whole city of Lisbon and swept 50,000 of the population into the depths of the sea within two minutes, the clergymen of Protestant Europe held that the disaster happened to Portugal because it persisted in remaining a Catholic country; while the Portuguese clergy who are Roman Catholics thought that God Almighty had inflicted the punishment on them because they had tolerated a few heretical protestants in their midst. As a precaution against future visitations of such divine wrath some of these protestants were forcibly converted and others killed or expelled. His Holiness the Pope tried to console the people by issuing a Bull in which the hackneyed theory was again reiterated that whatever God pleases to do is for the ultimate good of mankind. When Voltaire heard of this amazing theory, he remarked, "I am confirmed in my opinion that the priesthood arose when the first hypocrite met the first fool." The same thing can be said of the art of divination. It arose when the first hypocrite met the first credulous fool, and we have too many of both classes in our country.

#### SPECULATIONS REGARDING CAUSE OF EARTHQUAKES

A catastrophic earthquake is such a terrible affair that speculations regarding its origin have been active at all times, among all classes of people, the savage as well as the civilized. It would require a big volume to discuss or even to enumerate all these speculations, though such stories would prove to be of considerable interest to a student of social anthropology. We cannot, however, here resist the temptation of mentioning the amusing belief prevalent among the Garos of Assam, which was brought to light by Mr. R. D. Oldham after the great Assam earthquake

of 1897. They believe that the earth is a square surface, suspended in space by four strings tied to its four corners, much like the pan of a balance. Some mice are continually trying to cut off these strings. To a blind demon has been assigned the task of keeping away the mice. As the demon is blind, the mice sometimes succeed in cutting a string or badly damaging it. The Garos thought that the great Assam earthquake was caused by the fact that the protecting demon so far forgot his duty that the string was allowed to be snapped into two and the pan standing for the earth was turned upside down. Under this belief, some of them rushed under a raised platform so that even though the earth was inverted, they might still have a solid floor to stand upon. Not far removed from this Garo belief is the popular Hindu belief that the earth is supported on one of the heads of a thousand-headed snake, and the earthquakes are caused when the snake-god transfers its burden from one hood to another. Even in the misty periods of medieval times, however, men with a rational bend of mind found it difficult to put any credence on these fanciful tales. Bhaskaracharya ridiculed the whole idea as follows. Said the old Pandit, "If it is found necessary to postulate a snake for supporting the earth, it is equally necessary to postulate another support for the snake. Let it be an elephant for which again a third support will be needed. Proceeding in this way we shall have to postulate an infinite chain of such supports and the supported, and still the original difficulty would remain. So, it is better to accept that the earth moves in space by itself."

In ancient Greece as well people believed that there was an Earthquake god and during an earthquake they tried to propitiate this god by offering prayers and sacrifices. Many savage people cry "We are here, we are here," when they feel the earth tremble beneath their feet. This is probably due to a belief that the God has fallen into a slumber, and has forgotten to care for the people assigned to his care.

#### SCIENCE OF EARTHQUAKE

The phenomenon of earthquake did not receive much scientific attention in any country until very recently. Scientific study of earthquakes (or seismology, as it is called) really began only about 70 years ago, after the great Neapolitan earthquake of 1857, which shook the whole of Italy and took a toll of about 12,000 lives. An Irish engineer, named Robert Mallet, secured a grant from the Royal Society of London to proceed to the scene of disaster and to make a scientific survey of the catastrophe on the spot. After a thorough and searching investigation he published his report in which the foundation of the modern science of seismology was laid. Since Mallet's time, seismology has been vastly developed specially by the scientists of Japan

and Italy, as of all the civilized countries, these two happen to be visited by the most frequent and destructive earthquakes. What the modern scientific investigations have revealed regarding the nature and origin of earthquake shocks, we shall see just now. But before that let us see how the earthquakes are caused.

There is a very widespread belief, specially among the educated people, that an earthquake is due to volcano either active, dormant or extinct. The recent disaster gave rise to a belief that North Bihar is developing into a volcanic region. All these ideas are absolutely fanciful and are without any scientific basis. As a matter of fact it is common knowledge that though the eruptions of volcanoes are generally accompanied by earth tremors, these are rarely felt over a large area (seldom exceeding 100 or 200 sq. miles). The seat of the disturbance too lies very near the surface. Most of the great earthquakes of the world, even when they occur in volcanic countries, have not much to do with volcanoes, but are, what is scientifically called *tectonic*, that is, due to defects in the formation of the earth's crust. A little digression here about the structure and history of the earth's crust will help us greatly in better understanding these phenomena.

#### THE FORMATION OF THE EARTH

We know from astronomical studies that originally our planet must have been a great swirling mass of gaseous matter in a state of white heat. For millions and millions of years it went on cooling till a solid crust began to form on the surface. The phenomenon is very much like the formation of cream over the cooling surface of hot milk. Those who have had the opportunity of observing the operations of a factory smelting iron, will understand the process better. When the surface of the molten iron cools, a crust forms on the surface. This is known as the slag and consists of sandy matter which is held in solution as long as the iron is hot, but is given out when the liquid iron cools. We may suppose that the formation of the earth was similar. The centre of the earth is full of nickel-mixed iron most probably liquid, called by the scientists the fluid magma over which has formed a thick crust of rocky matter called the lithosphere (from litho-stone).

In those early days probably the whole of the water that the earth contained was in the atmosphere in the form of steam. But gradually as the crust cooled the water was precipitated on the surface and formed the oceans that we now see. In course of the cooling the earth also shrank considerably in size and the rocky crust over it underwent folding and crumpling at numerous places like the skin of a dried up apple. The comparatively elevated portions remained outside water and formed continents, while the wrinkles on the crust formed formidable mountain-chains of old days. During these times

the surface of the earth must have been extremely monotonous and uninteresting, all the continents and mountains were made up of barren rocks and the rest was water. There was no variety in these rocks, there were no soil-bearing plants, or animal life, not even a desert.

But there must have been plenty of rains giving rise to vast rivers, and a much vaster atmosphere giving rise to violent winds. It is due to this dual agency of river and wind that the monotony of that early scenery was broken, the rocks were decomposed into soil and became suitable for plant and animal life. The development of life on the earth continued through hundreds of millions of years, and four stages are distinguished by the geologists: (i) the Azoic (no life) (ii) Palaeozoic (early life) (iii) Mesozoic (middle life), (iv) Cainozoic (recent life), (v) Post-tertiary.

Geologists make certain sub-divisions in the cainozoic period. First comes the Eocene (meaning dawn of recent life when the climate was very warm), then the Oligocene (little of recent life), then comes the Miocene (some recent species) which was the great age of mountain building and when the temperature was falling. Then come the Pliocene (more living than extinct species) and the Pleistocene (majority of living species) during which the World became mostly covered with ice. When the wind is charged with dust and sand their eroding power is very great and during the history of the earth many a desert has been formed in this manner. The great desert of Sahara was formerly a hilly region, but much of it has been levelled down by the unrelenting action of powerful winds laden with sand. Rivers as well as glaciers decompose the rocks over which they flow much more powerfully than winds. The alluvial soil which is such a common feature of the earth's topography today, and which alone has made agriculture possible, is entirely due to the action of the running water throughout the ages. Not only the soil which we find today in river basins and river deltas, but also the materials out of which the greatest mountain ranges of the present age have been formed consist of sediments brought down by the vast rivers of past geological epochs. The enormous amount of material that one river collects and brings down is really amazing.

Due to the existence of wind and rivers, continents by this time would have been levelled down to vast plains but for the fact that new mountains are being periodically formed. The world has already passed through several of such cycles of mountain-breaking and mountain-making. Prof. Joly describes the process as follows:

"At long intervals the continents sink relatively to the oceans, the water stealing in over the lands. Great inland seas are so formed and persist for ages. During this time the high lands of the continents continually shed the

products of their denudation into the inland seas, so that great depths of sediment are accumulated, then slowly all is reversed. The continents rise relatively to the oceans. The continental seas disappear and gradually great compressive forces acting laterally upon the continents fold and crush the sediments which had collected in the former continental waters. In this way mountains arise where formerly had existed for ages the expanse of the invading seas."

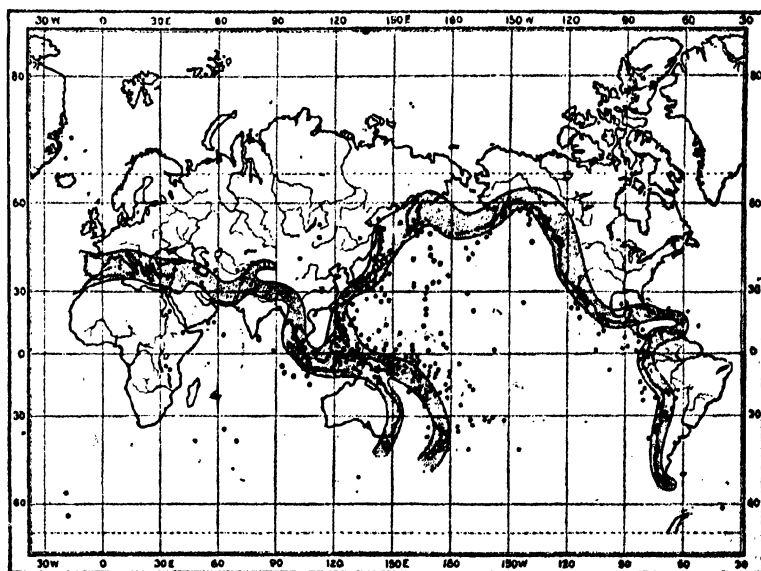
We are living at a time when such a mountain-building period has just closed. The latest mountain chains so formed are the Himalayas and the Alps in Eurasia and the Rockies and the Andes in the western hemisphere. Where the Himalayas stand today was, millions of years ago, a great inland sea,—the Tethys sea of geologists, was connected with the Mediterranean sea and formed a central ocean which divided the continents of the northern hemisphere from the continents of the southern hemisphere. Southern India was then not a peninsula as it is now, but was connected with Madagascar and Africa and formed a vast land mass known as the Gondwanaland. The rising of the Himalayas and the separation of India from Africa are not very ancient, they prob-

ably took place after the mammals had already appeared on the earth (in the Oligocene age). The close connection between mountain formation and tectonic earthquakes will soon be apparent. It cannot be expected that the great forces of past ages which folded and crumpled up the sedimentations of the ocean beds into huge mountain chains of by-gone days have ceased now or left the rocky crust in tact. In fact, these upheavals cause numerous fractures or faults in the earth's outer crust and the huge rock walls. Such faults are familiar enough to miners and geologists and show that the rock strata have been actually dragged apart or thrust together until they have broken through. Due to the continuous influence of the great compressional or tensional forces which are always active in the lithosphere (the solidified portion of the globe), slow sliding movements of the rock strata along these faults often take place. Such movements are generally steady and gradual but sometimes there are sudden slips causing some underground cataclysms like the crushing of rocky veins, or the opening

of fissures. When such an event takes place, the whole crust of the earth above it is agitated in the form of mighty waves, just as water is thrown into waves when a stone is dropped into it. These waves compress and distort the rocks and alluvia lying above, causing havoc according to the magnitude of the disturbance and distance of the locality from the place of disturbance.

#### EARTHQUAKE REGIONS OF THE GLOBE

From the above considerations it is natural to expect that most earthquakes are expected to occur in those regions where mountains have only recently come into existence. Because the cracks and fractures in older mountain ranges like the Vindhya or the Aravalli Hills, or the Ghats in South India have done all they could do in the past and have now come to some sort of stable equilibrium, very few earthquakes have their origin in such old land masses. This is exactly what has been observed. About 95 per cent of all the earthquakes occur in the two great recently formed mountain chains surrounding the globe. One is the Alps-Caucasus-Himalaya circle, and the other is the Andes-Rocky Japan-Malaya circle. This fact is a striking confirmation



Map of the World showing earthquake distribution

of the recent earthquake theories. Besides this, the evidence of underground dislocation of rocks during a great earthquake can often be seen on the surface in the form of long cracks (not the smaller fissures which are due to shaking) miles long. Sometimes the ground on one side of such a crack sinks down or is raised up by several feet, proving thereby that the bedrock has subsided or has been thrust up due to tremendous pressure from sides. Such a crack about twelve miles long ;

was visible after the Assam earthquake of 1897. After the great Californian earthquake of 1906 which destroyed the city of San Francisco the fault could be traced for 200 miles. The main cause of the majority of the earthquakes is some fault or fracture in the earth's crust, but a few others are suspected to be contributory causes, such as variations in atmospheric pressure, unusual difference in rainfall in mountains and plains or disturbance due to a distant earthquake though these theories have not yet been satisfactorily proved. These factors may be decisive when some fault is already at a critical stage. A great earthquake near Greenland last November and the coming of the cold wave (with accompanying disturbance of the atmospheric pressure) from the Panjab to Bengal between the 11th and 14th of January, have been suggested as the immediate causes of the Bihar earthquake at intervals of one week. Another big shock has been recorded somewhere in East Indies on February 15.

#### INSTRUMENTS FOR STUDY OF EARTHQUAKES

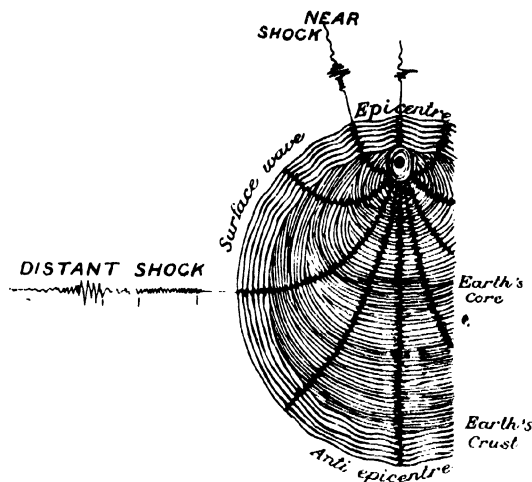
The instruments which are used in recording and studying earthquake motions are known as



Photograph of a Seismograph

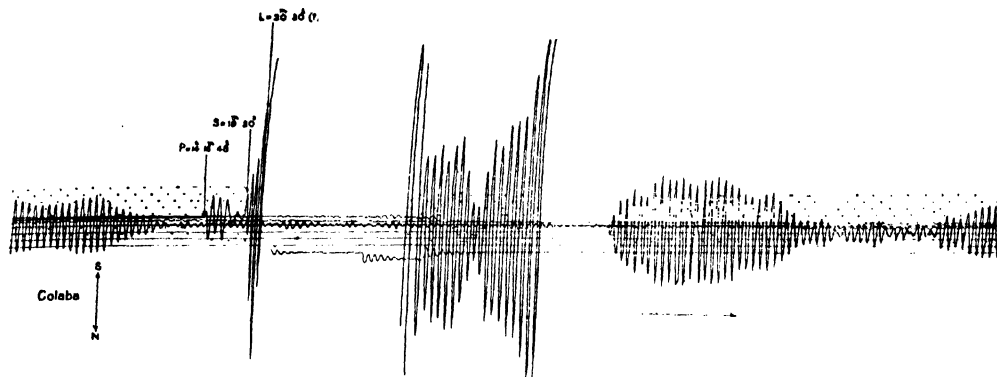
seismographs. The type generally used in India is shown in the picture. The place inside the earth's crust where the disturbance giving rise to an earthquake actually takes place is known as the *focus* or the *centre* and the point on the earth's surface vertically above the focus is called the *epicentre*. As mentioned above the disturbance at the focus compresses the rocks and also gives them a twisting motion and these two types of waves spread out throughout the volume of the earth until they emerge on the surface. They are technically known as the longitudinal, or P-waves and torsional or S-waves. P denotes primary, S denotes secondary. But the disturbance reaching the epicentre gives rise to a third class of waves which throw the surface of the earth into violent undulations. They are known as the surface waves. They are the slowest but most destructive but

they quickly get weaker and weaker on spreading farther and farther from the epicentre. All this has been clearly illustrated in the accompanying diagram. Of the three types, the primary or the P-waves travel with a velocity of about six miles per second. The secondary or the



Diagram

S-waves are slower and the surface waves which are called L-waves (large waves) are still slower, having respectively about half and one-third the speed of the P-waves. Therefore, in any seismograph, the primary waves are first recorded having come first and are known as *preliminary tremors*. Then come the secondary waves which are more violent, and closely following are the surface L-waves which cause all destruction. The farther is the seismograph placed from the earthquake, the greater will be the intervals between the primary, secondary and the large waves. In fact, a knowledge of these intervals enables the seismologists to calculate how far from his station the earthquake has occurred. The Seismograph record of the Bihar earthquake obtained at the Colaba Observatory, Bombay, (kindly lent to the Physics Department of the Allahabad University by Dr. S. C. Roy, Director of the Observatory) is reproduced here and clearly shows that three sets of waves were coming one after the other. The difference in time between the P and the S-waves is 162 seconds from which the distance of the epicentre from Colaba comes out to be 950 miles. A similar record taken at Calcutta was also sent to Allahabad at the request of the Department of Physics by Dr. S. N. Sen, Director of the Alipore Observatory, but this is not reproduced here, as the station being close to the scene of disturbance, the apparatus was put out of action. But from the records of a less sensitive apparatus, Dr. Sen calculated the distance to be about 200



Seismograph Record

miles. Distances from other seismographic stations were similarly calculated: Kodaikanal 1100 miles, Agra 450 miles, Kew (London) 4600 miles. From these distances, Dr. Roy calculated the focus of disturbances to be roughly located at the longitude  $86^{\circ} 15'$  East, and at the parallel of latitude  $26^{\circ} 15'$  North, which is a point a little to the east of Sitamuri just on the Nepal border. This location agrees with the findings of the local report, for the region round Sitamuri has suffered most. But probably the disturbance took place over a large area as in the earthquake of 1897.

The actual position of the epicentre can also be known from one station from the direction in which the ground moves, and the distance of the epicentre. A more reliable method is to compare the reports of three or more different observations. But the best method of finding the position of the epicentral tract is by actual geological survey which has now been undertaken by the officers of the Indian Geological Survey in Northern Bihar.

No satisfactory method has yet been discovered for finding accurately the depth of the focus below the surface, though several approximate methods are in use. It has however been estimated that generally the focus may lie anywhere from the surface up to a depth of 50 miles. Generally the Italian earthquakes have foci very near the surface but the Indian earthquakes are distinguished by possessing very deep foci, sometimes reaching a depth of 120 miles.

Delicate seismographs have added immensely to our knowledge of the earthquake phenomena. We now know that about 30,000 shocks occur annually of which only a fraction is felt. So that the astrologer is quite safe in his predictions, for an earthquake takes place in every third minute. But the number of big earthquakes is small, and though we do not usually feel the motion for more than three or four minutes, yet the tremors really lasts for a much longer time and

dies down only gradually. After a great disturbance, a series of milder shocks of varying intensities may continue for months or even years, because small adjustments of the earth's crust continue to take place and some time is needed to attain a stable equilibrium. This has also been the experience in Bihar. These after-shocks are rarely dangerous. In India seismographs have been installed at Calcutta, Bombay, Agra, Kodaikanal and Dehra Dun and are keeping records of earthquakes. But India as a whole has no seismological laboratory on the scale Japan or Italy has organized. In fact, these two countries suffer from more disastrous types of earthquakes than India. Here is a list of some terrible earthquakes which have visited these countries. A great Japanese earthquake in 1703 is said to have taken a toll of 200,000 lives. One in 1880 ruined the city of Yokohama and led to the immediate establishment of the Japanese Seismological Society. The Mino-Owari disaster of 1891 cost about 10,000 lives. Still fresh in our memory is the terrible earthquake of 1923 in which about 100,000 were killed. Besides these, Japan has been visited by severe earthquakes in 1830, 1847 and 1896. Like Japan, Italy too has been the victim of many destructive earthquakes from time immemorial. Among those which occurred in recent years are the Calabrian earthquake of 1783 in which six violent shocks were felt within a period of a month and a half; the Neapolitan earthquake of 1857 which has already been mentioned, and the terrible Messina disaster of 1908 which destroyed about a hundred thousand lives within two minutes is an event of still recent date.

#### 'HOW CAN WE PROTECT OURSELVES FROM EARTHQUAKES?'

This is a question which is being now asked by everybody. It is, of course, possible in two ways, either if a forecast of the occurrence can be correctly made or if the destructiveness of an earthquake can be minimized. Can anybody

predict earthquakes? The astrologers have a ready answer. If something is paid them, the self-constituted agents of planetary gods, they would intercede with the gods on behalf of mankind. But the scientists' tale regarding this enquiry must sound like Cassandra's prophecies. As we have seen, the earthquakes are caused by internal movements in the earth's crust, and the sun, the moon, or the planets have nothing to do with them. The forces which give rise to the quakes will remain present till probably mankind passes away from this globe, as so many other forms of lives have disappeared within geological periods. So earthquakes will come and cause devastation and it will never be possible to prevent them. The only service which science may render is their prediction in advance.

Even now the astrological almanacs, which exert so much influence on the minds of the superstitious public, contain an annual list of predictions. They predict numerous things in safely vague terms, and lucky coincidence is mightily boomed while the failures are forgotten. This article is not meant for those who would prefer to consult these encyclopædias of superstition for earthquake prediction. The absurd methods and ridiculous beliefs of the almanac-makers are, however, far below being honoured with scientific criticism.

Scientists unlike astrologers or almanac-makers are keenly conscious of their limitations. They have to confess that in spite of their best efforts the prediction of earthquakes has not yet been achieved. But there are hopeful lines along which progress is being made. As the danger mainly lies along the existing faults, a great part of the problem would be solved if all the major faults could be completely located. When they are visible on the surface they can be mapped out by geological survey but as they are usually hidden underground far below the soil a simple survey is not of much use.

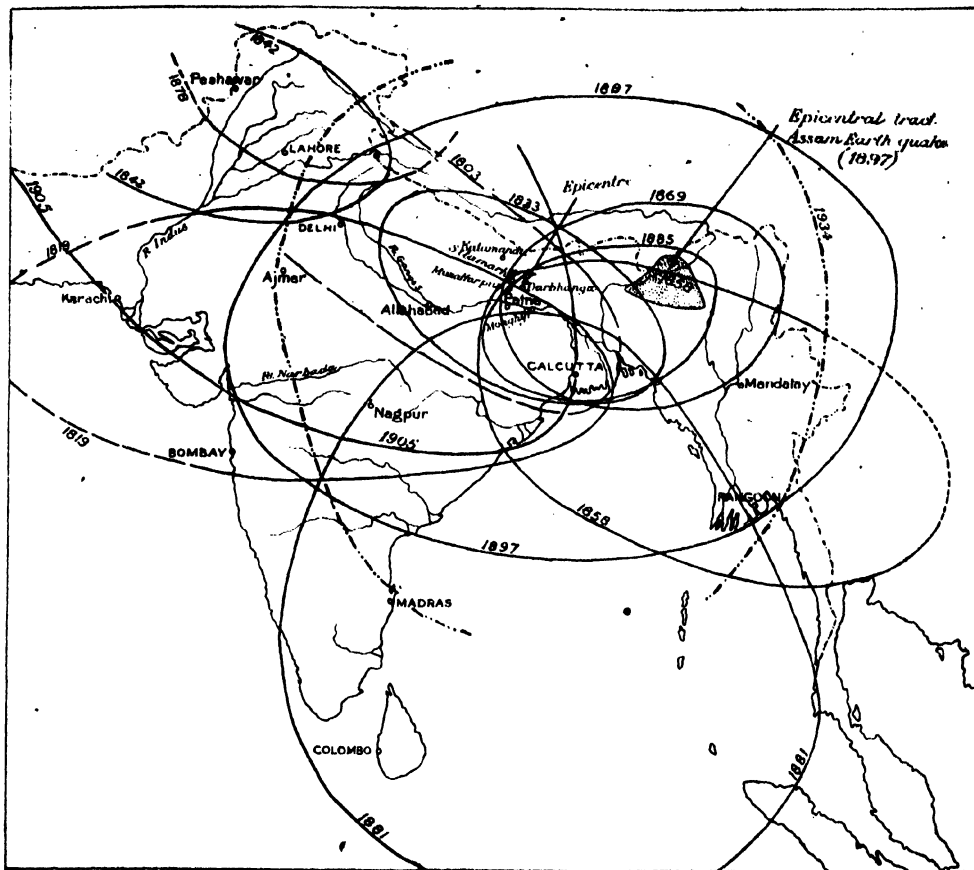
Nowadays, extensive surveys of these faults are being carried out with the aid of the gravity-variometer, a very sensitive apparatus invented by Baron von Eotvos of Hungary, which enables us to find out extremely small variations in the value of gravity in different directions. If the gravity is found to increase in a certain direction, it is presumed that below the soil, there are heavy rocks; if it decreases, the conclusion is that alluvia extends over great depths, or there is some underground cavity. In this way, the Japanese have been surveying their island, and have found that their country is situated along the length of a very dangerous fault parallel to the sea-coast whose movements give rise to destructive earthquakes.

Another method of locating dangerous faults depends on the fact that, before a great catastrophe takes place much smaller movements frequently occur all along the fault. These minor

disturbances can be accurately detected by delicate seismographs, and from a study of these seismograph records, the position and the extent of the fault in question can be quite definitely ascertained. Unfortunately however, the mere location of the faults solves only the problem of 'where,' but the problem of 'when' defies the scientific efforts. Many attempts have been made to find some periodicity in the occurrence of earthquakes, and several periods of various lengths have been discovered. These, however, do not hold good for destructive earthquakes and are, therefore, of little general interest. It has been said that in the northern hemisphere, big earthquakes tend to occur more frequently after intervals of 11, 22, 33 and 19 years. The phases of the moon which loom so large in astrology and in the imaginations of the superstitious people, like the full moon or the new moon, or the conjunctions of planets have not been found to have any connection with earthquakes.

It has been suggested that just before a slide along some interval crack takes place, some signs of distortions might be observed on the surface with the help of some vertical pillars planted in the ground.

Any earthquake however severe it may be, is rarely directly responsible for any loss of life. All the deaths are generally due to collapse of heavy buildings made of brick or stone, as are now common in all modern towns. Therefore, a practical method to lessen the destructiveness of an earthquake is to choose proper sites and to design buildings in such a way that they may resist the strongest shocks. These questions of site and design should be specially borne in mind by the house-builders and engineers of the northern India which has repeatedly been the victim of earthquake disasters. In Japan the engineering colleges include a special course on these problems. It has been found from experience that buildings built over soft soil are more damaged than those built on hard rocks, therefore, in choosing a site, soft ground is to be avoided as far as possible. Grounds with unsupported sides, like the edge of a hill or bank of a river, should also be avoided. As regards design it has been seen in Japan that after the severe earthquake of 1923, both *wooden houses* and the *buildings of reinforced concrete* stood the shock well, while the ordinary brick buildings were completely destroyed. But in the fires which followed, the wooden houses were rapidly burnt up. It may, therefore, be said that the buildings of reinforced concrete are the safest construction in an earthquake zone, the wooden houses are the next best. The famous seismologist Prof. Milne sums up his views in these words: "Having obtained our site, we can follow one of the two general systems of construction either to give so much rigidity to a structure that it may be likened to a steel box or to erect a building which is light but which has so much flexibility



Map of India

that it may be compared to a wicker basket." In either of these structures we ought to have lightness specially in their upper parts. Even in a brick house, much can be done to improve its shock standing capacity by making the roof light by avoiding projecting balconies and by making walls thicker at the bottom and tapering at the top. One portion of the building should not be too heavy while another portion is very light and arches are to be avoided as far as possible.

The recent earthquake in Bihar, however unexpected it might have been to the general public, did not come as a surprise to the geologists. Northern India being a recent geological formation has been quite frequently visited by disastrous earth shocks while Southern India being the remnant of the old Gondwanaland has been practically undisturbed. The geologists know from past experience that the earth's crust under the Himalayas is still in tension and severe earthquakes may take place any day along

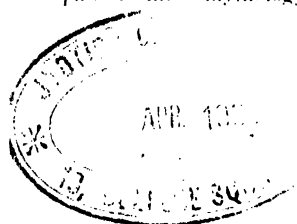
this region. The map of India which is reproduced here has been redrawn from the memoirs of the Geological Survey of India by R. D. Oldham. It shows the big earthquakes which have visited India since 1800. The black lines represent the areas over which the shock was felt. Particular attention may be drawn to the earthquake of 1819 in which land bordering the Rann of Cutch on the West, having an area of 2000 sq. miles, was submerged. It contained a medieval fort called *Sindri* held by some Rajput Chiefs. Even now, at low water, the top of the *Sindri* Fort is sometimes visible. The great Assam earthquake of 1897 was one of the most severe, but as the epicentre, shown as a black triangular area, was in a *jungly* region the loss of life was not so severe though the town of Shillong was completely destroyed and many towns in East Bengal were severely damaged. Even at Calcutta many buildings collapsed. The next great earthquake in India was in 1905 with its principal epicentre near Simla in the Kangra valley. The



shock was felt practically over the whole of North India and the loss of life was very heavy, being estimated at about 20,000. Besides these recent disturbances, many earlier Indian earthquakes too are on record. One earthquake which occurred in 1737 is said to have taken a toll of three hundred thousand lives. (This number is likely to be very much exaggerated). The city of Delhi, and particularly the Delhi Fort, received considerable damage due to an earthquake in 1719. The city of Agra was probably partially ruined due to the same cause in the sixteenth century, just after its foundation by Sikandar Lodi in 1490. There is also a local tradition at Allahabad that the old town of Pratishthan which stood to the east of the modern city was destroyed by an earthquake.

Besides these earthquakes which are on record, there may be others which have probably passed into mythology and I am taking the

licence of putting a scientific interpretation on some of these tales. It is recorded in the Puranas that when the Yadav heroes (kinsmen of Krishna) perished after a fight amongst each other as the result of drinking carnival, and Krishna was shot by a hunter, the sea encroached upon Dwarka, the capital of the Yadavs, and engulfed the whole city except the palace of Krishna in fulfilment of a pledge given to the Sea-God by him. This may be dimly referring to a distant earthquake in the past in which prosperous cities on the Guzerat coast were engulfed much like Lisbon in 1755. Another well-known Biblical story, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorah by divine angels on account of certain vices prevalent amongst the citizens of these two cities, probably referred to some earthquake in which these two cities disappeared.



## ON LOYALTY

By FRANK C. BANCROFT

I

**A**NYONE endeavouring to take the ethical side of life seriously is eventually struck by the intimate relationship between virtues and vices, a relationship, indeed, which often makes an identical act seem praiseworthy and reprehensible to two persons of equally good character. Perhaps no complex of human attitudes more eloquently illustrates the point than those which cluster about the word "loyalty." Generally reckoned to be a good thing, not a little can be said to prove that it is far from being the royal road to everything desirable in life. What follows is an effort to assay it, as far as possible judiciously, bearing upon both its advantages and disadvantages.

Some years ago, in connection with a news competition in Princeton University, I approached ten leading academic personalities, ranging from the president to the janitor, asking what, in their opinions, were the six most important words in the English language. Prepared independently, six of the lists gave "loyalty" the leading position, which at least

revealed that in that place and at that time it rated very highly. I have thought a good deal about the matter since, and recently, through certain personal experiences, have particularly been led to do so. Accordingly it will, I hope, be pardoned, if a certain amount of the first person is included in the analysis, for in such matters we are influenced by nothing so much as the actual choices which we ourselves are called upon to make.

There are various agencies to which a man's loyalty is from time to time solicited or spontaneously offered and it is largely upon the basis of his reactions in these connections that he is considered loyal or the reverse; like all the other virtues (if such it be) loyalty can be truly known only in action, or at least in attitude. No one is abstractly either loyal or disloyal. Let us begin then with the state, which is one of the largest agencies to which the individual is connected and, incidentally, the one in relation to which loyalty is most commonly discussed. Should a man at all times be loyal to his country; and, if so, what does such loyalty involve? Recently I had a conversation with a member of my

country's diplomatic service in which he inferred that certain actions of mine jeopardized American business interests in another country and were hence disloyal. I could think of no answer but that my actions seemed to me right and that business interests, whether American or otherwise, would have to arrange themselves accordingly. Not long ago thousands of English university students in many institutions stated publicly that under no circumstances would they go to war to fight for their king and country. And similarly, several years back, a noted Canadian educationalist and divine was refused citizenship in the United States because he reserved to his conscience the right of deciding whether future wars were just wars, and therefore worthy of his participation. The acme of loyalty to country is summed up in the phrase: "My country, right or wrong—my country." What this means is that in a certain area of his life the individual gives up both critical thought and moral choice, and surrenders his innermost self to another agency. Many would claim that at just this point he ceases to be either a rational or ethical being.

Leaving till later any appraisal of this situation, let us look at loyalty in another very large connection, that of a man's fidelity to his creed. Most of us are born and baptized (by one rite or another) into one of the five or six great classical world religions. Does loyalty demand that we should live and die in this creed and do our best to start our children in the same direction? It so happens that I am a *pouffe* in the Anglican Church, known in America as the Episcopal Church. I took this step because I genuinely believed that in so doing I could use my life to the best advantage, both personally and socially. But suppose later I should come to feel that I not only do not wish to be a professional religionist, but that one or more of the other classic systems has much to offer me—perhaps more than that to which I was born? Am I a disloyal person if I espouse that which seems to me more ample and more true, or if I try to work out for myself a synthesis of the best offerings of several? To quote popular phraseology again, there is a much-beloved Negro spiritual which runs: "Gimme dat

ole-time religion—it's good enough fo' me." Is it good enough, necessarily? The question is, if anything, a more serious one than that of national patriotism. Most of the time one's relations to his country are quiescent and demand little thought; but if religion be anything today it is an attitude toward life as a whole and can never for a moment be left aside. Saving the old religion "is good enough for me" is tantamount to parading the fact that in every thought, attitude and deed one has bound up his judgment in a little packet and handed it over to the past, quite regardless of the offerings of the present or the intellectual and spiritual allurements of the future.

Many of us are related as students, professors, directors, or alumni to some institution or other of higher education. Should we be loyal to it, and if so, how? It so happens that my own university in America flagrantly violates two principles which I personally hold dear; it is one of the very few great universities which has never admitted a Negro student and never means to; and it is supported from its oldest foundation-stone to its newest collegiate gothic pinnacle by the endowments of super-affluent capitalists, a class I dislike. Should I wish to send a son of mine to a place which excludes one of the greatest sectors of the American population and should I year after year pay class insurance which goes to swell the already tremendous endowments? Is it disloyal of me thus to write about my Alma Mater in the public press? A similar saw can be quoted in this connection, one which for some time has been quoted in America against perfervid college loyalty: "I'd die for dear old Rutgers." As one looks back over the class-reunions he has seen in his own university, he can think of many middle-aged men for whom college loyalty was the warmest affection enshrined in their breasts. This might be regarded as an earnest of a deeply loyal nature; or, on the other hand, it might seem to some a sign of retarded adolescence, an indication that greater and more inclusive loyalties had failed to come along and put this one in its true perspective.

Once more, there is the question of loyalty to that institution in which one earns his living. If one works for National Biscuit or the Rockefeller Foundation or Santiniketan or

Tata Steel, how much and what kind of loyalty is forthcoming from him? Must he praise everything which they do, make, or say, even when he believes the exact contrary? And is it indecorous for him to say in public what he believes about their major policies? In the negative this much can be said: There is a possible philosophy of employment which would call only for a man discharging the duties for which he was engaged to the utmost of his ability; meanwhile he is free to think and say what he wishes about the whole, it being clearly understood, of course, that he runs the risk of being discharged as a result. Has a high official in the Public Works Department the right to publish adverse facts about the Education Department, or does the fact that he receives a salary from H. M. I. G. mean that he forfeits the right to an opinion in public on any and all of its departments? Put in its broadest sense the question becomes: When a business concern purchases the services of a man, does it also purchase his conscience, his intelligence, and his human right to express himself in public?

Lastly, we come to the most difficult arena of life in which to compute the value of loyalty, *i. e.*, that of the family. In India, where families ramify indefinitely and where loyalty to them has traditionally been considered one of the very great virtues, the issue is an even greater one than in the West, where it is severe enough. There are many kinds of family loyalty, including obligation to pay back to parents economic hardships borne by them in the child's infancy; shaping one's life so as to carry on the family's traditions and aims; obeying the will of parents in marriage; and upholding a family member when one knows that he is entirely in the wrong. This aspect of loyalty reaches its apogee in marriage, and if it can be shown that even here complete loyalty is not necessarily a good thing, perhaps this will indicate that the other relationships can also bear inspection. We will leave aside such matters as the rapidly-growing acceptance of divorce in the West, and experimentation with trial-marriage (both of which are corollaries to the proposition that instantaneous, complete, and eternal loyalty are not necessarily involved in marriage). Let us think of a single pair.

If, after ten years conjugal union resulting in three children being born, the husband begins to beat the wife, to neglect the children, to give himself to all the major vices, and to absent himself from home for weeks on end, is the wife called upon to be loyal to the end? And even if after two years and the birth of no children at all, the husband finds that the wife is a chronic shrew and nag, that she shares none of his life-interests, and that living with her only prevents his becoming anything that he might become, should he be loyal for the next forty?

I can well remember the day eight years ago when I came to an understanding with my mother about loyalty. I told her plainly that, though I would find the deepest joy in contributing to her happiness when possible, I should, in all matters which seriously affected my own life, make my own choices, even if they were diametrically opposed to her wishes. Although to some this may seem a breach of loyalty, in our own case it only put the relationship on a firmer ground of comradeship, and thenceforth I always valued and sought her advice even more than theretofore.

## II

What has preceded is intended by no means as a wholesale indictment of loyalty. No society of any kind is possible without certain adhesions which engender loyalty. The opposite of any kind of loyalty at all is the sheer individualism of the pre-man wandering through the jungle in search of food. Obviously, if there is to be common enterprise, there must be loyalty of some kind. If most of us would agree that crass individualism of this type is undesirable, perhaps there will also be some unanimity that 100 p. c. loyalty in any of the relationships dealt with above is hardly more palatable; and of course it would be very easy to show how terrific conflicts between those very agencies would make it impossible, and eventually throw the matter back upon private judgment. Instances are unnecessary, but just to make the point clear we will raise the case of a man who felt patriotically impelled to go to war but knew that it would kill his father if he did; or of one whose religi-

ous convictions drew him further and further apart from his wife. Galsworthy has already dealt sufficiently with this point in *Conflicting Loyalties*. It may all be summed up by saying that even if this type of loyalty were desirable, it is clearly impossible.

But loyalty there must be, and it now remains for us only to describe the form which it should take. But "form" it will *not* be, for individuals and societies vary, and one man's meat is another man's poison, one country's is another country's, etc. The trouble arises from seeing the question too narrowly and demanding of all others that they should have the same kind, quantity, and intensity of loyalty as ourselves—or the same lack of it. Loyalty is not so much a virtue or vice as a type of temperament, and there will naturally and inextricably be more or less of it in certain individuals. Although such loyalty may not appeal to us, how many noble books have been written about family loyalty and how many noble lives have been offered at its shrine. Some people's whole psyches are tied up with their own family groups, and if the aims and standards of the families be high, such deep affection and co-ordinated effort produces very valuable results. A few months ago an aged and revered teacher of Santiniketan passed away. He was one of the original staff of the institution and had poured more than forty years of his life into it. There are men in high positions all over Bengal today who look back to his leadership with grateful affection. No doubt in forty years he must have witnessed a good many things which were not as he or anyone would have wished them; this is inevitable in such an institution. But I imagine he never wrote a word against the *Ashram* in his life. It lay too near his heart. Who could deny that such loyalty to an institution has its uses, both in its inner life and in the contribution it is able to make to society as a whole? Again, take patriotism. There is a certain stage in the evolution of national life in which it seems the highest of the virtues. Recently we honoured the memory of C. R. Das, who stated plainly that his religion was patriotism. Garibaldi will always be honoured in Italy, George Washington in America, and Lenin in Russia—all as great patriots and as

men who were willing to lay aside lesser loyalties and give themselves to the one great issue at hand—the freeing of their countries. And then there are the Jesuits. Some time back it was my pleasure to meet a group of young Jesuit fathers in Kurseong. Most of them were my countrymen, and they had a warm affection for their motherland, but it was nothing as compared with the deep fire of their loyalty to the Catholic Church. For centuries Jesuits have known no jungle too thick to penetrate, no desert too dry to traverse, and no sea too wide to encircle, in their effort to carry the Gospel to the whole world. Whether or not one can agree with their theology, he cannot deny that they have brought great blessings, both temporal and spiritual, to millions of needy people. Even college loyalty has something to say for it, especially when it represents a forward step in widening loyalties. I can remember three girls at a student Christian conference in America who took a considerable plunge in deciding that they should stop being loyal to their sororities (women's fraternities) and begin to be loyal to the greater good of their university as a whole!

But there is a possible loyalty beyond any or all of these, and it is its adherents who are sometimes branded disloyal by members of the other cults. It is the loyalty to truth in its fulness and to mankind in its entirety. If one once admits that individual development is along lines of expanding loyalties, it is the only logical stopping place. Many who would not feel particularly guilty in jeopardizing American business interests might stop at economic practices and standards which endanger the well-being of man as a tribe. Likewise, those who will not in all cases and under all conditions obey their parents' will might prove considerably interested in measures to humanize child-birth or to provide widows' pensions. And even those who desert their creeds and churches may still maintain a considerable thirst for the truth about God, man, and their relationship. Only they see things dynamically, and are, therefore, chary of hooking themselves up to any specific and limiting loyalties lest these prove lethal to the larger and more universal ones.

The Hindu religion has always been wise

in realizing that there are at least two kinds of good life on the earth; that which is attached and that which is unattached. There has always been the "holy" man and the "worldly" man. Few of us today would care to be either holy or worldly, but there is nevertheless a good deal of meaning in the ideas behind the words. Some will be agriculturists and herdsmen and some explorers, and both will contribute to human economy. But none will entirely fall into either group, at least none whom we shall take seriously.

If a few wish to plunge into fanatic loyalty on the one hand or to fly away into the unreal freedom of the recluse on the other, let them do so. The rest of us will be found somewhere along the middle distances of attachment and detachment. But this much (at least) is sure (to paraphrase the famous lines of Shakespeare): loyalty to any person or agency is worth but little to him or it, to oneself, or to the world, if it be bought at the price of a fundamental disloyalty to the truth as one sees it.

## ALL-INDIA ART EXHIBITION—CALCUTTA

By J. K. SEN

THE All-India Art Exhibition held in the Indian Museum this year attracted considerable notice owing to some extraordinary features associated with its success. Calcutta is accustomed to exhibitions and pageants every year during the X'mas holidays and a huge public flock to the many attractions of the city. Some art-exhibitions also naturally open their doors at this time, when the season is in full swing. The All-India Art Exhibition held this year owes its inception to some new ideals. It was held under the auspices of the Academy of Fine Arts—an institution recently started in Calcutta. It invoked a storm of resentment in some other parts of India for no other reason than that it ventures to crystalize an All-India Organization consolidating the multifarious art activities of India as a whole. One would have scarcely suspected that any such institution whose avowed object was an adjustment of the vast field of Art could arouse jealousy or heart-burning in any other place. Coteries and cliques there must be here and there and new schools or passing vogues must exact their homage in their own ways. There could, however, be no question that some place to study all these movements as a whole from year to year is a necessity. A vast amount of art-activities is controlled by the Government of British India and those of the Indian States and they should not be allowed to stand alone, for their co-operation is a *sine qua non* to the success of any All-India Art Exhibition worth the name. The success of this year's affair could be gauged by the fact that the leading Indian Princes not only graced the Exhibition with their presence but extended to it their warm patronage. Their Excellencies the

Viceroy and Lady Willingdon also evinced a keen interest in it and their visit was intended practically to put on a firm footing the foundations of this concern. Sir John Anderson too, so long unknown as a lover in this quarter, came forward to shower his blessings and in a neat speech remarked that the Jubilee of this Art Academy would be an accomplished fact in future. These and other features seemed to have created a halo of hope round the activities of the Academy of Fine Arts, one of whose Secretaries undertook the arduous task of visiting the leading centres of art in every part of India so as to enlist their enthusiastic support for the cause.

The scope of the Exhibition was happily wide enough to embrace within it the art activities of both Eastern and Western types and also the new forms of beauty through which the world is now eager to shadow forth its new experiences. The authorities also made arrangements to exhibit original paintings of some western masters, such as those of Sir Edward Burn Jones and Alma Tadema and these produced a great impression on the visitors who had never an occasion in India to see a genuine original masterpiece of this type. There were also types from oriental, orthodox and archaic schools and as usual they monopolized the attention of the foreigners who are fond of the "curios" in the East. In fact, the corridors of the Indian Museum constituted for a time a picture gallery of an entrancing nature. The range of pictures reflected the many moods India is passing through and the mosaic of her experience got reflected in the many specimens of creative enthusiasm exposed to public view. The common ground of beauty of every type or class could, however, never be lost sight of in an

exhibition of this type. Beauty is not to be adjudged from racial or territorial view-points and it is a common possession of humanity. No one fails to enjoy a St. Sophia or a Taj—an Ajanta or a Horyuji—because of their ethnic or racial background. It would be shocking to introduce these limitations in a consideration of the cosmos of beauty. In this Exhibition all the schools that have any chance to impress the Indian mind—the most go-ahead and the most archaic—had their chance to secure the approval or praise of the visitors who thronged the Indian Museum. One noticed the brush-creations of the ultra-modern expressionist of India in a field filled up with specimens of solemn and restrained beauty of Indian ancient type. In fact India confronts today a parting of ways. The lovers of the old and the antique, the bizarre and the archaic, die hard and India is hardly free to breathe in the new atmosphere that has overtaken the world as has been the privilege of Japan, China and Turkey who refused to compromise their present outlook with the lingering love for the ancient and the defunct, which had no doubt their unquestionable draws. The nations of the world today whether in the East or the West are confronted with problems that were unknown and unthought of only a few years ago and they are out to express their new experience in fresh terms and settings. This has resulted in the cementing of a common fellowship in the world today. While the other nations have in a common creative call taken on their back—Atlantis-like—the burden of a common aesthetic urge, it does not behove India to remain aloof from this forward march which would mean to her a loss of a most vital nature. The world today is already in shreds and tatters and it is only the visionaries of both the hemispheres who are trying to create a cosmos out of a chaos. No doubt the forces of war and disruption are at their sinister business forging weapons for mutual destruction but let no one forget that the infinite man behind is not idle but is rapt in weaving new cocoons of beauty in the term of the man of today on his Cross. Out of the travail of today the coming order is casting its shadows and the very fetters of the age might prove the charters of a new freedom tomorrow. Not the flicker, the shadows and the mock phantasies of yesterday, whether of the East or the West, but the grim realities frowning ahead that must find their rhythmic imprints on the canvas of modern art. Not fiddling away with the past order but burning itself out before our very eyes but carrying forward the joyous ensign of today—that should be the task of the artist today. Even Europe is not today what she was a decade ago. New hopes have emerged, new visions flickered and new cycles evolved out of the agony and chaos of a war that left a heritage of strange wealth for ages to come. In the East the shock of that explosive

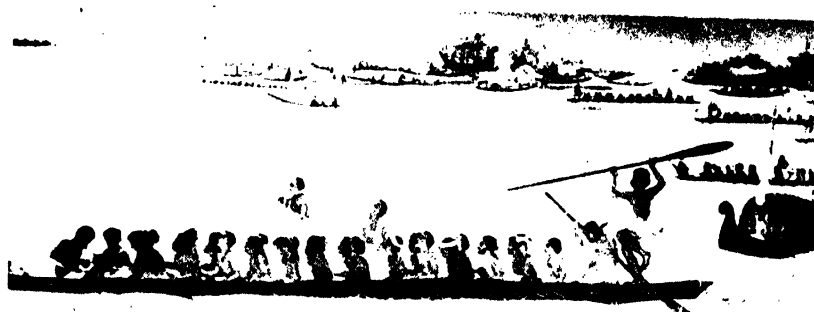
outburst reverberated in no small measure. In Japan the world realized a new transfiguration through the shadows of her wonderful art, which visionaries stirred with hashish of modernism hurried to offer to the world. China also came forward with a grim response born of a realization of actualities which gave no quarter to effete and antiquated dreams. There is no scope for idling away with fantastic dreams, finding solace in a pigtail philosophy offering a questionable solution—nor a fez-worship within the harem of a Turkish bath following the smoky trails emerging out of pipe and conjuring up Arabian Nights with demons coming of pitchers. These were the lullabies to soothe the orientals of yesterday and keep them out of harm's ways. The epoch of 'shorts and shirts' however spells a new philosophy even in the East where the new generation has hurried forth from his home in the quest of a new mirage in the burning sands and under a scorching sun: Who knows what glad tidings of great joy await these new pilgrims on their journey?

The role of India in these new settings must, therefore, be seriously considered. Is she to remain outside the pale of the new march? Should her artist while away their precious soul-force in search of touchstone lost for ever? It is a pleasure to find in this Exhibition silent forces at work which reveal the unity and the universality of the growing world-consciousness. Even India seems to be suffering from the malady of the world and she seems to be anxious to express herself in the new language of art that is getting itself broadened from day to day. The world is nearer today to man than at any time in past history; swift means of locomotion, of transference of news, in fact, of expression as a whole have worked out a new miracle undreamt of yesterday. These must have their reflex in the shaping of a common culture today. The age of machine is exacting its toll of victims and while it is effecting a new metamorphosis in international relationship through breakdowns outside and unemployment at home its invasion of our hearths and homes has none the less been less acute. In India a curious amalgam of ideas and an indecision of thought hound every home in no uncertain ways. Some of her people are yet found to harp on the glory of yesterday and thus create a type of pseudo-orientalism based on mock sentiments which are taken quite seriously. The western partiality for oriental curios produced a type of commercial art in Japan and the same has happened in India too. On the other hand, every home is getting daily filled up there could be no denying the fact—with photographs turned out in their hundreds and hailed in every home. This call for the photograph—the most hollow type of realistic rendering—reveal that the outlook in India too is not the same as it was yesterday when the drawings of artists only found universal favour through their old world charms. The orthodox oriental mood,

therefore, seems to have got suffocated with the pressure of this new lure. This is leading to a steady deterioration of the creative impulse itself. The call of beauty fails under the circumstances to function in a normal way if the artists are harnessed to produce things after defunct forms. The age that has ebbed away must not dictate the terms of the figuration of today. The violation of natural laws leads to a chaos which could never be remedied easily. There is no question about the exceeding beauty of creations of the classic age, but unfortunately the realities of today are different. In this Exhibition we find some of the artists tackling these new problems with courage and vigour. Indian culture, however, must have always in it the creative flavour and aroma of ages gone by and even in expressions through the aesthetic language of today that aroma is not lost and the subtleties of Indian psychology leave their muslin-like impress. Even in the field of portraiture an Indian artist offers rhythmic qualities which it would be difficult to encounter elsewhere. This Exhibition furnishes us with an idea as to how India might contribute to the wealth of creative beauty in the terms of the modern age. In fact, one gets astonished at the achievements of some of the young artists. The black-and-whites, water-colours and the etchings reveal successful fields in which the artists have used their brush with success. In fact, the new nationalism of India is really working itself out in a sphere in which the world can appreciate her at her best. The West, in fact, offers her the hand of fellowship in this new brotherhood in the realm of beauty. To omit these new types of expressions from the category of modern expression even in India means a lamentable blindness to realities that must have their say and probably must sweep away some day the mummied doctrines of a fossilized age. The new desire for world-fellowship in art is working surely but slowly. In India Tagore the Poet came forward to express India's response to the call of the world and he couched it in a language intensely modern certainly not his own. The music of this poetry was heard from the farthest corners of the earth. His paintings too cast after the modern expressionist type had their queer urge in a kaleidoscopic series of figurations. G. Tagore with his painting was another link to connect India to the world of today while even Abanindra Tagore with his portraits and animal figures show that he refuses to remain for ever in the cell of an oriental hermit away from the multi-coloured expressional epic which the world is anxious to figure. Neither the world of a Shakespeare, an Angelo or a Dante in the West nor that of an Ajanta or a Genji in the East—but a world intensely alive and burning with the rush of live problems and forces dashing past us and suffocating us by their urge—should be the immediate concern of this age. In India the problems of the world

and their expressions take a new colour in the light of her synthetic outlook. She has always been the haunt of the artists of the world, for her wealth of beauty has no parallel elsewhere. Why should not Indian artist be alive to it so that its many phases might be delivered as messages from the East? The artists of this Exhibition, organized by the Academy of Fine Arts, deserve well of the world. Through them the world of art must be freed from the coarse commercial octopas that is eating into the very vitals of Indian figurations. A ramble through the exhibition gave one an idea of the wealth of Indian atmosphere—the weird gifts of nature, the marvellous colours of the sky and the dramatic situations with which one is confronted so easily in this country. The panorama of bathing ghats, the village pageants, the red mornings, the scintillating glows of vanishing twilights, the sun-burnt desert and the variety of ethnic forms all crowd the canvases in a bewildering way. In no single centre of the world could one find rhythmic wonders of such divergent types. The artists of the world therefore always flock to India for inspiration. It is proper that her artist too should explore the fountain of her expressive beauty. The expressions of India must not satisfy merely the lovers of the antique and the curious who try to stifle the inspiration of the passing hour. The organizers of the Academy have however given sufficient scope not only to the new artists wielding modern weapons but also to the creative enthusiasts of the orthodox oriental school. Promod Chatterji, Sarada Ukil, Ramendra Chakravarty, Blubau, Barmen and others are there to occupy a decent niche with their haunting dreams. The charming presentations of an old-world idealism always find a response in this country, for the present age is to some of us a nightmare of the worst type. Like *kirtan* music, Vaishnava poetry and old folk-paintings, they have a magic of their own that could never be dismissed nor rivalled in their own field. Perhaps Jamini Roy's archaic school reveals a stronger creative vigour which must find response in these days of weak sentimentalism and sophisticated faiths. Productions of this type produce an effect similar to enacting a Shakespearean drama on a modern stage with which one feels disgusted at any time. But the attempts of other artists in fresh fields to put new feathers to their caps are very significant too. Excellent landscapes in a setting with wonderful warmth of colour not easily found in western products, appeared as revelations before the visitors. Their subtle charms and subdued tones could only be supplied by Indian artists alone. The artist of the West also have come and joined hands in an attempt at an expression of universal beauty. The new language of art is a common medium for all. Let not artists from the East falter and grow nervous when they find new forces, ideals and

Three Ganguli Brothers.  
By Atul Bose

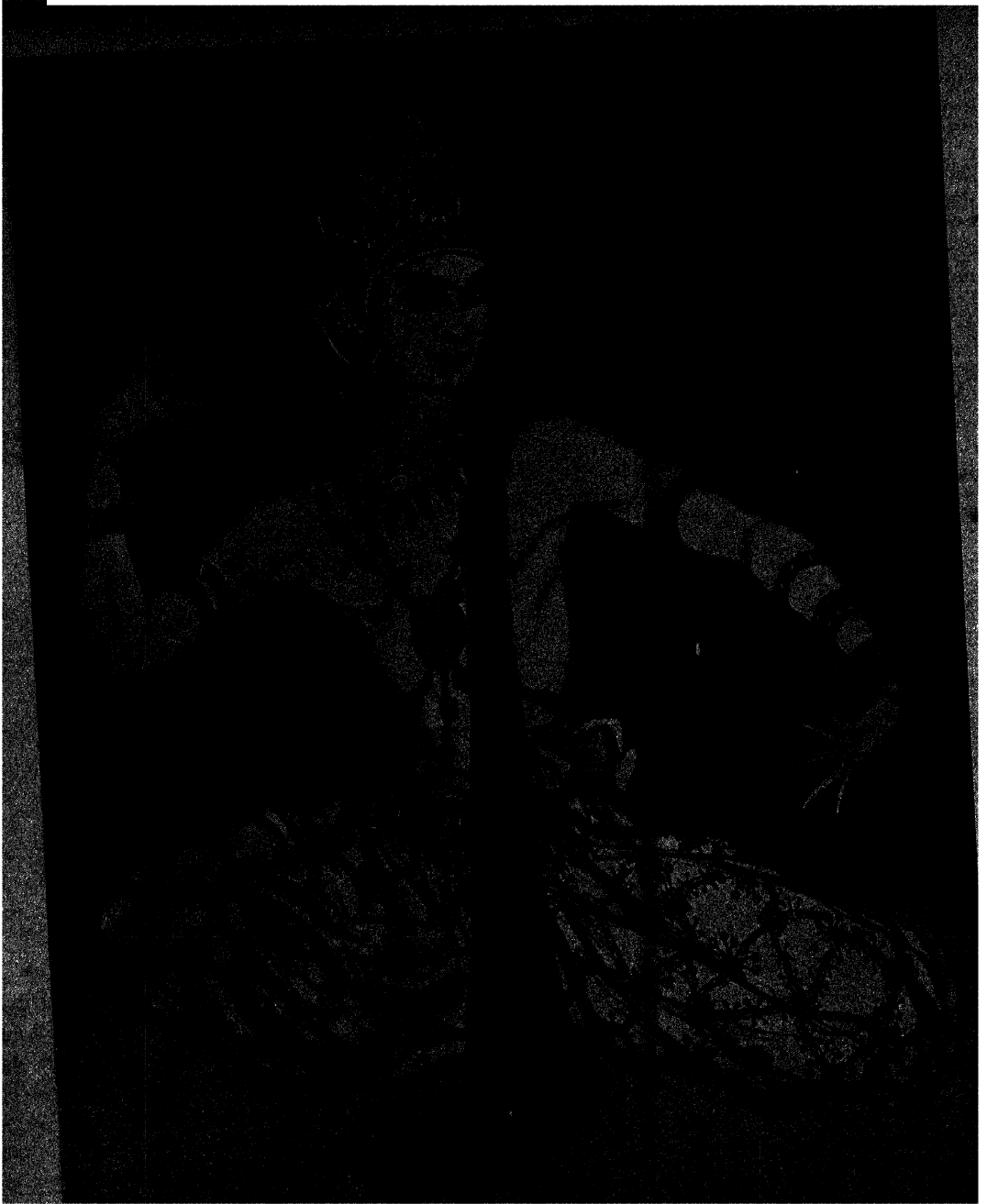


Boat Race.  
By Asit Kumar Roy



Left, Grandmother's Pet. By Rash Behary Datta  
Above, Cluster of Huts (Muzaffarpur).  
By Jogesh Chandra Sinha





by the courtesy of Elizabeth Dyson

KAMA DEVA

vehicles of expression before their eyes. The cultural possessions of the worlds are now in the melting pot. The heir-looms of yesterday are suffering a strange metamorphosis. A thing of beauty ventures today to transcend the limitations with which it was fettered in days gone by. The new setting offered today in a common world consciousness is far-reaching in the gestures and elemental propositions are being put forward again in new colours and rhythms. It is a pleasure to find in this exhibition how divergent visions have been brought together to constitute a superb aesthetic feast which all could partake. Maharaja Prodyot Kumar Tagore, through whose efforts the function had been a great success, must be congratulated and the secretaries too should receive their due share of commendations for their

ungrudging labour in this connection. The well-known artist Mr. Atul Bose has been a leading spirit in connection with the organization not only of the Academy of Fine Arts started under happy auspices but also of its offspring, *e.g.*, the All-India Art Exhibition which has been accepted as a great venture of the day. One hears that the sale of the pictures brought in a sum of nearly 25,000 rupees which is not a mean sum for poor artists suffering from neglect and poverty. In fact, it has been a great achievement which has catered to the spiritual hunger of the people and has been instrumental in offering the greatest possible support to artists of all types in these days of depression. We hope that the Academy would continue its beneficent activities in these lines in future as well.

## LIQUIDATION OF ILLITERACY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By DR. G. S. KHAIR, M. A. (Bombay), A. M. (Columbia), Ph. D. (NEW YORK)

### EDUCATION FOR ALL

**W**HEN I visited the headquarters of the Liquidation of Illiteracy Society in Moscow, the directors told me a touching experience. An old woman lived near a department store with a big sign-board over it. She saw this sign a thousand times in her life, but the big bold letters did not mean anything to her. She joined one of the literacy circles. After three weeks, she walked in one evening and burst into tears. Today she could read the sign-board, an unexpected event in her life. This story is typical of the transformation going on in the adult population of the Soviet Union.

Russia has produced the educational marvel of the twentieth century. Within less than fifteen years, she has wiped out the shame of illiteracy from her society. In 1917, seventy per cent of her people could not read and write. After fifteen years of strenuous work, the percentage of illiteracy has been brought down to twenty-six. This includes mostly old people and those that live in remote parts of the country. These unfortunate people lost their chance of learning the letters

when they were young. Now the school is being brought within their reach. Take an evening walk through any of the city streets in Russia; you will see hundreds of grown-up people going busily with brief-cases in their hands. They are going to school. If you peep through the lighted windows opening on the streets, you will see one or two schools in each block. Men and women are sitting with books and writing materials in front of them. Thousands of such evening classes are scattered all over the country—in factories, on the farms, in the red army, wherever three or more people can come together and learn the mysteries of the three R's.

### LITERACY UNDER THE CARS

Today, the Russian people seem to be hungry for education. For centuries, they were kept in ignorance and illiteracy by the Imperial Government of the Tsars and their bureaucracy. Occasionally there was an enlightened monarch who favoured education and introduced some free schools. But on the whole education was looked upon with suspicion. The rulers were afraid that it would only help the forces of freedom dormant

among the people. Shishkov, the Educational Minister of Alexander I, revealed the mind of the Russian rulers when he said, "To teach the mass of people or even the majority of them how to read, will bring more harm than good." No wonder that in the scale of Western nations, Russia stood lowest in the field of education. In 1904, the percentage of school-going population was three in Russia, as contrasted with twenty-three in the U. S. A., nineteen in Germany and sixteen in France and England. A few free schools imparted instruction in religion and in the



Liquidation of Illiteracy No. 1.

three R's but attendance was never compulsory. The major part of the time was devoted to the teaching of orthodox religion. Every teacher had to take charge of fifty to ninety children! The control and inspection of a suspicious bureaucracy was so thorough that it crushed out of the system everything that had the possibility of enlightening the people.

#### EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL TOOL

Educational change follows in the footsteps of a political change. The United States, after their separation from England, started on a new experiment of democratic education. When the monarchy collapsed and a new form of Government was set up in Germany, the old educational system was overhauled. The recent National Socialistic regime in Germany is marked by drastic changes in the educational programme. The same is true of Fascist Italy. In Russia, the political change of 1917 was followed by a

change on all fronts, including education. In no other country has the cultural change been so thorough-going as in the Soviet Union.

The Russian leaders were faced with the task of uplifting a hundred and fifty million people, kept in illiteracy, ignorance, and poverty, for centuries. At least a century more would have been required to teach these people to read and write through the process of a normal cultural evolution. The Russians wanted an instrument that would bring about a speedy transformation in society. They took hold of education as a means of social uplift. The development of the Soviet educational machinery with all its variety and immensity, is simply unparalleled in the history of human culture. Many countries have used education as an instrument to achieve national ideals, but no one has been so logical, so definite, and so thorough in the application of this principle to a conscious social purpose.

The political change in Russia had established a new social order. To insure the life of this new society, the leaders wanted to educate the proletariat in its underlying philosophy. Keen students of the history of radical changes all over the world, the Russians wanted to avoid the errors committed by their leaders. Most of these changes have been followed by reactions, because the common people were never thoroughly initiated into the principles of the new social changes. To avoid that mistake, the Soviet leaders have been very quick in taking hold of the educational machinery and moulding it in favour of the new ideals. Education in Russia is something more than learning the three R's and the other subjects of the school curriculum.

During the Tsarist regime, the workers and farmers had little opportunity for education. When, therefore, the champions of the proletariat came into power, the gates of learning were thrown wide open to the masses of workers and peasants. The emancipation of the people from illiteracy became an important item in the programme of the new regime. On December 26, 1919, Lenin signed the decree ordering the liquidation of illiteracy in all the states of the Soviet Union. For a nation which has to liquidate the illiteracy of more than three hundred million

people, the recent educational activity in Russia is worth careful perusal.

#### ORGANIZATION FOR LITERACY

It is important to note that the movement now called "Down with Illiteracy," is carried on mostly by voluntary agencies backed up and encouraged by the State. It is the work of the party in power and its branches throughout the country. The personnel of the movement is organized on the basis of free service by the Youths and members of the party. At the head of the whole organization is the Supreme Council to plan and direct the movement. Below this are the Provincial Councils and the Regional Councils to carry on the policies and programmes laid down by the Supreme Council. To attend to the details of the movement the Supreme Council is organized into various departments :

- (1) Department for organizing Schools
- (2) Department of Study and Curricula
- (3) Department for mass Activities
- (4) Finance Department
- (5) Planning Department.

All the Provincial Councils have similar departments or brigades.

The local councils start their work by finding out the extent of illiteracy in their area. Public opinion is then organized in favour of carrying on literacy activities there. Both literate and illiterate persons participate in the movement. Units or Clubs are established in factories, in workshops, on the farms, in the army or wherever it is possible to gather a few persons anxious to learn. To start a unit, it is enough to have at least three members. There are a number of people who are half literate or who have lapsed into illiteracy. Once out of the school, they had no occasion to use their training for a number of years. These people now attend the literacy centres.

The whole movement is self-supporting. All the members pay a certain amount of regular subscriptions. Factories and other organizations give contributions. The subscriptions and contributions of the members are sufficient to buy educational materials and to defray the small expenditure of the local establishments.

The sincerity and enthusiasm of the movement is shown by its symbolism. Buttons and insignia of various types are given to the

workers of this cultural enterprise. The dynamic force of the activity is shown by the military terminology borrowed for a peaceful propaganda. The departments of the District



Liquidation of Illiteracy No. 2.

Councils are called 'brigades' and the voluntary teachers are called the 'Cultural Army'.

I visited some of the centres where this work is carried on, and there found persons of all ages, men and women. The directing and organizing work is generally undertaken by elderly persons and the responsibility of teaching is accepted by the Komsomols. This is an organization of the party for young people of the age of thirteen to twenty-four. These youths attend to their school or college work during the day, and devote their evening time to social work, literacy being the main item at present. While I was in Moscow last October, I visited a Secondary School by day. Curious to know what these young people did in the evening, I again visited the school at night and found the building alive with human beings. In one of the classes, I saw about fifty boys and girls, about the age of fourteen to eighteen. One of the boys was in the chair

and two or three others were making some impressive arguments. The Russian language seems especially fitted for fluent speech! A teacher was sitting at the back among the boys and girls, but he did not say a word. The guide explained to me the proceedings of the meeting. The boys and girls were working to promote literacy in their district. The work was not progressing satisfactorily. So the pupils were trying to find out ways by which they could discharge their social responsibility more efficiently.

These are the people that are helping to liquidate the illiteracy of the backward and ignorant masses of Russia. Sometimes, these young teachers are physically so small for their work, that they have to take a chair under their feet to reach the blackboard and write letters for their grown-up pupils. It is funny, but unique for its sincerity. To conduct literacy circles, voluntary teachers ought to have necessary qualifications. They must have had at least four years of schooling to teach the first stage adult students and seven years of previous education to teach classes of second stage literacy. Teachers have to pass also through training courses that give them some elements of pedagogy and teaching methods.

The age of students learning at these centres of literacy ranges all the way from sixteen to fifty. In the beginning they are very pessimistic about their ability to learn at this age. As the veil of mystery over the letters is lifted up, they grow more and more confident. No fees are charged, and even books are supplied free. Owing to the greater percentage of illiteracy among women, most of the work is done among them. When mothers cannot go out of their houses, social nurses visit them at home to give the necessary training.

Eighteen months is the minimum time required to make a person literate, with nine to eleven hours of work per week. The New Russian week has only six days.

Students have to pass through two stages before getting the certificate of literacy. The first stage is reached after nine months when the adult student finishes the two years work of children. A test is given in simple reading and elementary arithmetic. The second stage

comes after eighteen months when the student has finished the four years curriculum of the elementary school. He is given a second test in fluent reading, grammar, arithmetic, history and geography. But the Soviet conception of literacy does not stop with reading, writing and arithmetic. In Russia education is nothing if it is not accompanied with a social ideology. The definition of adult literacy is given by M. Kaliniki, Chairman of the Down with Illiteracy Society:

Under the present conditions, to wipe out illiteracy does not only mean to teach people to read and write, but it is necessary to make them understand what they have read, to teach them to digest the printed matter in their heads, to make a man politically literate, to create a new man. You cannot now teach without creating new men.

The force of this statement will be realized when it is known that the text-books for adult education deal with contemporary social, political, and economic problems and socialistic ideas. The apathy and indifference of the masses towards learning is the greatest difficulty in such a movement, especially in India. Russia overcomes this obstacle by creating an environment whereby the farmers and the workers feel that some valuable experiences are awaiting them when they learn to read and write. To stimulate the desire for learning, various programmes are organized in addition to the regular classes. There are excursions to local museums, moving libraries, discussions, and the famous Russian wall newspaper which is practically a feature of every organization.

#### EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS

One is apt to become suspicious about the success of an organization which rests mostly on voluntary efforts. The figures showing the rapid fall in the percentage of illiteracy during the last fifteen years will speak for themselves.

Year.	Percentage of literacy.
1897	28.9
1920	44.4
1926	52.8
1931	73.6

The special schools for the wiping out of illiteracy have been so popular that in ten

years the number of students has more than trebled.

Year.	Number of Pupils in special schools.
1921-22	456,000
1926-27	1,554,000
1931-32	13,631,000

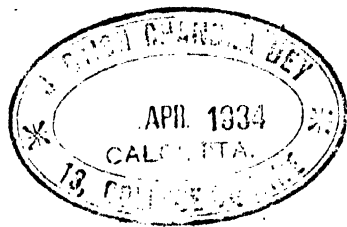
Even these figures seem cold testimony to the growing literacy in Russia when one sees the living evidence of an intellectual awakening among the people. Coming through Europe and walking through the streets of Moscow and Leningrad, I was struck by the number of book-shops along the streets, all crowded with young and old people. The output of literature in Russia is tremendous because the number of readers is rapidly increasing. There is no fear that these people will revert back into illiteracy. Their interest in reading is constantly kept fresh by the publication of literature on living problems affecting the farm, the factory and the army. The publication of the wall newspaper is also a great stimulus for reading and writing. I wanted to test the reality of this advertised literacy. Armed with a Russian dictionary, I walked through the streets of cities. When in difficulty, I showed the Russian printed word to question any person who came across. During my short experience, I did not meet a person who could not read. There is not the slightest doubt that literacy has rapidly spread in Russia. The Soviet leaders are confident that illiteracy will be completely wiped out of the country during the next few years. Dr. Chatsky, one of the leaders of Soviet education, said to me with the conviction of experience, "In five years, our country will be one of the most educated countries."

Literacy is an instrument for building up a common ideology among people to hold them together for a common purpose. The printed word is a powerful means of communication in the twentieth century, but ninety-two per cent of India's people are still



Liquidation of Illiteracy No. 3.

unable to make use of it for their enlightenment. The farmers and workers of Western countries are raising up their educational level. This is bound to affect the modes of material production and the standards of life. Can the illiterate farmers and workers of India stand competition with them? To make the whole Indian population literate would take more than two generations even through the immediate introduction of free and compulsory education. To accomplish the same task in a single generation, it must be organized as a mass movement. If the call comes from the right direction, the spirit of voluntary effort and youthful enthusiasm are present in India.



# MR. K. P. JAYASWAL AT THE ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

By K. K. ROY, M. A.

**D**R. Arthur Berriedale Keith, writing to the President on the papers of the Sixth Session held at Patna, observes (31-1-34):

I have glanced at a number of the articles from which I learn with pleasure that, as India is prepared to take over the control of her government from British hands, so she is amply endowed to carry on, apart from Western aid, research into the inexhaustible mass of records of Indian achievement in literature, thought, science, architecture and history. This is all the more desirable, since in this country there is clearly visible a diminished interest in research, and since it is clearly easier to accumulate in India the necessary material for serious research.

The contribution of Indian scholarship at the last (seventh) session of the Conference, held at Baroda, will be found still more striking.

The presidential address of Mr. Jayaswal was heard with rapt attention by an audience of some two thousand people gathered on the floor and the galleries of the magnificent Hall of the Nyayamandir (the Baroda High Court); His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad, himself a finished speaker, at the close of Mr. Jayaswal's address broke the printed programme by taking the President's permission to speak once more, and in an extempore speech which was appreciated more than even His Highness' first address, declared that the President had marched from point to point in triumph as his name implied.

## H. H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAD'S OPENING ADDRESS

His Highness Shrimant Sayaji Rao III, Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda, made the occasion of the presidential address a state affair. His Nyayamandir was tastefully decorated and at its Rajput gate was held the State *Naubat* music. The President arrived and was received at 4-45 p.m. after the audience had taken their seat. An interval passed after the arrival of the President; His Highness accompanied by Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba arrived in State in his famous gold coach drawn by four black Arab horses, escorted by a body-guard of horsemen. The National Anthem of the Gaikwad was played and the heralds (*Nakibs*) announced the presence. Their Highnesses were led to a seat placed next to the platform of the President.

In opening the Conference as its patron, His Highness gave a survey of the field of research in general lying before the country, described his "own humble efforts" and pointed out the vastness of the work of publishing texts yet lying ahead of his own Oriental Institute

He struck a novel note in pointing out the necessity for making the results of researches available to the general public through vernaculars. The Gaekwad is always practical and he rightly told the country to make the science of history an applied one.

## ASIATIC CULTURE

The same note of originality runs through his cosmopolitan suggestion regarding Asiatic culture:

While we Indians should know our own history, to see it in proper perspective, it has to be studied as a part of Asiatic history and requires at the same time some insight into the cross fertilization of cultures and the migration of races both eastwards and westwards, with the consequent conflict and synthesis of cultures. It is time our universities appreciated this aspect of modern education. The countries of Asia must understand one another and prepare to work out a new partnership in the light of past cultural relations.

## CHIEF POINTS IN MR. JAYASWAL'S ADDRESS

Mr. Jayaswal opened his address with a brief but happy expression of felicitation at the Conference being held at Baroda under the patronage of His Highness the Gaekwad, Describing His Highness as the "modern Bhoja" Mr. Jayaswal said:

King Bhoja made gems of ancient Hindu literature available to his contemporaries through his treatises and cyclopaedias: Maharaja Sayaji Rao III is repeating the process through his world-famous Oriental Series. He has led Indian renaissance by various measures including personal discourses, the latest being one before the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. The great Hindu Prince of Peace—Lord Buddha—you find installed prominently in his magnificent capital. A bust of R. C. Dutt is honoured in the Hall of Audience at the Lakshmi Vilasa Palace where Dr. Tagore, Sir C. V. Raman and other scholars have almost annually lectured. In his State every village possesses books; in his capital his subjects have at their disposal one of the largest libraries in India.

## MARCH OF INDIAN SCHOLARSHIP

In reviewing the march of Indian scholarship he said that he was relieved of the task as Prof. Sylvain Levi, a former President of the Oriental Conference, had just done it in a letter addressed to him, dated November 7, 1933 in which Prof. Levi said that since 1921

Indian scholarship in India has made wonderful progress.....The many periodicals now

published by Indian savants, can, almost all of them, compete with the best scientific journals published in the West.

Inviting Indian scholars to the study of the *Avesta* Mr. Jayaswal said :

Iranian and Hindu are the twin pulses of that whole grain which is known as Aryan civilization. In the person of Sir Jivanji the two were united and his personality was a constant reminder of that unity in the sessions of our Oriental Conference. That unity, I am glad to see, is being realized both here and in modern Persia which has deputed Prof. Pour-e-Dawood, the leading Persian scholar to Santiniketan whom we have elected as one of our Sectional Presidents.

#### PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD AND THE FLOOD

Turning to the field of Indology proper Mr. Jayaswal observed :

Our work has suddenly taken a new turn. Altogether a new orientation has come into play. Indian matters, recently come to light, are refusing to own geographical boundaries of the present or ancient India. The Indus script is claiming a world-wide range. It seems that we are on the verge of the conclusion that the script on the seals found at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro is closely allied to signs recorded from Elam, Cyprus, Crete and probably further. We see on the horizon a light which seems to have lighted the lands from the Indus up to the Atlantic. And if this is established, the credit of the discovery will be that of an Indian scholar, namely, Dr. Pran Nath. Two years back this was the conclusion already formed by Dr. Pran Nath. Since then, Mr. Piccoli (*Indian Antiquary*, November, 1933) has pointed out the identity of our Indus signs with the undeciphered signs found on ancient pottery and sepulchral remains in Etruria. M. Guillaume de Hevesy, in a paper published in the *Bulletin de l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient* [Nos. 14-15, 1933, Paris, Musée Guimet] has shown that 52 Indus signs occur exactly in the same form on tablets recovered on the Easter Island in the Pacific Ocean. In India itself, we have discovered a long inscription at Vikramkhoh, in the district of Sambhalpur, the plates of which have been published by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1933, at a great cost, from copies and photographs taken by the authorities of the Patna Museum. This record seems to show a stage midway between the Indus script and Brahmi. It is inevitable that our views on the origin of ancient scripts be radically revised. This much is certain that we have been brought face to face with a very widespread and longstanding civilization extending, at least, from India to the Mediterranean, traces of which have already been recovered from sites in North and North-Western India, Baluchistan, Sistan, Iran, Mesopotamia and westwards. In India itself the terracottas found at Buxar and at Pataliputra seem to extend the area of that culture much eastwards. It seems premature to limit the "Indus Civilization" to the valley of the Indus alone. Possibilities of its discovery in the Western Coast line of Kathiawad are promised by a passage in the Mahabharata which mentions seals which were considered ancient and peculiar when the Mahabharata was compiled.

The sands of Rajputana and certain sites in the Central Provinces may yet disclose similar evidence. There lies an immense task of sorting and collating the mass of material recovered and of deciphering the new documents. This task almost ceases to be Indian as we understand it today. Without a broader area beyond the pale of India proper having been brought within the ambit of our inquiry, we cannot attain a solution. Yet, here I may tell you my personal conviction that the solution of race-origins and the identification of this ancient civilization will be found in the Puranas. The Puranas are amongst the most ancient documents on race-history, and the tradition and data embodied therein go back to the Flood and even earlier. The Flood recorded in the *Salapatha Brahmana* is the greatest landmark in the pre-dynastic history of India. The Flood has been proved to be a historical fact by Dr. Woolley's excavations. The area of the Flood was certainly the continuous land from Mesopotamia to Rajputana, and there is the common tradition at both ends of this area, embodied in the ancient literatures of the Semites and the Hindus. Our dynastic history in the Puranas almost begins from the Flood, and the Mohen-jo-Daro civilization is a post-Flood event. Here I may mention the discovery made by Mr. Karandikar that there is a positive statement in the Puranas that the Narmada valley was not affected by the Flood. In the Narmada valley we may, therefore, expect to find evidence of a civilization which may vie with that of the Nile valley in antiquity. The Puranas are the richest documents on the race-movements in India and its adjacent West. They possess a detailed knowledge of the Central Asian geography which goes back at least to the second millennium before the Christian era. The task of properly interpreting Indian texts, in the light of our archaeological finds, requires special training in Assyriology and cognate subjects. It is now becoming clear that the history of our own country is intimately connected with the history of the rest of the Ancient East, lying to the west of India, and that the truly Ancient Indian History passes beyond the control of the Indianist. Our Indian scholars, if they aspire to the glory of interpreting history from this wider stand-point, will have to acquire knowledge of the science of Elamite, Mesopotamian and Western Asian archaeology. States and Universities ought to send out and train special students for the task.

#### HISTORIC PERIODS

Continuing Mr. Jayaswal said :

Coming down to the historic periods, welcome finds have been brought to light recently. At Mahasthan in the district of Bogra, North Bengal, a small tablet on a piece of white stone has been found. It is a secular document composed in the Maurya Imperial Vernacular. Its letter forms agree with the Sohagaura copper-plate on the one hand and with the early forms of Asokan letters on the other....The document is an administrative order on famine relief, issued by the Council of Ministers at Pundra. In my opinion, it is a sister document to the Sohagaura notification which I have recently read at the request of Dr. Bhandarkar. The Sohagaura tablet is a copy among several copies cast in a mould, thus serving the



same purpose which is achieved today by printing a hand-bill. This document also provides against drought (*usagana* = *ushmagana*) when grain was lent out or freely distributed to peasants. Both these notifications, in my opinion, refer to the prolonged or repeated drought occurring in the reign of Emperor Chandragupta Maurya. The Sohgauna order was also issued by a Provincial Council, the Council of Oudh, called the Ministers of Sravasti. These two Provincial Governments to the north of the Ganges were under Maurya Ministers as opposed to Viceroyalties where a prince royal with a Council of Ministers ruled in the name of the Emperor, *i. e.*, at Takshasila, Ujjain, and other places. We further gather an important piece of information that the North Bengal people at the time were called Sam-Vangiyas, *i. e.*, a confederated community like that of the Licchavis, Sakyas and others, and were evidently a people allied to them, a non-Brahmanical Aryan community. These are the first administrative inscriptions embodying a governmental order that we get of the Maurya times. These two orders carry the Maurya epigraphy to nearly three quarters of a century before Asoka. On the Sohgauna plate there is a royal monogram devised for the name of "Chandragupta Maurya." There is a *chandra* covering the top of a cluster of three arches, two placed side by side and one on the top of these two arches. They are a combination of the Brahmi letters 'ga' and 'a' double 'ta,' the whole combination giving the name *Chandragutta*. A similar combination is found on the coins of Agnimitra about a century and a half later. By the side of the monogram we have the letter 'ma,' which is the initial of *Moriya*, the vernacular form of the Sanskrit *Maurya*. The same monogram is found at the bottom of the Kumbhar pillar at Pataliputra dug out from the remains of the Maurya palace, where the word *Moriya* is written in full by the side of the same monogram. I have traced the same monogram on all the ten cast coins, found in the Pataliputra excavations at the Maurya level, and one coin found at the base of the Asokan pillar at Sarnath, and on potteries supplied to soldiers in the Pataliputra palisade fortifications found with their swords and other remains. The monogram was, therefore, the Government mark or Rajanka in the language of the Arthashastra of Kautilya.

#### MAURYA MONOGRAM IDENTIFIED

This last subject of the Maurya Monograms was further developed by Mr. Jayaswal as President of the Numismatic Society of India which sat on December 29. The Numismatic Society discussed the matter again on December 30, under the presidency of Rev. Father Heras who declared himself to be satisfied with the new discovery. While Mr. Jayaswal was addressing on the subject on the 29th, the Numismatists were so much impressed that one among the audience remarked humorously that they were being hypnotized by Mr. Jayaswal's data and illustrations from coins etc. Their mind was overwhelmed. The recognition of the monogram of Chandragupta Maurya was one of the major achievements of the scholars met at Baroda. The

system of monograms was found to be this. The King's name was denoted first by a representation of the Moon—in a crescent form—a system which came down to the coins of Chandra Gupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Below the crescent, an artistic combination of letters completed the whole name. It was followed by the Sungas—the dynasty succeeding the Mauryas. Mr. Durga Prasad pointed out in the Numismatic Society's meeting of December 30, that only the coins with this monogram recognized by Mr. Jayaswal as that of Chandra Gupta, tallied in weight and analysis exactly with what was given for silver coins in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya—the manual of government supposed to have been written for Chandragupta Maurya. This was a clinching confirmation.

Another far-reaching observation in the presidential address was the recognition of the fact that Sanskrit writing was originally Constrope-donic, *i. e.*, reading alternately from right to left and from left to right. In noticing the Yeraguddi inscription of Asoka, newly discovered, which is in this system of writing, Mr. Jayaswal drew attention to the method of reciting, that is, reading, the Vedas in its *Jatupatha* and *ghanapatha* (अपठ-घनपठ) methods where syllables are read alternately backward and forward.

#### FIELDS WHICH BELONG TO US

Turning to the proposition of inviting or allowing outside agencies and learned societies for undertaking and carrying on archaeological excavations at the well-known sites which the law now permits, Mr. Jayaswal very pertinently observed:

We cannot shut our eyes to what the academic institutions in Europe and America are doing to fit out costly expeditions of exploration in distant lands. The other day we read of a proposed Italian expedition to Nepal. Are our Universities and other institutions merely to sit and look on while others win undying glory in fields which legally belong to us?

In this connection, Mr. Jayaswal cited the examples—how the Allahabad Municipal Museum has been built up, practically without any cost, by one man Mr. Vyas, Executive officer of the Allahabad Municipality, and how a private body—the Allahabad Historical Society—has been doing valuable excavation work at Gahdwa and other important sites, to illustrate what private enterprise can do in these fields.

Mr. Jayaswal took this opportunity to record with gratitude the valuable services rendered by several Indian States, notably Gwalior, Hyderabad, Mysore and Baroda by their scrupulous conservation of ancient monuments within their States as well as by valuable publication works. He, however, deplored the abolition of the State Museum by the Kashmir Durbar and the spoliation at the hands of certain State subjects, of the magnificent Parvati

Temple at Nachna, in the State of Ajaigarh, Central India.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF "BHARATAVARSHA"

The new significance that Mr. Jayaswal revealed of the epithet Bharatavarsha stirred the scholars a great deal. It stands, said Mr. Jayaswal, for Greater India as opposed to Kumari, and Munava Dvipa or India proper. It includes Insulinidia and Farther India to the South-East and up to the Pamirs and Herat in the North. In this connection Mr. Jayaswal referred to the movement started by his friend and pupil, Dr. Kulidas Nag, through his Greater India Society and declared that it was primarily responsible for impressing upon Indian scholars the importance of Insulinidia and Farther India; and the Savant took pride in having himself derived inspiration from Dr. Nag's Greater India movement which he acknowledged with a graceful personal touch.

#### A CRITICAL EDITION OF RAMAYANA

While expressing his satisfaction at the materialization of a critical edition of the Mahabharata through the efforts of Dr. Sukthankar, Mr. Jayaswal pointed out the necessity for an early undertaking of a critical edition of the Ramayana on the basis of its four recensions recently established by Dr. Harichand Sastri at the Oxford Session of the Oriental Congress.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT - INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A matter referred to with considerable regret by Mr. Jayaswal was the starvation of the Imperial Archaeological Department at the hands of our all-India legislators. He appealed to the cultured members of the Legislative Assembly for treating the Department with greater consideration than it has hitherto received. This commendable solicitude for the Archaeological Department, however, did not make Mr. Jayaswal shut his eyes to some of the sad shortcomings of the Department. He pointed out with regret that

not a single pre-Buddha site of importance has yet been excavated in India. The interest of the late Director-General of Archaeology centred round post-Alexander sites, and it was by a mere chance that Mr. R. D. Banerji lighted upon Mohen-jo-Daro and by his genius realized its significance. History in India does not begin with Alexander, and the sites which are well known and are lying in numbers, crying for the spade, remain untouched. Add to this a number of new sites along the fringe of the Khirthar range, in the Ravi valley, in the ancient Sarasvati-Ghaggar basin, etc., which have been recently traced. It will be a great pity if the present apathy and neglect continues. If steps are not taken to direct our energies to this vast and virgin soil, the result will be that expeditions from foreign countries will possess the fields and crowd us out. We

must remember that no inscription in Brahmi has yet been found of a period before the death of the Buddha. This is for the simple reason that no truly ancient Hindu site has so far been excavated, with the consequential result that what is mediæval in the eyes of the Hindu historians is being treated as the beginning of Indian history. In the eyes of the Hindu historian, ancient history ends with the Mahabharata War, at about 1400 B.C., while the spade knows nothing apart from Mohen-jo-Daro, anterior to 500 B.C. If they dig at Kausambi, I am confident that pre-Buddhan remains and documents will be discovered. The dynasty of the Bharatas after giving up Hastinapura came and settled at Kausambi. Personally, I have not the least doubt, if proper operations are conducted and the right sites selected we shall get at the remains of the family of Satania and Sahasranika.

Again, while expressing regret at the retirement of Dr. Hirananda Sastri from the post of the Government Epigraphist and the editorship of *Epigraphia Indica*, Mr. Jayaswal further observed:

One by one, we regret, the old batch of Sir John Marshall is leaving the Imperial Archaeological Department, making it for the time-being at least, visibly weaker. I am, however, sure that Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, our present Director-General, will maintain the high standard of efficiency for which his Department has been so far noted. In this connection I might quote here the opinion of an Indian scholar of great standing which may prove of considerable practical value. 'The Department should change its policy and enlist extra-departmental co-operation, and this they can do without loss of efficiency or dignity.' I also think that by a policy of exclusiveness, the Department loses much needful assistance. Publication, for instance, of important documents, will not be delayed as they are delayed at present, if a more liberal policy is followed.

The passing away of the sixty-two years old *Indian Antiquary*, which, of late, was being so ably edited by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, drew from Mr. Jayaswal a profound expression of regret at this undeserving end of so useful a career with which men like Bihler, Burgess, Bhagwanlal, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Fleet and Sir Richard Temple were so closely associated.

Towards the end of his address Mr. Jayaswal gave a resumé of the important individual research works done in the various branches of Oriental Studies and Scholars as well as the new and talented entrants came in for a grateful recognition at his hands as did the reputed French, Dutch and other Scholars doing valuable works in connection with Farther India and Insulinidia.

#### HISTORY OF INDIA BY INDIANS

Mr. Jayaswal concluded his speech with a forcible representation of the imperative necessity for undertaking the preparation of a history of India written from the Indian point of view. With a magnificent elocution both of English and Sanskrit, Mr. Jayaswal went on :

That every country should write its own history is a settled principle. We have reached a stage where spado-workers have gathered and stacked huge building material. Without architects and builders they are being neglected. The labour spent on them has to become productive. The text-book of Dr. Vincent Smith has, in many portions, become obsolete. That text-book and similarly the one by Prof. Rapson failed to satisfy our wants. In these volumes, Ancient Indian history does not go back beyond 600 B. C., while Indian history, according to Indian historians of the past, stops being ancient at about 1400 B. C. From Parikshit to Maha-Nanda (about 400 B. C.) was their Classical Period, and from Maha-Nanda onwards their Modern or Imperial Period. When they talked of Ancient India they spoke like this :

Saujaya to Yudhisthira :

अथ ते कीर्तयिष्यामि वर्यं भारत भारतम् ।  
 प्रियमिन्द्रस्य देवस्य मनोर्वैवस्वतस्य च ॥  
 प्रथोस्तु राजन् वैवस्यस्य तेयेक्ष्वाको मंडात्मनः ।  
 ययातेरम्बरीषस्य मान्धातुर्नहुषस्य च ॥  
 तथैव मुचुकुन्दस्य शिवेरीशीनरस्य च ।  
 ऋषभस्य तथैजस्य नृपस्य नृपतेस्तथा ॥  
 कुशिकस्य च दुर्धर्ष गाधेशस्य महात्मनः ।  
 सोमकस्य च दुर्धर्ष दिलीपस्य तथैव च ॥  
 अन्येषां च महाराज क्षत्रियाणां बलीयसाम् ।  
 सर्वेषामेव राजेन्द्र प्रियं भारत भारतम् ॥

[ मीष्म १६१ ]

"I say, Now, O Bharata, I am going to tell you the history of your Land Bharata the land where Indra was worshipped, the land dear to Manu Vaivasvata, the land dear to the first sovereign Prithu, the land of Ikshvaku, the land of Mandhatri and Nahusha, the country of Muchukunda, and Sibi the Ausin ara, of Rishabhia, Aila and Nriga, of Kusika and Gadhi, of Somaaka, and Dilipa India of theirs and dear unto them."

There is thus a fundamental difference between the Indian point of view and that of others. To begin Indian history at 600 B. C., is to present a headless body. Imagine an ancient history of Egypt which begins with the Ptolemies and leaves out the Pharaohs! According to Indian historians, they have recorded fully the Dynasties of Manu :

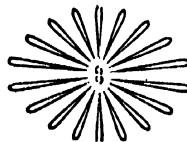
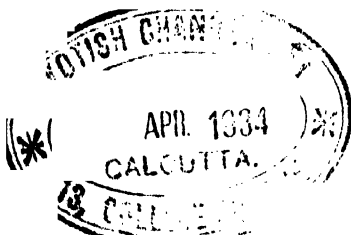
इत्येष कथितः सम्यक् मनैर्वशो मया तवा

In view of the new vistas opening before our eyes in the Indus valley, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, we have to reconstruct our ancient chronology to see where the preceding civilization ends and our own begins. We are extremely fortunate in having a written record of our own.

Mr. Jayaswal also adumbrated a rough scheme for the materialization of this long-felt desideratum. There was no dearth of able scholars to cover the field and there would be no paucity of funds to foot the scheme. "If England can find money for an Indian history, India should and will readily find money for an Indian history"—was Mr. Jayaswal's fervent hope and firm belief.

#### ITS GALVANIC EFFECT

That his hopes were no illusory ones was almost instantly demonstrated. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad whose face beamed with enthusiasm, could not help rising to his feet again. In an impassioned speech he welcomed the noble project and gave it his wholehearted approval and offered to do his mite to make it a success. And the proposition did not inspire His Highness alone. Solid support came from the solid phalanxes of scholars and for the next few days of the Conference nothing loomed so largely in the vision of the scholars of India as this proposition of a History of India by Indians written from the Indian point of view.



# WILL THE TORIES SMASH THE EMPIRE ?

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

*(Vice-Chairman of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs)*

"What I have, I hold" is a good Tory motto. It lost to the British Commonwealth of Nations the United States of America. It all but lost Canada. But for Lord Durham's sage advice Canada would now be linked not with Great Britain but with the United States of America.

The same attitude of mind on the part of the Tories would have lost South Africa to the British Commonwealth of Nations. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was wiser in his generation than they, as has since been abundantly proved.

This attitude of mind on the part of our Tory die-hards will go far to making India determined to be independent of any connection with the British Commonwealth of Nations. Is there yet time to save it for co-operation in a larger whole, or must India, like the American Colonies, be driven to take her own independent line ? These are questions that must give pause to anyone who aspires to any claim to statesmanship.

Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons on 29th March 1933, speaking of the proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform, said :

I decided after mature reflection that if we went forward we might save India to the Empire, but, if we did not, that we would lose her.

The White Paper proposals, at present before the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, show the feeble extent to which even the moderate elements of the Tory Party, led by Mr. Baldwin, are prepared to go. It is, to all intents and purposes, a proposal to lead India forward towards the goal of self-government but to put her in handcuffs and keep her in handcuffs to show her that we do not trust her. That method of progress is worse than a frankly backward step. Confidence begets confidence ; trust begets trust. If we cannot trust India we should say so plainly, and not pretend to give with one hand what we cling to with the other.

Sir Charles Innes, who has spent the best part of a lifetime as a member of the Indian Civil Service, and has held such important positions as Commerce Member of the Government of India, and later Governor of Burma, and has only recently retired, may be expected to speak with the voice of the "man on the spot" to whom our die-hard Tories would listen. This is what he told the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament which is at present considering the British Government's White Paper on the future government of India :

Incomplete self-government is the most difficult form of government : it is always, so to speak, reaching out to fulfil itself.

He instanced the parallel between Canada and India.

Canada in the first half of the 19th century offers in some respects a parallel with the India of today. There was an irresponsible executive confronted by a powerful legislature, and Canada had its own communal problem in the rivalry of the French and English Canadians. The effects of these factors were much the same as have manifested themselves in recent years in India. There was a tendency towards irresponsibility on the part of the legislature. The tension between the French and English Canadians increased and there was growing bitterness against the Home Government. Finally there was a rebellion, and it was only Lord Durham's report that saved Canada for the Empire. He recognized that responsibility was the only real remedy for the situation that had arisen. History is repeating itself in India today, and much the same phenomena can be seen. The ferment has been immensely increased by the first instalment of self-government. We have set every person in India who understands the matter at all thinking about political advance. It has become an obsession with almost all educated Indians, and they feel that the honour and self-respect of India are bound up with it.

Politically-minded Indians tend to believe that the British are standing in the way of their legitimate aspirations, and that we do so because in your own interests we are reluctant to give up our hold on India.

Mr. Baldwin, addressing a meeting of the Lancashire, Cheshire, and Westmorland area of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations at Manchester on 29th

June 1933, scored some very pointed hits at his own Party, showing how little as a Party it is to be trusted with regard to imperial affairs.

Your really old-fashioned, hard-shelled Conservative has always been opposed to wide extensions of democratic government, and when responsible government was first given to Canada no language was bad enough, and no prophecies for the Tories of that time could be too bad about it.

We were wrong—our party was wrong—and had we had our way then we should have missed the bus. Looking back we can say that the granting of democratic institutions to South Africa was right. Distinguished Conservatives who voted against it at the time, have since acknowledged that they made a mistake. It was a great act of faith.

As he was speaking in Manchester he dealt with the Lancashire cotton trade with India which has fallen off so much in recent years. He pointed out that since the passing of the Government of India Act in 1919 India had enjoyed fiscal autonomy. We could not now dictate India's fiscal policy from Whitehall, as so many Tories are anxious to do. It was through that dictation that we lost the American colonies. "The day when we could dictate to India what she can buy and where she can buy has gone. It has not gone this year; it went in 1919."

A bayonet, Mr. Baldwin said, might be a very useful thing with which to open a tin can or to dig with. But it was the worst thing in the world to sit on. We could never sell goods to India by putting cotton streamers on the end of a bayonet.

The Government's White Paper is full of so-called "safe-guards." As the *Morning Post* said, there is a safe-guard in every page—and there are about a hundred and thirty pages!

In addressing the Manchester meeting Mr. Baldwin said:

Whatever safe-guards you have, the real safe-guard is the maintenance of goodwill.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said much the same thing in a memorandum he presented to the Joint Select Committee in these words:

The best safe-guard that Lancashire, or for the matter of that England, can have for trade and commerce in India is the goodwill of the people of India.

There is little in this White Paper to evoke that goodwill and there is no organized party in India that does not deplore the restrictions on their self-government contained in the White Paper.

Indians were promised by the Prime Minister on behalf of the National Government at the Round Table Conference that if a Federation of the Indian States and British Indian Provinces were formed, His Majesty's Government would recognize the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature subject to certain safe-guards during a period of transition to full self-government. The Prime Minister, however, promised in making such safe-guards as might be necessary during a transitional period that it would be a primary concern of his Majesty's Government to see that these safe-guards were so framed and exercised as "not to prejudice the advance of India *through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.*"

No one could suggest that the safe-guards in the White Paper do *not* so prejudice the chance of India's advance. There is no possibility of India attaining to full responsibility for her own government through the new proposed Constitution.

At the last Indian Round Table Conference the Secretary of State for India assured the members that the safe-guards were not intended to obstruct a real transfer of responsible power. He assured them that the British Government "fully accepted the fact that there can be no effective transfer of responsibility unless there is an effective transfer of financial responsibility." How little financial responsibility has been transferred may be gathered from the fact that India's Chancellor of the Exchequer will not have control over more than about 20 per cent of the total Indian revenues! All the remainder is retained in the hands of the Viceroy to enable him to carry out effectively the safe-guards.

India is to have no voice in her own Foreign Affairs, and this in spite of the fact that as far back as 1917 the Imperial War Conference passed a resolution recognizing *the right* of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in our Imperial Foreign policy and Foreign relations. If India, equally with the Dominions, has the right to be consulted on the Foreign Relations of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a whole, surely she should not be denied the right to have some voice in her own Foreign Affairs.

India is probably one of the poorest

## WILL THE TORIES SMASH THE EMPIRE ?

countries in the world, if wealth is reckoned on a population basis. The average yearly income in India has been stated to be as low as about £2 per head of the population. But even if we put it as high as £5 per head, the great mass of the people are miserably poverty-stricken. Yet India has the highest paid Civil Service in the world, chiefly because its members are recruited mainly in this country at very much higher salaries, with pensions attached, than would be necessary if the Indian Governments were allowed to recruit at home for their domestic Civil Service. Indians for long have felt that this recruitment should be done by the Governments in India for themselves. This view is shared by many Europeans serving with the Indian Civil Service. Yet the White Paper proposes to retain the recruitment for the Indian Civil Service for a further period of five years in the hands of the Secretary of State at Whitehall ; and there is no undertaking that even then it will be transferred to India, but merely that there will be a Statutory Enquiry to consider the matter. This denial to India of one of the first essentials of self-government has caused more dissatisfaction than almost any other proposal in the White Paper.

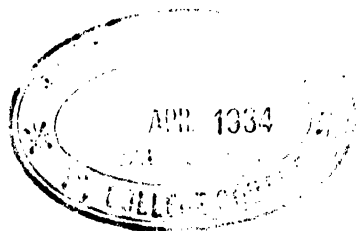
Under the present Constitution the Defence of India is decided on by the Governor-General along with his Cabinet, on which there are three Indian members. The White Paper proposes that Defence shall be entirely reserved to the Viceroy who will be authorized to appoint a Counsellor (not necessarily from India) to advise him with regard to Army matters. Indians will thus lose such opportunities as they have at present of

influencing Army expenditure. It is an absolutely reactionary proposal and has brought many protests from India.

India has been constantly told that she is unable to defend herself and therefore cannot have self-government. Yet whenever she puts forward proposals for training in self-defence, she is constantly balked.

These are a few of the more obvious objections to the Government's proposals for the new Indian constitution. One could fill a volume with enumerations of the futilities and shackles on the kind of self-government which it is proposed to offer to India.

If the White Paper proposals go through Parliament in the form of an Indian Constitution Bill and become law there is little chance of Indians co-operating to work it except for the belief that many of them have, and rightly, that our present Tory Government cannot now last for very long. They have seen the signs of Labour's advance to power in this country and they pin their faith to the fact that British Labour has pledged itself to frame a constitution for India, in co-operation with Indians, giving them real, responsible self-government on a basis of equality with the other Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations, subject only to such safe-guards as they would agree are "in the interests of India," as was promised to them. This is probably the last chance we should have to save India, by her consent, as a willing partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Tories, by their present policy, would smash the Commonwealth : Labour alone can save it. Let us see to it that we do not fail.



# THE FOOL

By SITA DEVI

**R**AMNIDHI Ghoshal was a rich man through God's grace, but he was not a fortunate one. Death was a regular visitant at his door, and every year he took away one of Ramnidhi's near and dear ones. As soon as Ramnidhi was born, his mother died. His father was somehow bringing up the motherless child with the help of a widowed sister, but he, too, died suddenly, when the boy was only five years old. From that day Ramnidhi had nobody to call his own, except that aunt. But the aunt soon got help in her task of guardianship, from an unexpected and unwelcome quarter. It was from her stepson Jogesh.

Jogesh had hitherto kept his distance from his stepmother for a very good reason. She was poor, and might have asked pecuniary help from him quite legitimately. So he remained discreetly aloof and silent. But as soon as he heard that his stepmother had become the sole guardian of a rich orphan, he could not remain silent a moment longer, and rushed at once to her assistance.

But he was disillusioned very soon. The prospect was not as good as he had thought before. Ramnidhi could hardly be called a clever or an intelligent boy, but he had unbounded trust in his aunt. He was ready to die at her command. Jogesh's stepmother, too, had no illusions left about her stepson, as she had a good memory. She had not forgotten his past behaviour.

Still, Jogesh did not want to give up hope too soon. His stepmother could not last for ever, and Ramnidhi had no other relative left in the world. So Jogesh's patience could not go unrewarded for ever. Jogesh had been married rather early, but his wife remained at her father's house. She was a spoilt child of her mother's, and could not stay away from the maternal fold for long. As long as Jogesh had remained in his own house, he had succeeded in bringing her over once or twice, but after he had settled down here, these short visits, too, had ceased. His mother-in-law did not want to send her daughter to a place where she might be unwelcome. Jogesh also did not dare to press his claim, as he was not sure about his stepmother. She might not like his wife to come, and his wife might be very much offended. She happened to be the only person of whom Jogesh stood really in awe.

Though his wife Radharani did not come herself, she sent for Jogesh, ever and anon. Sometimes he went, but more often he did not. He never had money to spare nowadays. Besides, he was afraid to stay away from Ramnidhi for any length of time, lest his stepmother should

steal a march over him. Jogesh had established a certain hold over the boy through dint of perseverance. The boy would now and then bring him small sums of money surreptitiously. Jogesh kept the boy near him, three or four hours every day, on the pretence of teaching him. He was now busy persuading the fool to buy a harmonium. The dealer had promised Jogesh fifty per cent commission if he could take the rotten thing off his hands.

The house in which Ramnidhi lived with his aunt was situated in a suburb of Calcutta. The residents were mostly poor people, who lived in huts. There were only three or four brick-built houses; these, too, of a very old style. There were wide stretches of field and wood and any number of ponds all around. You could hear jackal's howling even during daytime.

They had much landed property in their native village, and a house too. But they never kept good health there, so neither the aunt nor the nephew liked to stay in the village. They had leased out all the cultivable lands and the aunt went to the village twice every year to collect her dues. Jogesh wanted to help her in the collections but his stepmother ignored all his offers of assistance in this direction.

Days passed on, and Ramnidhi was fast approaching his youth. "I have become old and might die any day," said his aunt one day, in course of conversation, "I would die content, if I could get him married to a suitable girl."

Ramnidhi and Jogesh were having their mid-day meal then. Ramnidhi was glad but he felt shy, too, and bent down his head. "Why do you want him to be married now?" said Jogesh. "He is but a boy of sixteen or seventeen, and he has had no education, worth mentioning."

"It does not matter," said his stepmother, "we must not be so particular in his case. It is true, he is rather young, but we could get a young bride too. As for education, he will never have any. And what is the use? People want education for making money, and he has got enough money. He will never have to earn for himself. On the other hand, he will maintain many idlers always."

Jogesh felt furious at this covert sting, but he remained silent. He felt very anxious all the same. If the old lady really wanted Ramnidhi to marry now, Jogesh must be on his guard. His old stepmother watched over the fool's money with lynx's eyes, and if a bride too appeared on the scene, she would certainly not be less watchful. Between the two, Jogesh would have a bad time. The only thing he could do was to

look out for a silly girl and get Ramnidhi married to her.

A few days later, Jogesh approached his stepmother with a letter in hand. The old lady was busy in her store-room. "Are you very busy?" asked Jogesh, "I wanted to tell you something."

His stepmother looked up from her work and said, "I must finish these. Can't you tell me what it is, from there?"

"You were talking the other day about the boy's marriage," said Jogesh, "I know of a good party. If you permit me, I may open negotiations."

His stepmother did not look at all enthusiastic. "Who is the girl?" she asked. "Where is their home?"

"Not very far off," said Jogesh. "She is related to my wife, in fact, she is her cousin. She is good looking and just the age for our Ramnidhi. She is quite intelligent too, and would be able to manage everything in time."

Ramnidi's aunt did not seem much more impressed by this description. "What does the bride's father do?" she asked. "Are they well-to-do people?"

Jogesh lost heart a bit at this cool reception. "Her father is dead," he said. "The girl is an orphan and has been brought up by my mother-in-law. But why do you bother about money? Your Ramnidhi has got enough of his own, he does not need a father-in-law's money."

"Still I don't want the bride's people to be paupers," said his stepmother, "and neither do I want to marry my boy to an orphan girl. He has lost his own parents, and he must have parents-in-law, who would look after him. He is not intelligent enough to stand alone. I won't live for ever to guard him and his property."

Jogesh made a wry face and moved away. If he could have married Ramnidhi to this girl, it would have improved matters very much for him. His prestige would have been enhanced at his father-in-law's house and the girl too would have been grateful to him. She was quite young and not overburdened with intelligence; so it would have been very easy for Jogesh to manage her. But the expression on his stepmother's face did not encourage him to hope for any good result.

But he was not a fellow to give in so readily. He brought home information about new brides everyday and drew his unwilling stepmother into long consultations with him. He even tried to open direct negotiations with Ramnidhi. But the boy was too much of a fool to understand even his own good. And it was utterly impossible to make him do anything on the sly.

One morning, the old lady went to clean her nephew's room. As she was rolling up the bed, she found three or four photographs under his pillow. All were of young girls and all were fairly good looking.

Jogesh had then gone out for his morning

stroll. The old lady sent for Ramnidhi and asked him very sternly, "What are these?"

"How should I know?" he replied in a deeply injured tone.

"You don't know?" asked his aunt, still more sharply, "then who knows, pray? How did they come here?"

"Dada (Jogesh) brought them and gave them to me. He wanted to know which was the most beautiful."

His aunt suppressed a smile, and began turning over the photographs. Then she asked again, "Can you tell me, which is the most beautiful?"

Ramnidi shook his head violently and made good his escape. His aunt took away the photographs to her own room. Though she did not like the brides whom Jogesh proposed for Ramnidhi, yet she, being a lonely widow, could not arrange a better match. She had no one to help her. So she decided to choose one of these four girls, if she proved even fairly suitable. That none of them would prove entirely satisfactory, of that she was certain. Otherwise Jogesh would never have tried to help them to marry Ramnidhi. But the old lady was ready to accept a girl now who was healthy and who did not come from a very bad family. About everything else, Ramnidhi must take a chance. The names and addresses of the girls were written on the back of the photographs. So she decided to make enquiries about them through one of her own friends.

She finished her midday meal in a hurry and then started for her friend's house with the photographs. Her friend, another widowed lady, named Chandramukhi, received her cordially and looked the photographs over. Then she said, "If you really want a bride for your nephew, why don't you oblige your poor friend then, instead of going for strangers?"

Ramnidi's aunt was a bit surprised and said, "I knew you had only two sons. Have you got a daughter, too?"

Chandramukhi gave her a playful push and said, "I may not have a daughter, but can't there be a girl in our family? Don't you remember my niece, Susila?"

"Of course, I do, she was a very beautiful child. But would you really give her in marriage to my nephew? You know, he has received no education."

"Oh, it does not matter," said her friend. "He may not be educated, but he has got enough money to feed a family. We cannot have everything, and we are conscious of our own limitations, too. My poor sister has lost her husband and she cannot pay any dowry at all."

Ramnidi's aunt remained silent for a while. Then she said, "My poor boy is destined to remain without a guardian. Every proposal that came for him proved to be about fatherless girls. Still, this one is better than the others, the girl being your own niece. You two will look after



the poor boy. But where is the girl? I had seen her when she was quite a child, I must see her once now."

"She is in Calcutta, and you can see her any-time you wish to," said her friend. "It would please us very much if you and Ramnidhi will take your midday meal here on Sunday. I shall ask my sister and her daughter too and you can see her."

"That's the best arrangement," said Ramnidhi's aunt. "I shall try to come early," saying this, she took her leave.

Ramnidihi was lucky enough this time to catch sight of a real flesh and blood bride and not a mere picture. It must be admitted that Jogesh had less wisdom than his stepmother. Ramnidhi fell in love with the girl at first sight. The girl was really pretty, according to Bengali standards. Her complexion was fair, her figure good and she had large, trustful eyes.

Ramnidihi's aunt, too, liked the girl very much. Still she said, "The girl looks too big for my boy. I could have done with a younger bride." "True, my dear," said her friend Chandramukhi. "But don't reject the poor girl for such a slight fault. She is a very good girl. You will understand that as soon as she enters your family. A very young bride would have been too troublesome. She would have cried day and night and disgusted you. My Sushila will help you in everything. She knows all household works and can manage everything perfectly."

So the match was finally settled by the respective aunts of the groom and bride. Ramnidhi looked supremely satisfied with the arrangements.

Jogesh was furious when he heard about it. He rushed to his stepmother and blurted out, "So you are bringing home an orphan girl after all? Then why did you reject the proposal, I brought? Because it was I that brought the proposal, you did not even give it a hearing."

The old lady knew only too well the reason for so much heat. She was going to utter some hometruths, but restrained herself and said, "I liked this match much better, that is why I accepted it. Though she is an orphan, I know her personally from her infancy and I know her to be a very good girl."

Jogesh had many things to say, but he knew that it was fruitless now. The marriage was a settled fact. He could do nothing to prevent it and he could not foment any kind of trouble. There was no question of a dowry, so no trouble could arise through non-payment, which is the most fruitful cause of trouble in Hindu marriages. The bride's people might give her some presents, again they might not; it entirely depended on them. Jogesh's stepmother knew the girl's people thoroughly, so no falsehood about them would upset the match. Many schemes crowded into his brain, but he rejected them all as useless. The day fixed for the ceremony steadily approached.

At the time of the marriage, Jogesh's aunt

invited his wife Radharani, but she did not come on the excuse of ill-health. Jogesh's stepmother did not repeat her invitation. She had grown accustomed to Jogesh, but Radharani could never pull on with her.

Ramnidihi's marriage was solemnized in due course, without any hitch. There was no great show, but all the relatives on both sides gathered together on the occasion and blessed the pair. As the bride was departing for her husband's home, the girl's mother requested Jogesh to be kind to her girl. Jogesh's lips turned in a crooked smile but thanks to his bushy moustaches, nobody saw it.

Sushila entered her new home. Ramnidhi's aunt had the whole house repaired and repainted as soon as his marriage was arranged. So the house now looked quite new. It was full of people now for the festive occasion and was suitably decorated.

The bride was ceremonially welcomed into her new home and loud blasts of the conchshell published the news to everyone.

Ramnidihi's aunt first came forward to see the face of the bride. She had a large jewel box in her hand. Jogesh stared at her in dismay. The old lady opened the box and took out a mass of shining gold ornaments and put them on the bride, one by one. Then she looked at the persons, who stood around and said, "Please bless her and wish that she may never have to take off these ornaments."

There was a murmur of admiration from amongst the guests. What a number of ornaments! It must at least have cost ten thousands. The girl was really lucky. She came from her father's house dressed in the cheapest of wedding dresses and with no ornaments, save a pair of thin bangles, and now as soon as she set her foot in her husband's house, she got enough ornaments to suit a princess.

Jogesh had retired to his own room, biting his lip in anger. He knew well enough whence all this money for jewels had come. Ramnidhi's father had lent one of his neighbours a few thousands, who had mortgaged his house to him. The interest had hitherto been accumulating, and a year or two later, the house would surely have come into Ramnidhi's possession. But the old lady had been foolish enough to let the interest go, and had given them back their house, on repayment of the capital alone.

Jogesh had strongly been in disfavour of this foolishness, but the old lady had done this behind his back. Else, whence should she get so much money? Jogesh felt as if someone had taken away his own birthright. He had secured a pair of very cheap rolled gold ear-rings as a present for the new bride. But so furious was he that he locked these up again in his desk.

When the feast was over and all the guests had departed, he went up to his stepmother and said, "Do you think, you did well by giving up so much money? What was the necessity?"

"Would it have been better, if I had taken away the poor old Brahmin's house for a paltry sum of money? And I really wanted some money for the ornaments. Why should my niece remain without ornaments? So the first day she came, I gave her everything a bride may need."

"You could have waited," shouted Jogesh. "What was the urgency? Rammidhi is a fool, but you should look after his interests better."

His stepmother frowned. "I try my best in that direction, you may be sure," she said. "I have grown old, and I think I know what is what. She went away, without waiting for Jogesh's answer."

Jogesh was fully conscious now of the seriousness of the situation. If he did not look out, he would soon be compelled to change his present abode for another. It was not merely for eating three meals free, and sleeping in a brick-built room, that he was staying on here. He could have had them in his own village home, too. He had left his own wife and his native place, and was putting up with all his stepmother's insolent behaviour, in expectation of gathering a substantial harvest for himself, in the future. If that hope proved futile, then what was the use of his staying on any longer? But the future looked really dark now. Formerly there was only his stepmother to contend against, but now there was Rammidhi's wife too, backed by all her relatives. The old lady was spending money, most foolishly on that chit of a girl. She had not only got jewels and ornaments worth ten thousand, she was getting new dresses, furnitures and what not, everyday. All these were mere wastage. Jogesh had made plans for sharing in Rammidhi's money, but he had no scheme, through which he could claim a share in the bride's jewels or her silks.

The old lady had really got Rammidhi married in the nick of time, for after this her own health began to decline rapidly. Jogesh grew a little more hopeful at this, still he was not without fears that the old woman would yet steal a march on him. He was very much discouraged when he saw that his stepmother was selling off all the village property and making plans for building another big house in Calcutta with the sale proceeds. The new building was to be the property of Rammidhi's wife.

The time approached for the Durga Puja festivals. Rammidhi's aunt suddenly made a plan for holding Puja in her own house. Jogesh protested with a sour face. "We never had the Puja in our house. What is the use of having it now? It would mean no end of expense. Now that Rammidhi has married, you must be more careful than ever."

"Oh, it is not much of an expense," said the obstinate old woman. "My boy won't become a pauper through it. Now that he is married, he must try to please the gods. I always had a

desire to do it and am going to do it this time."

Radharani was again invited. She had to come this time, as repeated refusals to come to her husband, might give rise to ugly rumours. She came just before the Puja. She had heard all about the new bride's magnificent ornaments and dresses, so she had to borrow some finery and some jewels from her relatives in order to keep up appearances by the side of Rammidhi's wife.

Jogesh had hitherto lived alone. So the room allotted to him was rather small. He had not noticed it hitherto, but his wife now pointed it out to him. "What is the use of your slaving away your life here?" she asked. "You have not got even a decent room to live in."

"It is no use getting impatient," said her husband. "We must bide our time. Besides, there are no large rooms available. There are only two in the house, one being occupied by the old woman and the other by the new bride. I cannot ask either of them to vacate it for me."

"That girl is really lucky," said Radharani. "From the dustbin, she gets elevated to the king's throne. And look at me! I am destined to remain a poor dependent for ever, in my father's house."

"Wait and see," said Jogesh.

"Wait indeed!" said Radharani sharply.

"I must wait till my death, I suppose? Did you hear that Sushila is to get some diamonds as Puja presents? I wonder why I came here to look like a fool."

It was night, and Jogesh turned his back to his wife, feigning sleep. He kept awake till the small hours of the morning, but did not venture to speak to his wife again.

The Puja was celebrated with due pomp. Much discussion was caused by Sushila's new and old ornaments, both at home and outside. Radharani could not refrain from trying her sharp tongue on poor foolish Rammidhi, too. "I say brother," she said, "are all the jewels for your beautiful young bride only? Can't the old and ugly sister-in-law get one or two?"

Rammidhi felt very much embarrassed. "I have not given her anything," he said. "Aunt has given all."

"That means that," said Radharani. "The money belongs to you and not to your aunt."

Rammidhi stared foolishly at her, then went away, saying, "Very well, I shall see what I can do."

On the day of the Vijaya, the last day of the Puja, Rammidhi came to Radharani with a gold chain, and after giving it to her, bowed down to her feet. Radharani pretended to be very much surprised and cried out, "Oh dear, what is this brother? Did you think, I was speaking seriously? I was but jesting."

"How should I know that?" replied Rammidhi. "I thought you meant it, so I told aunt and she gave me this."

Jogesh called his wife in, and said in a tone of suppressed rage, "Why do you make me appear a fool, like this? Have we got to beg for them, because we cannot afford to buy ornaments?"

"Now then, shut up," screamed Radharani. "The more worthless a man is, the more he tries to tyrannize over his wife. Do you want me to go about looking like a servant of the new bride?"

Jogesh went out of the room in a towering rage. He did not again come in for the rest of the day. In the evening, he sent word that he was going out of town on important business and might be absent for two or three days. Radharani's face turned dark in anger. But she had no one at hand, on whom she could vent her rage, so she had to remain silent. Ramnidhi tried his best to console his sister-in-law, but he did not get much attention from her.

At the end of the protracted festivals, everybody was extremely tired and the whole family was fast asleep by ten o'clock. But they were not destined to enjoy the bliss of peaceful sleep. Suddenly shriek after shriek in a terrified female voice rung out in the night, and woke up the whole quarter. A bewildered crowd soon gathered round Ramnidhi's house. But the thieves had made good their escape by that time after gathering a rich harvest. The whole night was passed in needless lamentations and reproaches. The police arrived with the morning, and Jogesh followed them pretty soon.

As soon as his stepmother saw him, she burst out in rage, "Where have you been, you good for nothing? Can't you even stay in the house? We have been absolutely ruined."

Jogesh's eyes seemed to be starting out of his head. "What has happened?" he asked.

Before his aunt could reply, Ramnidhi cried out, "Thieves came, and took away all the ornaments of your wife."

Jogesh became pale as a corpse. "Why was she alone in the room?" he muttered somehow. "Why did not she sleep with mother?"

"I thought, she would feel afraid to be alone in that room," said Ramnidhi, "so we slept in your room, and sister slept in ours."

Jogesh collapsed, rather than sat down on the verandah. Radharani's wails from inside the room seemed to pierce through, to his brain.

After a while, he got up and dragged Ramnidhi to the outer room. "Who told you to be so solicitous about my wife?" he asked sharply, "was it mother?"

Ramnidi stared at him like a fool and said, "Why, no. It was not aunt. My wife said that there was too much noise in our part of the house, so she would like to sleep for once in your room. She also suggested that sister should sleep in ours."

Jogesh looked at the fool with murder in his heart. Then he began to tear out his own hair, by the handful.

## KRISHNA CHANDRA BHATTACHARJYA

By RASBHHARY DAS, M.A., PH.D.

A Professor of Philosophy in a certain college in northern India was recently told, in reply to a query of his, that the present Director of the Indian Institute of Philosophy was Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya. The Professor got little satisfaction from this answer and again asked "Who is Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya?"<sup>1</sup>

I think professors of philosophy in Bengal know who is Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya, though they may not know what order of mind he possesses; but many educated people, even in Bengal, know, I imagine, as little about him as the professor I referred to above. This is what should not be. Professor Krishna Chandra Bhattacharjya is the President of the Ninth Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress held in the last week of March last at Poona. It is well that people should know something about this great scholar and teacher.

Krishna Chandra Bhattacharjya obtained, as a student, all the distinctions that usually fall to the share of a brilliant scholar. He joined Educational Service and served as Professor of Philosophy in various Government Colleges of Bengal and retired some years ago as Principal of Hooghly College. After his retirement from Government service, he served the University of Calcutta for some time. When he resigned his post in the University, he was approached by the Indian Institute of Philosophy (Amalner) with an invitation to come over to the Institute to guide its work. He accepted the invitation and is now at the head of the Institute.

There is nothing very unusual in his academical or professional career. Many other students have obtained the distinctions which he obtained, and in service many other professors have achieved greater popularity

with the students and obtained greater and quicker advancement in their career. What distinguishes him from other teachers of philosophy is his great originality which is nowhere very common and is certainly very rare in this country. On any philosophical question he has something to say of his own which is highly significant and is not to be found in any books.

In logic, epistemology, metaphysics and even in psychology he holds definite views which are radically different from what we find in current European philosophy. But he has thought out his positions very well and can maintain them with many subtle arguments. When he elaborates any of his own positions or criticizes any views, which he considers inadequate, one cannot but admire his singular dialectical skill and metaphysical insight as well as the logical vigour of his thought. A few years back, he happened to deliver, at the Indian Institute of Philosophy, a course of lectures which have been published afterwards under the title 'The Subject as Freedom'. There was among the audience a gentleman who was himself a philosopher with considerable power of abstract thinking. He said he had not heard another speaker, like Professor Bhattacharjya, who combined such subtle analysis with such depth of thought. The remark was particularly significant as it came from a person who had worked under James Ward at Cambridge and had heard the lectures of J. M. E. MacTaggart and G. E. Moore who are undoubtedly two of the ablest thinkers of England in recent times.

This is not to say that the views of Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya will be readily acceptable or even intelligible to those whose strong point is mere common sense or who are steeped in the ideas of current European philosophy. One would require some preparation to put oneself absolutely in sympathy with his ideas. The ordinary ideas of common sense appear self-evident only because they have not been subjected to adequate criticism. So are many ideas which are derived from the tradition of Western philosophy. So long as our minds are dominated by these notions, it will be difficult for us to understand and accept ideas which involve their rejection.

And many of Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya's ideas have been so formulated as to imply a criticism, or demand the rejection, of our current notions of common sense and of ordinary philosophy.

One may not, therefore, at once accept the views which Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya suggests. But if anyone, with a proper



Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya.

understanding of philosophy, discusses earnestly any problem with him, he will almost invariably be made conscious of the many inconsequences in his own thought as well as of the deficiency in many of the current concepts of philosophy and common sense. This is exactly the work expected of a philosopher. A philosopher is not there merely to repeat what everybody knows or to say what will be evident even to the commonest understanding. We want light from a philosopher and his light is not worth much if it cannot make us conscious of the darkness in us. If his light only shows what we ourselves can see, why do we then need such a light?

Is Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya absolutely original? Does he not owe his ideas to any other philosopher? Prof. Bhattacharjya will not himself claim much originality. He will probably say that he is merely trying to interpret, in the modern way, some of the ideas he has learnt from Indian philosophy. But whatever he may say, we know that merely from a study of Western and Indian philosophy one cannot acquire the way of thinking which distinguishes him from other philosophers. His mind surely came into contact with certain materials in Indian and European philosophy, but the reaction to them was peculiarly his own, and its product, the views he has developed, at least their working out, may be said, therefore, to be quite original. Still his views, in some respects, admit of being traced to two main sources. One is the Kantian philosophy of the West and the other is the Vedanta of India. There is, I think, no one else in India who has studied Kant so thoroughly and carefully, and can interpret him in such a novel way. And the Vedantic colour of many of his ideas will be at once evident to any one who will take the trouble of considering them seriously.

I do not know if he owes anything to his teacher the late Dr. P. K. Ray, of whom he was a very favourite student and with whom he kept up his personal contact right up to the end. He also came into intimate contact with Sir Brajendranath Seal, and it is just possible that in his many conversations with him he got some suggestions and ideas.

Is he very learned? His learning cannot at all be compared with that of Dr. Seal. But he is certainly more learned than one would take him to be from his extreme modesty. He has a thorough grasp of all the different systems of Indian philosophy and is fully alive to the significance of different currents of modern western thought. But learned though he is, mere learning is not his strong point. Even a mediocre mind with sufficient industry can amass enough learning to astound and confound the unlearned public. His strong point is his peculiar insight which he brings to bear on any subject he chooses to handle. Whatever may be the system of philosophy he takes up, whether Eastern or Western, he has

his own light to throw, which illuminates, as it were by a flash, the whole body of doctrine connected with the system.

From this we are led to another point in his character which makes him such an admirable teacher. Although he holds such definite and radical views, he is never dogmatic or aggressive in their expression. He is never anxious to win over anybody to his side and never gives the idea that there are no alternatives to his views. On the contrary, he can, and is always ready to, see things from standpoints other than his own. Thus a student who fails to agree with him, can yet learn much from him, because he sees further than the student, even from the student's standpoint, and can therefore bring real enlightenment to him. He holds his views very firmly, but is also very catholic to the views of others. This catholicity of spirit has led him to the concept of the manifoldness of truth and to the alternative formulation of the concept of the absolute.

I wish I could give an idea of some of his characteristic philosophical views. But that is not possible in an article like this which is meant for general readers; and his achievements are mostly in the realm of advanced philosophy which cannot be presented without a good deal of technicalities. His analysis of consciousness and its three modes, knowing, feeling and willing, if generally known, will be considered a distinct contribution to epistemology and psychology. His distinction of speakable, meanable and thinkable is original and highly significant. One or two of his radical views in logic may be mentioned here. They will not, of course, be properly understood without much discussion.

One such view is that distinction is not a symmetrical relation. Ordinarily it is supposed that if A is distinct from B, B is also distinct from A. This is what is meant by the relation of distinction being symmetrical. In Professor Bhattacharjya's opinion, if A is distinct from B, B need not be distinct from A. In support of his view, he suggests that what is definite is distinct from the indefinite, but the indefinite is not in the same sense distinguished from the definite, for in that case it would become definite.

The second of his ideas which we wish to

mention here relates to indirect or mediate relations. We generally think that if A is related to B, and B is related to C, then A is related to C. Prof. Bhattacharjya says that it need not be so. Even though A is related to B and B is related to C, there is no necessity that A should be related to C. When A and B are related, and B and C are related, A and C may also be related. But the relation of A and B and the relation of B and C cannot themselves amount to a relation between A and C. In other words, he does not think that two relations can be compounded into one relation or that there can be a relation of relations. A relation combines two contents. Therefore a combination of relations, which are no contents (in the sense that they are relations) is not a relation in the first sense.

He has a host of such ideas which acutely challenge the concepts of our ordinary thought.

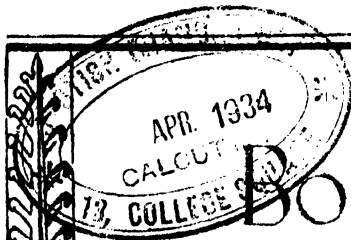
If Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya is such a great thinker, how is it that he is so little known? The main reason is that his achievements are in a region which is foreign to popular interest. There are not many people in any country who can be genuinely interested in pure abstract thinking. When the nature of his subject itself is only vaguely known, it is hardly surprising that the nature of his achievements in it is not known at all. But those who can know and understand have always appreciated the merit of his work. Dr. P. K. Ray, and Dr. B. N. Seal, than whom there could be no better judges in the country in philosophical matters, always expressed their high regard for his metaphysical acumen. Besides, he has a few students who really understand him and have unbounded respect for his ideas. Some of them have already made their mark in philosophy.

It must be admitted however that the manner of his writing is to some extent responsible for his failure to attract public attention. His lectures are admirably clear. There is no hurry in his delivery. Words are always slowly and distinctly pronounced, each word standing for a definite meaning. He is never in want of happy examples to illustrate his points, and can always point to

parallel thoughts in other thinkers. But his writing is altogether different. As a friend of mine once put it, his writings are mere dry bones of logic with no flesh and blood of literature upon them. Illustrations and references are hardly ever given and so his writings on the whole make very difficult reading.

But this does not explain everything. Kant and Hegel wrote in a difficult language. Even today the writings of Husserl and Whitehead are not less difficult than those of Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya. But they are read, understood and admired in their country. The real fact is that we have no philosophical public in this country. If we had genuine interest in philosophical ideas and had sufficient respect for the thoughts of our own countrymen we should not mind taking some pains to understand the ideas of this great thinker. So if Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya is ignored, it is because philosophy itself, except perhaps in name, is ignored. Jagadisha and Gadadhara, especially the former, used a language which was a hundred times more difficult than the language of Prof. K. C. Bhattacharjya and yet people read and understood them. There was then genuine passion for learning alive in this country.

Since Indians began to be taught in the Western method, they have not made a single real contribution to philosophy. We cannot point to a single original philosophical theory which can be credited to an Indian thinker of today. We expected much from Dr. Seal and he too thought that the next comprehensive system of philosophy, after that of Wundt, was going to be his. He had, I believe, all the capacity to produce such a system. But his sudden physical breakdown tragically ended his own hopes and those of his countrymen. By the grace of God, Prof. Krishna Chandra Bhattacharjya is still there. Though already nearly sixty, he is still in full possession of his mental vigour. We hope he will be long spared to us and will have time and inclination to embody his views in a systematic work which will be a lasting contribution to philosophy and a matter of pride to his countrymen.



# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**THE BODHISATTVA DOCTRINE IN BUDDHIST SANSKRIT LITERATURE:** By Har Dayal, M. A., Ph. D., Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 1932, Pp. XIX + 392.

Having crossed the limits of the land of its birth Buddhism penetrated into different parts of the globe from South Siberia and Manchuria in the North to Indonesia in the South, and from the border of Persia in the West to China and Japan in the East. But what is it in it that attracted the people so much in so many countries? According to its founder himself the truth that he preached was in no way an easy one; for, in his own words, it was very difficult to understand, very difficult to perceive, and as such was intelligible only to the wise. Such being the case, can we ever think that the average people in that time were so wise as to grasp the truth thoroughly? What is it then? It seems that it is the path of salvation shown by the Blessed One, which has the fullest expression in the life of a Bodhisattva 'expiant after the supreme enlightenment.' The first and the most important thing that is to be noticed in the life of a Bodhisattva, is his *mehamaitre* 'great love' and *mehakaruna* 'great compassion.' Here *maitre* is that love for all living beings which a mother feels for her only one and very dear son. And that love which prompts one to offer one's everything including even the body and life to all living beings without any expectation for reward therefrom is *mehamaitre*. And *karuna* 'compassion' is the thought of, or intention for, the deliverance of all sentient beings from the ocean of *samsara*; and that compassion with which a Bodhisattva desires the supreme enlightenment or *nirvana* first not for himself, but for others, is called *mehakaruna*. Actuated by these two great qualities a Bodhisattva prays to become a Buddha for the welfare of the universe (*pradho bhagavatam jagato hitaya*), and does not cease to attain *nirvana* until every living being is liberated from the bondage of others he is always anxious to undergo any kind of suffering and is not afraid of any pain. He makes the devout supplication: 'Let whatever sufferings the world has come to me! May the merits of Bodhisattvas make the world happy.'

This ideal of self-imposed suffering for the benefit of others is found also in Vaisnavism, as the following words taken from the *Bhagavata Purana* (IX, 21.12) will show:

'I do not desire the highest state of life from God, nor the eight-fold success (*siddhis*), nor the absence of rebirth; but I want the suffering of all creatures being inside them, so that they may be free from it.'

And in this connection the following speech of Prahlada may also be quoted from the same work (VII, 10.48):

'Almost all gods and saints observe silence wanting their own salvation; they are not devoted to the welfare of others. But I alone do not want to attain my liberation leaving behind all these miserable creatures.'

There is nothing more ennobling, more inspiring than this ideal of life in the whole range of Buddhist literature, and the Mahayana works in Sanskrit or Buddhist Sanskrit are full of it. It should, however, be noted that the Bodhisattva doctrine is found also in Hinayana texts though it is not so much developed here as in those of the Mahayana.

The book under notice is "An important and detailed study of the Bodhisattva doctrine and its place among Buddhist Sanskrit writings." There are seven chapters in it and their names given below will show the subject-matters dealt with in them: (i) The Bodhisattva Doctrine; (ii) Origin and Development of the Bodhisattva Doctrine; (iii) The Thought of Enlightenment; (iv) The Thirty-seven Dharmas; (v) The Paravatas; (vi) The Bhumis; (vii) The Last Life and Enlightenment. There are also Notes, Appendix, and Index.

Undoubtedly the present volume is a valuable contribution to Buddhist studies, especially with reference to the Bodhisattva doctrine. It clearly shows its author's deep scholarship and great diligence.

In discussing technical terms the author takes much pain and quotes, though sometimes unnecessarily, opinions of numerous authors, ancient and modern, giving thereby his readers an opportunity for their being acquainted with different views (which are not correct in all cases) in one place. In this connection we may refer one to his discussion on the true significance of the word *Bodhisattva*. It is very

interesting, indeed. But here arises the question: Are we justified in rejecting a traditional meaning supported by great authorities, without any strong ground? Mere grammars and dictionaries may give us a number of meanings of a word, but it is convention or tradition, or both of them, that can greatly enable us to select a true one. The explanation of the word *Bodhisattva* as given in the *Boḍhi-argarabara-pañjikā* (tatra (bodhan) sattvam abhiprayo'syeti bodhisattvā) is rejected by Dr. Har Dayal as is done by another modern scholar. But that explanation is supported by Asanga in his *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra-sūtra*, XIX, 64 (*boḍhan sphaṛṇa khalu bodhi-sattva*). And Haribhadra in his *Abhisamayalankaraloka*, ed. Tucci, GOS p. 27, follows him when he writes: *boḍhan sattvam abhiprayo yessam to bodhisattvā*. This seems to be confirmed by the first thing of the very beginning of the career of a Bodhisattva, i.e., his *bodhicittotpada* or the production of the thought of supreme enlightenment.

The temptation of connecting Pali *suttā* in this connection with Sanskrit *sūtra* was better suppressed than expressed.

VIDYASHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

(1) MANASARA ON ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE, (2) ARCHITECTURE OF MANASARA, (3) ARCHITECTURE OF MANASARA: Plates. By Dr. Prasannakumar Acharya, I.E.S., Professor, Allahabad University. Published by the Oxford University Press.

These are the three concluding volumes of the monumental work on *Manasara*, by the Allahabad Professor. The first two volumes, (1) A Dictionary of Indian Architecture, and (2) Indian Architecture according to *Manasara-Silpashastra* appeared a few years ago and have been appreciated by the world of scholars, as evinced by the fact that the gifted author is already preparing a second edition.

The third volume of the series, which is No. (1) of the three volumes under review contains the original text of the *Manasara*, with (a) a full alphabetical index, and (b) critical notes. The original text of the treatise is so notoriously and hopelessly corrupt that credit is due to Dr. Acharya for having provided a readable text. Anachronisms and grammatical anomalies in which the text abounds are the common feature of many Sanskrit treatises on technical subjects, such as Medicine and Astronomy-Astrology. But the text of *Manasara* is full of other defects as well. It must have cost the editor immense labour and not a little ingenuity to prepare a neat and readable text. The critical notes bear ample testimony to this.

The *Manasara*, it seems, was not meant by the author, whoever he was, to be a scholarly and scientific treatise; it appears to have been meant as a Handbook for the guidance of practical builders and architects. This is the only explanation that we can find for the more than ordinary "barbarous Sanskrit" in which the work has been described as having been written. This is also indicated by the fact that the author's name is nowhere mentioned; and it is difficult to find out who the author was. Like many encyclopaedic works, it has been attributed by Pandits to the Great Scholar-King Bhojdeva of Dhara.

This leads us on to the second of the three volumes under notice,—which forms Vol. IV of the series. Here, in the Preface, we are told in regard to the authorship of the original that—"up till now, no tangible argument or proof has been found as to the possibility of the treatise being the compilation of a number of authors, instead of a single individual." There is thus

a lot of uncertainty on this point, and the only reasonable view to take at present appears to be the one hinted at in this sentence. It is a practical handbook, added to from time to time, as experience dictated. This also will account for the diversity of language and style.

This volume contains a complete English translation of the original, with full alphabetical indices of Sanskrit and English terms. The translation is accurate and at the same time readable by itself, which cannot be said of most of our translations, which lose much of their readability through an attempt at literalness. Dr. Acharya has sailed clear of this difficulty and has succeeded in giving us a translation which can be read and understood by itself.

Some idea of the magnitude of the task to which Dr. Acharya set himself twenty years ago may be formed from the contents of the work. The whole work consists of 70 chapters, dealing with all the minute details relating to house-building, such as, qualifications of architects, selection of site, erection of the Gnomons for the orientation of buildings (a matter which is very badly understood by present-day builders), Site-plans, Village and Town and Fort planning, Dimensions, Foundation, Pedestal, Columns, Roofs, Joinery and general features. All these are dealt with in relation to buildings of one to twelve-storeys (it seems we had skyscrapers in ancient times). Next follow chapters dealing with Royal Palaces, Royal Entourage, Cars, Chariots, Furniture, Thrones, Arches, Central Theatre and Crowns. Lastly, there come Temples and Images, separate chapters being assigned to Jaina Images, Buddhist Images, Images of Sages, the comparative measures of Images. Special chapters are also devoted to the casting of Idols in Wax and the chiselling of the Eye. There are penalties also for defective construction.

The last volume of the series supplies elaborate plates providing full illustrations (drawn to scale) of architectural and sculptural objects. These are likely to be extremely useful to the extensive town and village-planning that is going to be undertaken in Bihar. It represents the practical outcome of the experience of centuries, and is likely to be more adapted to the climatic conditions of the country than the ideas derived from experience in other climes and other countries.

While congratulating Dr. Acharya on the completion of his monumental work, one cannot resist the temptation of requesting him to bring out, in course of the present year, if possible (in view of the likelihood of its being useful in the rebuilding of Bihar), a smaller volume containing, in brief, the main conclusions, specially those relating to the planning of villages and towns and the building of houses. This volume should not contain more than 200 or 250 pages. The utility of the work would be immensely enhanced if a Hindi translation also appeared simultaneously with the English version.

GANGANATH JHA.

DAYANAND COMMEMORATION VOLUME: A Homage to Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati from India and the World in celebration of the Dayanand Nirvana Ardhā Shatabdi. Edited by Har Bilas Sarada, M.L.A., Dikan.Bahadur (Har Nivas, Civil Lines, Ajmer). Printed and Published by Chandmal Chandak at the Vedic Yantralaya, Qaisarganj, Ajmer, 1933. Pp. 413.

It is a very good omen that we are thinking of our great men both living and dead, and trying to place



before them, or in honour of their memory, our offerings of thanksgiving and tribute. A volume of appreciations, or of articles of literary or scientific value forms a fitting expression of this homage, and for this idea we are indebted to the West. German and other European scholars began the laudable practice of offering a volume of essays to a great man, usually a great scholar or writer, on his seventieth or seventy-fifth or eightieth year, to which all eminent men working in the same field, as well as eminent men in other departments who are his friends and admirers contribute. In India the first tribute of this kind that was paid to a great Indian was the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, honouring the life and achievement of the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Then followed other commemorative volumes The Golden Book of Tagore, The Madan Mohan Malaviya Commemorative Volume, and those in honour of Sir P. C. Ray Professor Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University, Pandit Mahavir Prasad Dvivedi, besides volumes celebrating Pandit Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, and Professor Pathak of Poona which are under preparation. Of these, the Tagore Volume and the Dvivedi Volume represent the high water-mark of book-production in India: the one in English, the other in Hindi. All the above *Festschriften* are tributes offered to living scholars and writers, who have left their mark in the literary and intellectual life of India during the last two generations.

The Dayanand Commemoration Volume differs from the rest in that it celebrates the memory and the achievement of Dayanand Swami fifty years after his death. It is not a volume of learned and technical papers, it consists mainly of a series of appreciations and appraisements of the personality and the life-work of this illustrious son of India from over 120 men and women of light and leading, mostly from India and some from abroad. The name of Dayanand will go down to posterity as one of the makers of Modern India, and howsoever one might disagree with him in his Vedic interpretations and his opinions on religious matters, one is bound to admire the compelling sincerity and the burning zeal of this great religious reformer. He lashed the inert Hindu community with its passivity of lifelessness and callousness to an active ideal of self-purification and service, of unity and endeavour. We might not accept the bases of his claims for the superiority of his people, but we revere him and think of him with gratitude when we find that his clarion call shattered our tacit assumption of an inferiority complex in our communal existence, in practice if not in theory. Ignorance and Superstition, and Exploitation of these by priest-craft: he was sworn enemy to these; and he strove with his whole soul of a missionary to uplift the submerged masses. It was a most praiseworthy task undertaken by Mr. Har Bilas Sarda to publish so many and so various tributes to the memory of such a great man and he has achieved it very well. He has himself contributed a valuable Introduction with a sketch of Dayanand's career. The Commemoration Volume with its galaxy of contributions viewing the life and work of Dayanandji from many a diverse aspect is a work to keep. The printing and get-up are to be highly commended, considering that the work comes from a provincial press in India. There is a good collection of half-tone pictures of Dayanandji and of places associated with his name, as well as of some of the prominent people who came in touch with him.

**RIGVEDA UNVEILED** (Double Crown i—xiv+1—296. Price Five Rupees only). Supplement to 'Rigveda Unveiled'—*Purusha-Sukta or Rigvedic hymn to the super-personal self, text with commentary in English and introduction, 'No Caste in true Hinduism.'* (Double Crown i—vi+1—101. Price One Rupee only). By Dr. J. Datta, M.A., A. R. J. C.

The task that Mr. Datta, an octogenarian, has set before himself in these pages is mainly to demonstrate that the division of caste and untouchability were unknown in the Rigveda and that the Rigveda strictly adhered to monotheism in the midst of what seemed to be polytheism and atheism. Of course, these are no new discoveries and more than one scholar have dealt with or referred to them. Mr. Datta has, however, dealt with these topics with very great detail which occasionally abounds in repetitions. The supplement which is decidedly superior to the original work in point of typography is expected to be of greater use as well for the detailed explanation it gives of the *Purusha-sukta* which the author regards as the 'grandest of the inspired hymns of the world.' He, however, considers as later addition two of its well-known verses (11, 12) referring to the origin of caste-distinction and not the entire hymn as is done usually.

The works contain much valuable material—extensive citations from different parts of the Vedic literature—which with proper arrangement and scientific transliteration would have been of great use to scholars. What strikes us is the sincerity of purpose and earnestness of the learned writer who looks upon the Rigveda not only as the oldest literary remnant of the world but also as divine revelation and has, at this old age, taken upon himself the self-imposed task of writing this book with a view to giving publicity to his own independent views which were not likely to commend themselves to scholars at large. It is for this reason that he does not hesitate to quote, both in the preface and also at the end of the supplement, some of the unfavourable opinions about his work. He seems to feel very strongly on the subject dealt with by him and apparently this has frequently led him to attribute motives to his opponents—ancient and modern—cherishing views different from those of his own and refer to them in strong and uncharitable terms. He is particularly unfavourable towards the members of the priest-craft who are even supposed to be willing to consign the Rigveda to utter loss (Preface p. XIX). Sankara is stated to have never seen the Rigveda (p. 40) and he, along with Sayana, the great Vedic commentator, is accused of lack of moral courage and courage of conviction (p. 42) which stood in the way of their giving the correct interpretation of the vedic texts. He refers to what he believes to be intentional misrepresentation of Sayana (p. 50) and to his 'desire for making himself popular with the priesthood of his day for love of fame' (p. 60) which was responsible for his intentional tampering with the 'true sense of the Hindu's Holy Writ' (p. 60). Prof. Max Müller's opinion on the Vedic deities is attributed to his desire 'to please his contemporaries' (on whose pleasure perhaps depended his Oxford job!), p. 116. As a matter of fact, even admitting that Mr. Datta is quite correct in his conclusions regarding the absence of caste-system and prevalence of monotheism in Rigvedic times one really fails to understand how people who cannot look eye to eye with him should

be accused of deliberately concealing the true facts. It cannot be supposed that all the arguments of Mr. Datta are convincing and free from doubt. Taking one solitary instance, what authority has he to believe that the Aryans settled in five different colonies or branches and consequently were referred to under the names *pancha kshatri* etc. (p. 48) ?

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

**HINDUSTHAN YEAR-BOOK AND WHO'S WHO, 1934 :** By S. C. Sarkar. *Second Year of Issue.* M. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Twelve annas.

This book contains a great variety of statistical and other information on various topics, such as are of everyday necessity for journalists and other publicists and students of current events in general, neatly arranged and presented in an interesting manner. Its very moderate price makes it possible even for our poor students to possess a copy, which they all ought to do.

**CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA :** By Rajani Kanta Das, M. Sc., Ph. D. *International Labour Office.* Geneva, 1934. Price 1s. 6d. Pp. 79.

Like all the other works of the author, this is a dispassionate and scientific study of the subject, which is of great importance. The tables and other statistical information have been compiled from various sources with great care. The brochure deserves to be studied by all economists, Labour leaders, sociologists, and publicists in general.

C.

**THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH :** By M. K. Gandhi, Vol. I. *First published in 1927, reprinted 1933.* Navajivan Karyalayn, Ahmedabad. Pp. iii+602. Price Rs. 5-8.

The first volume of Gandhiji's Autobiography has at last been reprinted after being out of market for more than four years. Considering the demand for it, we had hoped it would have been issued earlier, but perhaps the political turmoils, from which the Navajivan Press has also suffered abundantly, have been responsible for the delay in its appearance.

The printing and general get-up of the book are, of course, as good as they were in the former edition.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**GANDHI :** By P. Brijnath Sharga. *In two volumes.* The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Lucknow. Cloth bound Re. 1-8-0 and Paper cover Re. 1 per volume.

Mahatmaj's life has been told in many books, but this one has the merit of being a complete and carefully written biography, bringing the story of his life down to the 31st January, 1933. The first volume deals with the earlier years from 1869 to 1918, and the second dwells upon the emergence of Mahatmaj into the field of Indian politics when event follows event in quick succession; this second volume is really invaluable, being a running account of his life during the period whose sounds echo still. The author, who writes with spirit and, when occasion needs it, with humour, has ably seized upon the important phases of Mahatmaj's life, and narrated

them with skill, liberally quoting Gandhiji's own words. Gandhi the student, the barrister, the farmer and the spinner, has been drawn with effect and will be enjoyed in the reading.

Mr. Sharga's style is simple, though he is betrayed into an occasional fondness for long words; the get-up is, however, not quite up to the mark and the typography is sometimes incorrect. In other respects the book is thoroughly commendable and it deserves to be popular.

PRIYARANJAN SRN

**REVIVED MEMORIES :** By K. Subba Rao, with Foreword by The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 518.

The book is a simple narration of the events which happened in the career of a person who led a chequered and varied life. Mr. Subba Rao had been a teacher before he became a journalist and a journalist before he chose to enter the Mysore Civil Service. As a teacher he had sufficient experience of the working of the Education Department of the Government of Madras, an experience which he has faithfully and unostentatiously reproduced in the columns of the book under review. As a member of the editorial staff of the *Hindu*, he came into touch with men and things about whom he writes freely in these pages. He deals with the contemporary movements only in short but he gives us a good deal about the great men whom he met and had opportunity of studying at close quarters. G. Subramania Iyer, the founder and editor of the *Hindu*, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Justice Ranade, Sir Narayan Chandravarkar are among the galaxy of the great men of India whose memories have been revived in the book. The style is easy, unadorned, and the narration is interesting. Any man who wants to know something of the public life of Southern India in the last two decades of the nineteenth century would do well to go through this work.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

**THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONALISM :** By Norman Bentwich, *Weizmann Professor of the International Law of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.* Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 10s. 6d. net.

In this book, which embodies a course of lectures delivered in the Hebrew University at Jerusalem in 1932, the author discusses from the historical standpoint the contributions that the different religions of the world have made towards the development of the idea of internationalism. And his finding seems to be that neither Christianity nor the religions of the East have done so much for the growth of internationalism as Judaism and Islam.

"The Jew in the Middle Ages," we are told (p. 82), "was the 'first European'; the Jew of today or tomorrow should be the first citizen of the world, spreading from this (?) centre the International of the Spirit, of which the dominant principles are the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man."

But Christianity, he thinks, has generally erred on the side of nationalism. And "it is doubtful whether, with the exception of Islam, any agency has been so fruitful of wars as the Christian creed" (p. 86). Islam, according to this statement, was more fruitful of wars than Christianity; but in a subsequent chapter we are told that Islam 'transcends nationalism' and 'aims at being universal' (p. 162). As regards

Pan-Islamism, Mr. Bentwich thinks that the Great War has 'proved its hollowness' (p. 173).

The author is loud in praise of internationalism. We do not deny that in theory internationalism is a higher idea than nationalism. But when a young nation aspires to attain its full political stature internationalism may easily be a handicap rather than a help. Besides, the Jews who have hardly been a nation but only a wandering race, are not perhaps the people best fitted to hoist the flag of internationalism. Their internationalism is sometimes anti-national, or, else, their expulsion from Germany at the present juncture cannot be explained. And but for the Zionist movement which promised to give them a home of their own, the Jews have been strangers and sojourners in most countries of the world, and hence internationalism was more favourable to them than to others.

The most important constructive idea that the author puts forward is the idea of a *League of Religions* (ch. xii). This is admittedly (Cf. p. 265) based on the assumption that the League of Nations has been a great success. But since this book was written, there have been many important withdrawals from the League of Nations and it remains to be seen how much longer it will continue to function at all. Is not the scheme of a League of Religions a little premature then?

We have had at least three 'Internationals' of politico-economic colour and the world is not better than before: Will the 'International of Spirit' professed by this author bring any better result?

The writer begins his book with praise of Jerusalem as "the place to which half the world looks as the city of peace" (p. 15). But a few months back Jerusalem had been in the throes of a serious communal rioting and the two combatant branches of the Semitic race were kept apart by the arms of Britain as the mandatory power. The most international of the religions of the world—*viz.*, Judaism and Islam,—are at war, and Christianity, so fruitful of wars in the past, is holding the scales of justice.

Whether Mr. Bentwich's scheme is the best or not, the problem, however, of the future of human civilization is certainly there. Either human nature must improve itself, or, if present tendencies are allowed to continue, the future of the world is dark indeed!

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

### BENGALI

**TRIPURA RAJYER CENSUS BIBARANI, or The Census Report of the Kingdom of Tripura, for 1340 Tripura Era (roughly corresponding to 1931).** By *Thakur Sri Somendra Chandra Dera Barma, M. A. (Harvard), Census Officer, Senior Nayah Dewan.*

In Tripura it has been the practice to transact all official business and to write all official reports in Bengali. The Census Report also has been accordingly written in Bengali. It consists of two parts, the first part, the report proper, containing 116 pages and the second part, the imperial and the provincial tables, 181 pages. There are, besides, a map in many colours, other maps in black and white, many diagrams in many colours, several graphs, many half-tone reproductions of photographs of local tribes and castes, etc. It is a very ably compiled interesting and informing volume.

C.

### BODHICARYAVATARA OF SANTIDEVA

*Ninth Chapter entitled Prajnaparamita (Govinda Kumar Sanskrit series No. 1), Part I. Edited by Gopaldas Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L. Published by Gopendra Kumar Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L. 32, Beaton Row, Calcutta.*

It gives the Bengali translation and the text in Bengali characters of the ninth chapter of the famous and important Buddhist Sanskrit work *Bodhicaryavatara* of Santideva who is supposed by some scholars to have been a Bengalee. There is a detailed introduction in three chapters discussing the doctrines of Buddhist philosophy and drawing attention to the close relation in which they stand to similar doctrines of Brahmanic philosophy. Both the translation and the introduction are from the pen of Hariharananda Aranya. *Prajnaparamita* is one of the most important topics dealt with in great detail in more than one philosophical works of the Buddhists. Mr. Chaudhuri has, therefore, done well in making an attempt at familiarizing the reading public of Bengal with an idea of the subject which has been treated only incidentally and briefly in the work of Santideva. The work has very little of sectarianism in it and will be read with profit and interest by all. The translation has been supplemented occasionally by detailed explanations. The language is, however, sometimes involved and a little more simplification would have been highly welcome. As regards printing it needs be pointed out that the text should have been given in a bold type and not in the same small type as has been used for the translation and explanation. In commending this work to the notice of the public we hope, through the enterprise of the learned editor who is also well known as a financier of good causes, this work will be soon followed up by similar other works specially translations of Pali works as promised in the editorial preface.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### HINDI

**VISNUPURANA (Sri Banarasi Devi Chudical Dharmagranthamala No 1.) With text, Hindi translation and eight full-page tri-colour illustrations.** Translated by *Munind Gupta, Gita Press, Gorakhpur.*

The Gita Press is to be congratulated on bringing out this beautiful and business-like edition of one of the most important of the Sanskrit Puranas. The work is printed in two columns—the left-hand column gives the original text in bold type and the right-hand column contains in simple Hindi the translation into which are inserted, within double brackets, explanatory phrases, in cases where a literal translation is not expected to make the sense quite clear. This arrangement of placing the translation just by the side of the text will be greatly appreciated by the general reader as this will not require him to hunt up for the translation of any particular passage. Those who have not the time to read such a big volume will profit by going through the portions underlined in the text. These contain some precious gems of Sanskrit literature which will give a rough idea of the lofty thoughts contained in the work. The price of the book—rupees two and annas eight only—has been made very cheap in consideration of its size and beautiful get-up.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

## ORIYA

**PU RNACHANDRA OR DIA BHASHA-KOSH A**, a *Lexicon of the Oriya language*. Compiler *Gopal Chandra Prabharaj*, M. A., B. L., Cutback, Vols. I, II and III. To be completed in 2 or 3 more volumes. Royal Quarto.

This encyclopaedic dictionary of the Oriya language has been named after Purnachand Bhanja Deo, the late Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, its patron. It gives the English meaning of every Oriya word; Bengali synonyms of Oriya words, wherever possible; quotations and authority to support the meanings of Oriya words; philological, mythological, historical, geographical, biographical, astronomical, medical, scientific and other notes on the lines of modern encyclopaedias; Hindi synonyms of Oriya words, as far as possible; and English transliteration of every Oriya word.

It will thus be seen that this lexicon will be of use not only to those whose mother-tongue is Oriya and to those others who want to learn Oriya, but also to those whose mother-tongue is Bengali or Hindi.

This dictionary shows how close to one another Oriya and Bengali are.

On account of its bulk, it may not be convenient for constant reference. But it will be of great use to scholars. Perhaps when the publication of the work is complete, the author will publish an abridged edition of it, like the abridged editions of Webster's dictionary and Murray's Oxford dictionary of the English language.

We do not know whether it is possible to use smaller Oriya type than what has been used in this voluminous work much smaller English, Bengali and Nagri types are in use. But if it had been possible to use smaller type, the bulk and price of the work could have been considerably reduced.

The author and his assistants are to be congratulated on their great industry, learning and perseverance.

C.

## GUJARATI

**JAGAT KADAMBARIO MAN SARASWATICHANDRA NUN STHAN**: *By Nanal Dalpatram Kari*, M. A. Printed at the *Kumar Printery, Ahmedabad*. Cloth-bound. Pp. 61. Price Rs. 1-1-0. (1933).

Saraswatchandra is a socio-political novel, spread out into four volumes, ponderous and heavy. It has, in spite of it, maintained its premier place in Gujarati literature ever since it was written nearly half a century ago. It is a mosaic of ideas, ideals, precepts, principles, facts and dreams. The well-known poet, Nanal Kavi, conceived about twenty-five years ago the idea of writing a *critique* of it, and the book under notice is that *critique* or review. It is an attempt to assign this particular production of the late Mr. G. M. Tripathi, the author of this novel, its proper place in the literature of the world, and with that view Mr. Nanal has passed under his able review the best works of fiction in the languages of the world, English, French, German, Spanish, American, Sanskrit, Arabic, and others. As a bird's-eye view of all these literatures, it presents a picture till now not procurable in our literature, and as such, is a unique production. Saraswatchandra is as yet untranslated into any other language excepting a couple of Indian vernaculars. Therefore, students of the literatures of foreign countries are not expected to know its merits, demerits, or its existence even; consequently they cannot assign it its proper place in any world-wide literature. The only alternative left, in consequence, to people like us, at the other end was to study world literature ourselves and try to assign it a niche, according to our likes, and that is what Mr. Nanal has done. As to whether the niche assigned is the proper one or is acceptable to the *savants* of the world, we have no means of knowing or ascertaining. That being so, we must follow our own view-point and till dislodged, hold on to it. The book betrays a deep and wide study of the subject, and a very welcome presentation thereof.

K. M. J.

## LONDON LETTER

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

## THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURES

**S**INCE the War the prestige of Great Britain in world affairs has never stood higher than when Mr. Arthur Henderson was at the Foreign Office. It was he who got rid of Lord Lloyd in Egypt—he who put an end to the Occupation in Germany and evacuated the last soldier from the Rhineland. His Foreign policy was always positive. Everyone could know what he was aiming at and so he inspired and spread confidence. As a French Cabinet Minister said of him, he never finessed for position. "In negotiating he always went straight to the root of the matter."

Foreign statesmen showed the respect they had for Mr. Henderson when they invited him to be the President of the Disarmament Conference. Because they had chosen him, he took up the office of President even though his own Govern-

ment had fallen by that time and he was no longer Foreign Secretary.

It may be crying for the moon to imagine how very different would have been the course of world events in the last two years if Arthur Henderson had been at their heart—instead of Sir John Simon, who can never be at the heart of anything, but must always be "detached." Yet such speculations are inevitable at the present time, when an evil crown has just been set on the failure of our Foreign policy in the Far East.

## THE FAR EAST

This week Pu Yi, the former Emperor of China, has been crowned Emperor of Manchukuo. He has been crowned by his country's invaders, the Japanese. The new State of Manchukuo has not been recognized by any Power except

Japan whose creation it is. Japan has annexed it after a successful war, a war which she never declared. In the same spirit she says she has not annexed it—and Pu Yi's part is to be the outward and undeniable evidence of Manchukuo's "independence."

What a situation! Japan has introduced a new method into international behaviour and we have allowed it to succeed. In vain the Chinese Government has issued a statement that the situation in Manchukuo can be regarded as nothing but one of *armed occupation*. It may be. But possession is nine points of the law—and the Foreign Secretary is a lawyer!

During Sir John Simon's tenure of the Foreign Office we have thrown away our influence in the Far East. We used to be a force to be reckoned with, but now that title has passed to the United States. The National Government throughout has acted as if the annexation of Manchuria were entirely a Sino-Japanese issue and of no consequence to this country. While Japan was invading Chinese territory, they refused to express any opinion whatever or to lift a finger to hinder her. In the best legal tradition they delayed and delayed arriving at any decision. And when at last the League of Nations sent out the Lytton Commission, they used it as a further excuse for doing nothing, because the matter could be said to be *sub-judice*.

The inevitable result, of course, of all this moral cowardice was to rob the Lytton Report in advance of any weight it might have carried with Japan. Japan had been dealing out fire and slaughter in China for months and months and no Great Power (with the solitary exception of the United States) had made even the feeblest protest. So that when the Lytton Report came up for judgment before the League, and the League voted solidly against Japan, Japan merely walked out of the League.

And so Pu Yi is Emperor of Manchukuo!

What Sir John Simon and the National Government overlooked was the fact that quite apart from the Lytton Report, and for years before it, this country had been bound in honour to uphold the territorial integrity of China. In January 1921, at the Washington Conference, we were one of the signatories of the Nine-Power Pact. By the terms of this Pact we are pledged to "respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China."

Things had begun make strong themselves by ill. Japan's easy evil success in Manchuria has tempted her to look for more territories to conquer. Every member of the Diet who voted supplies for the war in China has been presented with an imperial decoration and now Japan is preparing to attack Russia. She hopes that this new war will enable her to annex the Maritime Provinces.

Yet when Mr. Lansbury protested in the

House of Commons against Japanese aggression in China, he was greeted with howls of "war" from the Government benches. Well, the fruits of our Government's timidity are not peace but the possibility of a new Russo-Japanese War.

#### WHERE WE FAILED

What then might Sir John Simon have done? What, we may ask, would Arthur Henderson have done? I think he might, in the first place, have associated England with the United States in the latter's declaration that she would recognize no state of affairs in Manchuria brought about by Japan as a result of using war as an instrument of national policy. Almost certainly he could have induced France, and probably several other Powers, to join in such a declaration. Next and unlike Sir John Simon, when he had put an embargo on the export of arms to Japan he would have stuck to that embargo, no matter what other countries did about it or what profits their armament makers deflected from ours. Above all, he would have done everything he could to make it easy for Japan to retrace her steps and accept the Lytton Report—which did make many concessions to the Japanese view-point and could have been adopted by her without loss of face. He would not have treated her in the idiotic and unfair manner of the National Government: indulgence first and condemnation when it was too late.

A policy of moral suasion might have succeeded. "Ideals admired and striven for constitute human facts," as a famous historian has observed. But even if Japan had continued to be intractable, there were other methods besides war, of putting pressure upon her. There is, for instance, the policy recently advocated by the League of Nations Union. Last September its organ *Hendray* suggested the following steps should China again appeal to the League. Ambassadors could be withdrawn from Tokyo. In co-operation with America there could be exercised "concerted economic pressure on Japan by a general refusal to accept imports from her."

But Sir John Simon did none of these things and war still rumbles about Asia. The Conservative supporters of the National Government have been revolting against him. Not because of his mishandling of the Far Eastern question, but because of the speech which he made in the Disarmament Conference last October when he drove Germany out of the League.

#### AUSTRIA

To have driven Japan and Germany out of the League is a grave enough indictment. But unfortunately that is not the whole count against British Foreign policy. Neither Sir John Simon nor Mr. Ramsay MacDonald can escape some responsibility for the recent terrible happenings in Austria. For these happenings were inspired by Signor Mussolini—and Mussolini has been

given far too much encouragement, especially by the Prime Minister. Their heads were much too close together during all the time that the Four Power Pact was under discussion.

The Four Power Pact was killed just after its birth through the Nazi excesses in Germany and Signor Mussolini then turned his restless ambition to Austria. Austria used to be, in the words of the leader of the Social Democratic Party, "an island of democracy, an island of freedom in the sea of Fascism." Now she is no longer democratic and she may never again be free. She is likely either to lose her identity in Germany or become a Fascist vassal of Italy. Indeed, she seems to be more than half the vassal of Italy already.

The truth about the Austrian tragedy is gradually being unfolded. For some time, it will be remembered, the Constitution had been suspended. The Social Democrats had allowed Dr. Dollfuss to become virtual Dictator in order that Austria might present a united front to Nazi Germany. But it now appears that Dr. Dollfuss, the seeming saviour of his country, in reality sold the pass to Italy last August.

He met Signor Mussolini at Riccione and there struck a bargain with him: Italy would guarantee Austria against German aggression and, in return, Dr. Dollfuss would put the Fascists in the saddle in Austria. Accordingly in September a political crisis developed in Vienna and at the end of it, it was found that Major Fey, the leader of the Austrian Fascists, had become Vice-Chancellor and the real ruler of Austria, while every democratic element had been superseded.

The Fascists soon showed their hand. An order was at once issued establishing Concentration Camps. That same day the Social Democratic Members of Parliament wished to publish a Manifesto—and the Press were forbidden to print it. And yet, according to the figures for the last election held in Austria, the Austrian Fascists polled only 226,000 votes, or *one-third of the individual membership of the Austrian Social Democratic Party.*

Attempts have been made to condone the recent Fascist massacre of the Social Democrats on the grounds that the Social Democrats undoubtedly had dome arms and machine-guns. The truth is that both the Social Democrats and the Fascists were armed. The Social Democrats had the Republican Defence Corps, known as the Schutzbund and the Fascists their private army known as the Heimwehr.

It is the crime of Dr. Dollfuss that instead of seeking to disband both private armies, he countenanced and encouraged one of them—and actually employed it against the other. And the one he encouraged had received its arms from Italy. It was already immeasurably better armed than the Schutzbund. But in the September in which the Fascists came into power in Austria, Dr. Dollfuss asked for 16,000 rifles to be given to their Heimwehr.

When he did this, he was carrying out the behest of his master in Rome. Foreign Correspondents of newspapers so diverse in tone as the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Daily Telegraph*, all tell the same story. The Italian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Signor Suvich, visited Vienna and promised that Italy would occupy Austria if Austria were threatened by Germany, "provided that, in the meantime, Austria got rid of her Socialists and established a Fascist regime on Italian lines."

Thus it came about that on February 11th, the eve of the Massacre, Major Fey, the leader of the Heimwehr and Vice-Chancellor of Austria, told a Heimwehr meeting: "To-morrow we shall set to work, and we shall do our job thoroughly..." The "job" was done thoroughly enough. On the plea of searching for illegal arms, the heavily-armed illegal Heimwehr forced its way into every Social-Democratic quarter in Vienna. The Social-Democrats resisted and for the first time in history artillery was brought into action in a city riot. It was turned on the lovely and famous homes built by the Socialist Municipality in Vienna for their workers. Those famous buildings, which so many architects have visited from all over the world were turned into shambles. And all to gratify Italy! The Foreign Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, writing on 15th February, reported that "Troops and Heimwehr, now openly wearing Italian steel helmets, were occupying building after building."

The bloodshed, and the executions which have followed, do not bear thinking on. Always it is the same story, that Social Democrats went to their death happy on the consciousness of having done their duty "in defence of liberty and social democracy." One can only remember with thankfulness the story of an English socialist, many years ago, who, when told that his men had been deported and his cause was dead, replied: "But I believe in the Resurrection!"

#### WHAT WE MIGHT HAVE DONE

And what, might England have done to prevent all this? Well, in the first place we might have tried to do something to relieve the desperate plight of Austria. Austria could never be free and independent unless she could join in an economic federation with Germany or with the other countries of the Danube. But some of the Danubian countries follow France and some Italy, so we stood aloof and allowed the matter to become a bone of contention between France and Italy. Meanwhile the depression and the rise of Nazi-ism in Germany gave Austria her *coup de grace*, with the result that Austria threw herself on Italy's protection. Thus it has come about that there is now an Austrian question in Europe, with a strong possibility of war between Italy and Germany. And where would that war end?

Then we have certainly no excuse for allowing Italy to export arms to Austria. Arms are

exported under licence and only last year it was pointed out at Geneva that a scrutiny of the returns showed that apparently far more arms were being exported than imported. How could that be explained and where was the margin going? We might have been more alive to that danger while we were drafting Pacts in the company of Signor Mussolini.

But if even the Conservatives are at last beginning to realize the futility of allowing Sir John Simon to remain at the Foreign Office, he is a very difficult person to unhorse. He has thirty-two Liberal Nationals to support him and if he withdrew with them from the National Government, the last pretence of this Government, being "National" would go with him. So, in the interests of electioneering, Sir John Simon will probably remain unless the ruins he has made begin to frighten even his complacency and he goes of his own choosing.

### HOUSING AT HOME.

Another conspicuous failure of the National Government is the Minister of Health. He has just provoked a storm of indignation by complacently declaring in the House of Commons that "there is no doubt" that the demand for small houses to let at rents of 10/- a week or less is being adequately met. Such an assertion is of course ludicrous. In London alone, at the time of the last Census, 144,802 families were living in one room and 255,484 families in two rooms.

The housing problem has always been, and, until we get rid of poverty, will always be a problem of how to provide houses at rents low enough to be met by workers whose earnings range from 35/- to 45/- a week. But the Minister, as we have seen, denies that the problem exists. And worse still he has made it more acute by repealing the Wheatley Housing Act of 1924 which, as the *Star* points out, "was the means of providing 60,000 houses per annum for letting at standard rents."

A well-known economist, Sir Walter Layton, addressing a meeting of the National Association of Building Societies the other day, estimated that between 1931 and 1951 from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 houses required to be built. But what is the Minister of Health doing to catch up on this? His sole contribution has been the 1933 Act. This Act was launched with a flourish of trumpets, but from the beginning it has been ignored or disliked by those who should have put it into operation to—the local authorities, building societies, and private builders. And the one fact that emerges is that since it came into operation, only eighteen local authorities in England and Wales have had anything to do with it.

No wonder the Conservatives are walking up to the indignation that is growing in the country. No wonder there are rumours that the Govern-

ment may even administer the intolerable snub to Sir Hilton Young of relieving him of part of his duties and appointing instead a Minister of Housing.

But perhaps all that will happen is that the Government will appoint a National Housing Board. There is much to be said for such an idea—and it is worth noting that it has been lifted from the Labour Party's recently published Housing Programme.

### ECONOMY BY STARVATION

If in Foreign Affairs and Housing Policy the Government has been subjected to severe criticism, the severest blow to their prestige was dealt them in the House of Commons a fortnight ago, on the issue of *hunger*. An amendment to the Unemployment Insurance Bill was before the House to increase the weekly allowance to the children of the unemployed from 2/- to 3/-. Such an increase would have cost the country only the relatively paltry sum of £1,000,000 a year. And in any event, who can believe that it is possible to feed a child on 2/- a week?

But the Government rejected the amendment, in spite of the fact it received considerable support from all parts of the House and was in fact introduced by a Conservative member. They rejected the amendment—but their hitherto overwhelming majority dwindled to only 52, and there were even cries of "resign" and "send for the Prime Minister."

This vote for Hunger, and it is nothing less, will take a lot of living down on the part of the Government. It is not even as if we are still in the slough of the Depression. Though even during a Depression, it is hard to see the "economy" achieved by starving children. But it has come at a time when prosperity is returning and there is even a Budget surplus.

It is safe to say that not a single Member of the House of Commons will have to try to feed and clothe a child on 31/2d. a day. Then how in Heaven's name dare they hand that problem to the unemployed?

With that vote the National Government lost any title it might have to the respect of humane men and women.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

That the tide is turning in this country against the National Government and all its works has been clearly shown in the recent by-elections. It has been even more strikingly exhibited in the County Council elections that have been held this week. Striking Labour victories have been won all over the country and now solid Conservative London has fallen to the Labour assault.

This is all the more striking because of the tremendous attack that has been launched against Labour day after day by the Press with its millions of circulation controlled by Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere. Indeed

Lord Beaverbrook himself had not only used his newspapers, but has been taking part night by night on the Tory platforms making speeches against Labour and the Co-operative Societies and in favour of the Conservatives.

On the London County Council, at the beginning of this week, the Conservatives held 83 seats, Labour 35 seats and the Liberals 6 seats.

Nobody knows what a Liberal is nowadays in this country. There are so many varieties of them and their opinions are in a constantly changing and fluid state, so that it is not surprising that no single Liberal has been returned to the London County Council.

In addition to the 6 seats which they have captured from the Liberals, the Labour Party has captured 27 seats from the Conservatives—so

that it has now a clear majority of 14 and will now control the destinies of Greater London, which have been in Conservative hands for the last twenty-seven years without a change.

It is significant that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's daughter, realizing she would be defeated, did not try to fight her seat. The Tory candidates who were supported by Mr. J. H. Thomas and others of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's so-called National Labour Party, have all been defeated.

This is a good omen for the next General Election and incidentally for India—as Labour is pledged to give India self-government on a constitution framed in consultation with India, with only such safe-guards as are agreed to be in the interests of India.

March 9, 1934.

## FINANCIAL NOTES

BY SAILENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA, M.A.

### THE INDIAN TARIFF (AMENDMENT) BILL AND THE TARIFF BOARD REPORT

**T**HE Indian Tariff (Textile Protection) Amendment Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on February 5, and almost simultaneously, the Report of the Tariff Board "regarding the grant of Protection to the Cotton Textile Industry" was released. The Report was signed about sixteen months ago but was deliberately kept under lock and key till its release. During this period, we have had the Indo-Japanese agreement and the Mody-Clares-Lees pact. The Tariff Bill embodies the essentials of these agreements and the recommendations of the Tariff Board have been virtually thrown overboard.

#### THE TARIFF BOARD REPORT

For the amount of information contained and the cogency of the arguments adduced, the Tariff Board Report has few rivals. It begins with a chapter on the history of the present Protective Duties followed by another on an export survey of the cotton industry in India and the Indian market for cotton products. The latter chapter contains a sound review of the growth of Japanese competition in recent years of the relative decline of the British share in textile imports and of the achievement of the Indian industry "in expanding and improving its production and in securing a larger share of the Indian market." In the next chapter, on the "Progress of the Indian Industry," we find a detailed treatment of the available raw material, of the condition of Labour and a description of the organization of the Cotton Industry as a whole. In the next chapter, the Report considers some criticisms of the Managing Agency systems

and recommends legislative measures for the prevention of the abuses. The Report next determines the extent of assistance required by the Industry by an analysis of average costs and on the basis of the three conditions formulated by the Fiscal Commission, considers the claim of the Industry to Protection. The claim is upheld and in Chapter VII, a scheme of protection is outlined. The Tariff Board recommends that protection should be given for ten years at least and that specific duties should be imposed so far as possible in preference to the *ad valorem* duties. A chapter devoted to the Hand-loom Industry and another to subsidiary Industries, such as the Hosiery manufacture and the manufacture of the Brind (Gheonsi and Muktakesi). In the last chapter on "Supplementary Proposals," duties on artificial silk goods, raw cotton starch and grey yarn are considered. In this chapter it is held that there is no case at present for the adoption of any special measure to counter the efforts of the depreciation of the yen.

The principles underlying the recommendations of the Report are mainly these:

1. The protection must be assured for *at least* ten years, and there should be no periodic enquiries during this period.

"In view of the difficulties which face the industry at present and equally of the important national interests which are involved, we do not think that ten years can be regarded as too long a period. Unless protection is assured for a period of at least ten years, the capital required by the better class of mills for further development will not be forthcoming. It is rather the stability than the rate of protection which encourages the investment of capital in a protected industry.



The Indian cotton textile industry.....has been recently the subject of many public enquiries. Such enquiries repeated at frequent intervals must militate against healthy development. We think that the industry should now be allowed a period of rest from these harassing enquiries" (p. 142).

The recent Tariff Bill, as will be seen, utterly disregards this principle.

2. As regards the medium counts, there should be no discrimination in favour of British manufactures.

"We consider it of the greatest importance for the future of the industry that this rate of progress should be maintained and for this reason we are of the opinion that protection should be granted to the Indian industry against goods imported from the United Kingdom as well as from other countries" (p. 147). Then "as regards goods of medium counts, we have the following," ".....it seems to us essential, in order to safe-guard the Indian industry, that these duties should be equally applicable to such goods when imported from the United Kingdom" (p. 151).

In the proposed schedule given in Chapter XI of the Report we find that there is no distinction whatsoever drawn between imports from the United Kingdom and those from other countries.

In the Bill, this principle has also been disregarded and in pursuance to the notorious Mody-Lees Pact, the duties on goods imported from the United Kingdom have been reduced for the period up to March 31, 1935.

3. The third principle is that specific duties should be imposed for protection so far as possible.

"It is generally admitted that specific duties are a more appropriate form of taxation where taxes are imposed for prospective purposes than *ad valorem* duties. The amount of protection received by an Industry under a system of *ad valorem* duties tend to diminish when there is a fall in the price of imported articles. On the other hand it is when a fall occurs in the prices of imported articles that the need for protection is greater" (p. 127).

It is the general custom to provide for both specific and *ad valorem* duties in the Tariff Schedule and to levy the higher duty. In the new Tariff Bill also there is provision for specific duties though the rates are slightly different.

It will be instructive to compare the schedule of the new Tariff Bill with that proposed by the Tariff Board.

#### THE TARIFF BILL

The new Tariff Bill, as is well known, has incorporated both the Indo-Japanese Agreement and the Bombay-Lancashire Pact. The Bill is at present before the Legislative Assembly but it is almost certain that the Bill will come out of the legislative anvil without any serious alteration.

It is prescribed (ch. 4) that the operation of

the proposed bill is to last for five years only till March 31, 1939, as against the period of ten years recommended by the Tariff Board. There is also provision that the rates of duty imposed would be capable of alteration within this period. On the expiry of the period of agreement between the Millowners' Association, Bombay, and the Lancashire Textile Delegation on December 31, 1935, the adequacy of the rate imposed on British manufactures "will be subject of investigation with a view to its revision if necessary." A second investigation and revision will be necessary when the period covered by the Indo-Japanese Treaty expires on March 31, 1937.

We shall now discuss the rates of duties proposed in the Bill confining ourselves to cotton products only. It is to be remembered that according to the Mody-Lees Pact the duties on cotton piece-goods of British manufacture will be reduced to a basic rate of 20 per cent *ad valorem*, or in the case of plain greys, 3½ annas per pound till December 31, 1935. The rates of duties on British manufactures given below, therefore, hold only for the period subsequent to that date.

**Cotton Twist and Yarn:** The old rate was (with the surcharge imposed in 1931), 6¼ per cent *ad valorem* or 17½ anna per lb. whichever is higher. The Tariff Board recommends 6¼ per cent *ad valorem* or 1 anna per lb. whichever is higher for counts up to 50 and only an *ad valorem* duty of 6¼ per cent for counts above 50. There is no distinction as to the source of import. According to the Tariff Bill, the duties on counts up to 50 are to be 6¼ *ad valorem* or 17½ anna per lb. on non-British imports, and 5 per cent *ad valorem* or 11¼ anna per lb. on British products, on counts above 50 only the *ad valorem* duties will apply and at the same rate.

**Cotton Piece-goods:** The old rate was 25 per cent *ad valorem* on British goods and 31¼ per cent on others. The new rates will be 25 per cent on British goods and 50 per cent on others. There are also specific rates of duty on grey piece-goods except chaddar, dhuties, saris etc., at 4⅓ annas per lb. in case of British goods and 5¼ annas per lb. in case of others. The Tariff Board recommended specific duties on all kinds of piece-goods e.g., 5 annas per lb. in case of Plain grey, 5¼ annas for Bordered grey, 6½ annas for coloured and dyed and 6 annas for bleached and other varieties of piece-goods. No discrimination was made in favour of British goods as far as specific duties are concerned.

**Cotton Fabric:** For cotton fabric in which cotton forms 50 per cent or less, non-British goods will be charged 50 per cent *ad valorem* while the rate will be 30 per cent in case of British goods, specific duties\* are also provided for.

**Braids:** As regards cotton braids (Ghoonsis and Muktakeshis), the Tariff Board recommenda-

\* That is, the higher of the two rates of duty will be charged in each case.

tion to levy a specific duty of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent per lb. (instead of an *ad valorem* duty of 25 per cent) has been adopted.

*Cotton Hosiery:* On undervests, socks and stockings the new rates will be 25 per cent *ad valorem* or 9 annas per lb. The present rate is 25 per cent or Re.  $1\frac{1}{8}$  per dozen in case of undervests and 10 annas per dozen in case of socks and stockings. The Tariff Board recommended 25 per cent or Re.  $1\frac{1}{8}$  per dozen of undervests and 8 annas per dozen of socks and stockings. The new Bill has clearly adopted the middle course between the two.

#### THE RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1934-1935

In presenting the Railway Budget for 1934-35, Sir Joseph Bhore, the Member-in-charge, discussed the result of the working of the Railways for 1932-33 and also the revised estimate for 1933-34. The year 1932-33 was the worst year for the Railways during recent times. The gross traffic receipts reached the lowest recorded figure of Rs. 8143 crores and the deficit amounted to Rs. 1023 crores. The deficit was met by a temporary loan from the Depreciation Fund. When Sir Joseph budgeted for an increased earnings for the year 1933-34, there were a good many critics who considered that the more hopeful outlook of the Railway member was not warranted by anything more substantial than a facile optimism. As a matter of fact, however, Sir Joseph has proved a better prophet than his critics. The revised estimates for 1933-34 show total receipts at Rs. 865 crores and a deficit of Rs. 778 crores as against Rs. 1023 crores in the preceding year. The net traffic receipts show an increase from Rs. 2158 crores in 1932-33 to Rs. 2835 in 1934-35. After some adjustments the net revenue is: Rs. 2268 crores in 1932-33, Rs. 2462 crores in 1933-34 and Rs. 2675 crores in 1934-35. The interest charges are: Rs. 3291 crores in 1932-33 (actuals), Rs. 3240 crores in 1933-34 (Revised estimates) and Rs. 3265 crores in 1934-35 (Budget estimate). The reduction is due to the reduction of the borrowing rate for the Government of India. The deficit will therefore be Rs. 530 crores in 1934-35 up to March 31, 1935, the total deficit of the Railways will amount to Rs. 3770 crores. Out of this, contributions to the General Revenues in 1929-30 and 1930-31 account for Rs. 1186 crores. To meet the deficit, Rs. 2796 crores have already been taken from the Reserve Fund and the temporary loan from the Depreciation Fund will amount to Rs. 2756 crores.

Thus, it is from their own resources that the Railways meet the deficits. The position of the Railways in spite of the deficits is thoroughly sound. Had they been run on ordinary commercial lines, the Railway authorities would have been in a position to declare a dividend of 3.2 per cent even during these years of depression.

The yield of gilt-edged securities are at present between 3.8 to 3.9 per cent. This will be enough to

show the secure position of the Railways as a going concern. Ordinarily the amount that is appropriated to the Depreciation Fund is considerably more than the actual amount required to be withdrawn from the fund for renewals and replacements. The total appropriations to the fund since 1924-25 to 1934-35 amount to Rs. 135 crores, whereas withdrawals to meet cost of renewals and replacements amount to Rs. 96 crores so that Rs. 39 crores remain as balance. Temporary withdrawals will amount to Rs. 2756 crores, so that the closing balance of the Depreciation Fund on March 31, 1935 is anticipated to be Rs. 1144 crores.

Some important changes have been made in the forms of account. The working expenses from 1934-35 are being exhibited in forms which are new. These forms have been drawn up in consultation both with the Public Accounts Committee and the Standing Finance Committee for Railways and are radically different from the forms so long used. The result has been a more scientific and intelligible statement of the accounts but comparison with previous years has become impossible. Another important change has been to include in the form of the estimates the receipts and expenditure of lines belonging to private companies or Indian States, but worked by State Railway Systems for a percentage of the gross earnings. This change is according to the recommendation of Sir Arthur Dickinson and has been approved by the Standing Finance Committee for Railways. The nature of the change has been explained in the following way by Sir Joseph Bhore in his speech:

"The practice hitherto followed was to deduct both the receipts and expenditure of these lines from the total receipts and expenditure of the system by which they were administered. ... The statistics and accounts should properly be based on the total receipts and expenditure of the entire system. As a result of the change the receipts of the worked lines will be added to the receipts of the State-owned lines, and out of the total the Legislature will be asked to vote the gross expenditure for working the railway system as a whole including the worked lines. The Legislature will also be asked to vote the sums which will be handed over to the owners of these lines as the share of the earnings which, under contract, the working agency is required to hand over to them after retaining the percentage fixed in the contract."

Coming to the details of the 1934-35 Budget we find that total gross receipts from traffic will amount to Rs. 9425 crores. The Passenger traffic will contribute Rs. 2840 crores (31 per cent) and Goods traffic Rs. 5933 crores (63 per cent). Of the total Passenger traffic earnings, the upper class will contribute Rs. 313 crores, or only 11 per cent and third class will contribute the rest, that is, 89 per cent.

The major items of working expenses are as follows:

Maintenance of structural works	Rs. 8.93 crores
Maintenance and supply of	
Locomotive power	" 17.02 "

Maintenance of Carriage and Wagon stock	Rs. 5.82 crores
Expenses of Traffic Department	" 4.96 "
Expenses of General Departments	" 4.26 "

As against this the Emergency deductions from pay will provide a crore of rupees. Miscellaneous charges will amount to Rs. 1.60 crores and Interest charges to Rs. 32.05 crores. Rs. 13.65 crores will be appropriated to the Depreciation Fund. Thus we have

Gross Traffic Receipts	Rs. 94.25 crores
Less Operating Expenses	52.25 "
Depreciation Fund	13.65 "
Net Traffic Receipts	28.35 "
Less Interest Charges	32.05 "
Miscellaneous Charges	1.60 "
Deficit	5.30 "

As regards Capital expenditure it is proposed to spend about Rs. 14.27 crores. Out of which about Rs. 70 lakhs will be found by Reduction of stores balances, 7 lakhs from Emergency deductions from pay and 15 lakhs from revenue for Hardinge Bridge works and earthquake damages. We are thus left with Rs. 13.35 crores to account for. Rs. 4.57 crores will go to new works on Capital account and Rs. 8.67 crores will be found from the Depreciation Fund. As regards new works the only item of any importance for which any large provision has been made in the budget are the extension of the Khargpur power house, the remodelling of the Hubli station yard, the rebuilding of the Gorai bridge and the remodelling of the Jamalpur workshops. Out of the 8.67 crores from the Depreciation Fund  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores are required for works in progress, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  crores for track renewals and  $\frac{3}{4}$  crores for rolling-stock, which includes the purchase of 2900 new wagons.

Two railways in particular have suffered heavily from the effects of the earthquake and it appears likely that the damage will amount to over 75 lakhs and may well reach a crore. Again, the considerable breach caused to the protective works of the Hardinge Bridge (Sara Bridge) would necessitate the expenditure of a large sum in strengthening and extending the protection and training works. The total cost is estimated to be well over a crore. In the present budget Rs. 1.08 crores have been provided for the Hardinge Bridge protection and training works. Of this, Rs. 60 lakhs will be chargeable to capital and Rs. 48 lakhs to the Depreciation Fund. For the earthquake damages Rs. 62 lakhs have been provided, Rs. 10 lakhs being chargeable to capital and Rs. 52 lakhs to the Depreciation Fund. The sum of Rs. one crore debited to the Depreciation Fund will be repaid out of revenue in annual instalments of 15 lakhs a year until complete repayment. Rs. 38.21 lakhs have been provided for expenditure on amenities for passengers. Out

of this, Rs. 2.08 lakhs will be spent for providing latrines and sanitary arrangements and Rs. 28.49 lakhs for additions and betterments to lower class carriages. It is remarkable that except for 1 lakhs to be spent by the G. I. P. Railway, the entire amount budgeted for amenities to lower class passengers will be spent by the company-managed railways (B. B. C. I., M. S. M., S. I., and A. B.).

As regards fares, the Railway Member states that, "On most railways efforts are being made to recover traffic by quoting specially reduced return fares between particular stations and by introducing extra services. We are also trying an experiment on the N. W. R. on the possibilities of large scale reductions in 3rd class passenger fares. If no increase of traffic results, it is expected to lead to a loss in earnings of about 45 lakhs. It is, however, an experiment worth making, for it may well be productive of results of real value in determining our future policy in this matter. It is too early to pronounce on the results, but there are indications that traffic is responding, though as yet insufficiently."

Experiments in job analysis are being carried on on various railways and it is hoped that the results will lead to a substantial saving in the operating expenses.

We shall conclude this analysis with some brief comments. The policy of meeting deficits from the Depreciation Fund is bad in principle. This means that when the railways will once more begin to make profits, these loans must be repaid first so that for a long time to come the general budget will not get any contribution. This might seriously embarrass the Federal Government of the future since the Federal Finance Committee hoped that the Railways should be able to contribute Rs. 5 crores annually to the general budget. Moreover, due to the necessity of repaying the loan, it might not be possible to lower the fares for some time to come. Secondly, the interests of the lower class passengers have almost been neglected in spite of the fact that they contribute no less than 89 per cent of the total passenger traffic earnings. Thirdly, Indianization has not been proceeding rapidly enough in the higher cadre of Railway employments. The Budget speech gives us no details and no assurances. Lastly, the Railways are accused of systematically neglecting the Indian producers in the matter of stores purchase. In this respect also, it was expected that something would be said in connection with the presentation of the Budget. But here also we were disappointed and even the persistent demands of the members of the Legislative Assembly failed to elicit any clear formulation of the future policy from the Member-in-charge.



## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Ideals of Ancient Hindu Education

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

The ancient Indian teacher believed in individual treatment of pupils, in the efficacy of personal touch, for which scope was given in the homes of the teachers which operated like schools in those days.

It may be described as the domestic system of education and may be compared to small production or Cottage Industry in the economic sphere as contrasted with large production or the factory. Modern Universities are like factories providing for mass production in education, turning out standardized products mostly devoid of any special genius. Such a system is based on a radical error which ignores the natural differences of individuals and artificially and mechanically forces them into a class for purposes of a uniform treatment. The absurdity of this position may be understood if uniform treatment is meted out to patients in a hospital irrespective of differences of their diseases and their remedies.

And yet if individual treatment is essential for the diseases of the body of which the causes are visible and even measurable, how much more should it be necessary for a treatment of the defects and differences of mind, intellect and character, which do not lend themselves to any objective treatment? How very difficult is it to achieve the intellectual and moral growth of the tender youths consigned to the care of schools based on classes? It was therefore that ancient Hindu education was carried on as a matter of principle in small residential schools, hermitages, in the solitude of the woods, in sylvan and rural retreats away from the cities. Indeed the entire civilization of ancient India was the product of the forest, a rural civilization, and not an urban one.

But India also tried her hand in the modern methods of education when they could apply them. The case of Nalanda is an example on this point. It was run like a modern University but without some of its disadvantages. Nalanda was a regular University town with an enrolment of as many as 10,000 students. But these were all post-graduate students. Admission was very strict. It was dependent on passing a difficult *viva voce* test.

As has been stated by the Chinese pilgrim Yuang-Chwang, who studied at Nalanda for seven years in the middle of the 7th century A.D.

The majority of applicants for admission were sent away and only a few could get it. In this way even the strength of the University was more than 10,000 students. The number of teachers was also high in proportion to the number of the taught.

There were as many as 150 teachers delivering in the same period 100 lectures to different classes of students on different topics. Instruction was given in commodious and storied buildings, each the gift of kings. Both royal and public patronage of the University was quite generous and adequate. It had the grant of more than 100 villages from the income of which provision was made by the University for the free board, lodging, bedding, medicine and tuition for its 10,000 students and a numerous staff. In those days both the teachers and the taught were seekers after truth and not livelihood. The system of life was different. The learned men of ancient India devoted themselves in a thoroughly disinterested spirit to the pursuit of the highest truths and had no concern with what may be called the intermediate truths connected with secular ends.

Above all, a system of education must be judged by the quality and quantity of the output. The whole world now recognizes the highest quality of some of the productions of the Sanskrit literature as also Pali and Prakrit literature which will live for all times as complete justification of ancient Indian education and of its ideals and methods.

### The Osmania University

*The Educational Review* comments editorially :

We have every sympathy with the attempt which is now being made at the Osmania University to impart instruction through the medium of an Indian language, but it must be made plain to everybody at the same time that the language employed for the purpose is not the language of the people, being the mother-tongue of only a small minority of the ruling class which consists of less than ten per cent of the total population. In the course of his recent address at the Convocation of the Osmania University, Nawab Mahdi Yarjung Bahadur maintained that Hindustani—apparently the Urdu taught at the Osmania University—is the only language which can become the *lingua franca* of India. He did not, however, tell the audience that even in the Nizam's

Dominions in which it is the State language and in which it is encouraged by all sorts of ways, it is not spoken by even ten per cent of the total population, and Telugu, Marathi and Canarese are actually spoken by a much larger number! By making Urdu the medium of instruction you give an advantage to a section of the people and handicap others who are subject, as it is, to many other disadvantages. The Nawab does not make any reference to Hindi, the existence of which he does not probably wish to recognize. He will have to make an effort at getting the millions of Hindi-speaking people in Northern India to accept Urdu before he can hope to make the latter the *lingua franca* of India. In recent years the gulf between Hindi and Urdu has been widening steadily and there does not seem to be much chance of their coming together, though in popular conversation it is possible to get on with a common dialect of what may be called Hindustani.

### The Musical Genius of Tagore

Mr. Somanath Vellatore writes in *The Indian Review* :

At one of the exhibitions of his paintings held in Europe recently, Rabindranath Tagore is reported to have made a statement that his pictures are his gift to the world, while his gift to India is his poetry. Unfortunately, even in India till 1913 very little of Rabindranath's poetry was known outside Bengal and what little is known later on is only through translation into English prose albeit done by the poet himself. Translations from one language into another, however perfect they may be, make full literary understanding and enjoyment impossible. To understand the supremely spiritual utterances of Rabindranath Tagore, one must read him in the original Bengali because in Tagore 'poem and music are inseparably one'.

In one of his plays the "Phalguni", the Watchman asks Chandra: 'Is it your custom to ask questions in songs?' Chandra replies: 'Yes, otherwise the answer becomes too unintelligible.' Watchman: 'Then do you think your songs intelligible?' Chandra: 'Yes, quite, because they contain music.' (He sings.) Rabindranath's poems and plays are saturated with his personality. They bear the stamp of the experiences of his inner and outer life. Not only that. They are the self-expression of his genius woven into subtle songs of rare charm and melody.

The entire poetic creed of Tagore is founded on the ancient Hindu philosophical doctrine of the immance of the Infinite in the finite and the struggle of the human spirit for freedom. This idea is expressed again and again in a number of his songs set to tunes akin to the folk-music of Bengal. That is the reason why his songs are not confined to neatly published dainty volumes but have gone straight into the

life of the people in Bengal and 'are sung by lovers awaiting each other in the dark nights, by boatmen rowing on the rivers and the wandering Sannyasins'.

Rabindranath's contribution to Indian music is as great as his contribution to poetry. He has popularized the song-form and his wonderful genius has invented several other new forms in musical expression. Tagore himself puts a great value on his music. A perusal of his reminiscences shows the antecedents of some of his major musical creations. In these days of canned jazz and celluloid symphonies it is a real pleasure to hear Rabindranath's songs in Shanti-Niketan. The Viswa-Bharati University would be doing a great service to the country if they send out groups of students well-trained in singing Tagore's songs to all parts of India giving concerts of Rabindranath's songs and poems.

### The Work of the League of Nations

The following appears in *India and the World* :

In the economic and financial field there is the most disconcerting contrast at the present time between the actual practice of governments, based presumably upon the common will of their constituents, and the possibilities of co-operative action presented by the economic and financial organization of the League, the International Labour Organization and the Bank for International Settlements. These three international organizations provide machinery whereby governments may co-operate if they so wish in commercial and economic policy, financial questions, labour problems, and monetary policy. Superficially perhaps it is a weakness that the machinery for co-operation should be so divided among three institutions. The problems of international co-operation are closely interconnected, so that monetary policy depends upon trading arrangements, wages agreements, public finance, and *vice versa*. But in fact it is not difficult, provided the will to co-operate is there, to develop the necessary liaison between the international groups concerned. The difficulty is not primarily one of machinery but of motive power. It is the firm will to co-operate and seek common solutions that is lacking—not among the institution, but among governments. And so, at the end, the problem is one of citizenship in every country, of the development everywhere of a civic conscience, which seeks the highest expression of national life in international co-operation.

Weak as the will to co-operate has been and feeble as yet remains the consciousness of true citizenship, some results have already been achieved, results by no means commensurate with the possibilities, but even so not entirely negligible. To start first with the fundamental problem of diagnosis and understanding, attention may be

drawn to the effectiveness first of the research work of the secretariats in these fields, and, not less important, of the interchange of opinion and information among the responsible administrators who meet on the governing bodies and committees of the international institutions. The formation of an international civil service, exclusively devoted to the service of these institutions, is a great gain in itself. They are, as everyone interested in world affairs knows, a mine of accurate information. Some of their knowledge gets into print; but much of it and particularly that indefinable quality known as experience is available only to those with whom they are in personal contact. This means in practice an increasing circle of responsible civil servants in every country. It is not generally recognized how useful the League machinery has become in facilitating routine co operation between governments.

### All about the Seals

In an important paper on ancient Indian Art in *The Calcutta Review* Mr. Syama Charan Bhattacharyya discusses the various types of seals used in those days in India as follows :

The earliest cradles of Indian aesthetic inspiration are the seals with images of unicorns, bulls, rhinoceroses, etc., and crude ideographic signs. Of the artistic and religious products excavated at Mohenjodaro in recent years, there are none so interesting and important as the seals which throw a flood of light on a hitherto unknown portion of the history of India. We have it on the authority of Herodotus that in his times every Babylonian carried a seal with him. These seals might have been used for purposes which might have been secular as well as religious. In the ancient world seals with certain *motifs* were always considered to contain certain magic properties. The Egyptians of old extensively used amulets of wood, enamelled clay or metal with figures of gods and kings to secure health, strength, stability, greenness, beauty, vigilance, protection, life, etc. In the talisman was usually depicted a story of a particular adventure of a powerful god. (Amulets with representations of sheep, ram and squirrel have also been obtained in Mohenjodaro.)

The seals which might have their origin in the recognition of private rights or ownership were an indispensable convenience to the merchants of the old, old world. Seals might not have prevented theft, but surely they helped greatly in identification after the arrest of the thief. The men of ancient times without many other suitable substitutes used it to a greater extent than we do. Mr. Newberry in his work entitled *Scarabs* justly remarks : "What locks and keys are to us, seals were to the people of the

old world." When a man closed his shop, he put pats of clay on the doors and impressed his seals on them. A householder also did the same thing. They thought that by the impressions of the seals, they made it impossible for anybody to enter the house and the shop without breaking the seals. Deeds, documents and letters also bore the seal of the ultimate owner.

Of the animals on the seals, the unicorn occupies the pride of place with 312 representations. The short-horned bull is a bad second with 22, the rest in order of numerical strength being the elephant 17, the Brahmani bull 14, the rhinoceros and the tiger 7 each, the buffalo and the Gharial 3 each, and the antelope 2. The lion, the symbol of majesty in Mesopotamian art (which depicts the creature always in deadly combat with Gilgamesh, the inevitable conqueror), has not been found in a single seal.

Of the other animals who have found place in the seals, the following deserve mention ; the jungle fowl, the duck, the fish, the goat, the serpent and the scorpion. On one seal is depicted a man with bow and arrow and on another a man is seated in the conventional *yogi* attitude on an elevated platform, on his two sides being two worshippers with cobra hoods behind their back.

Art for art's sake is a phrase which was unknown in the ancient world. The artist's institution was wheeled to the chariot of the prescription of the priest, who wielded enormous power and influence. But there is one fact to remember, the artist believed in the myths of the priest with absolute faith. He did not question the occult nature of the priest's restrictions but made his own fine sensibilities vibrant with life on the material he handled. The unicorns and the bulls are so beautiful because the artists have lived for some time in these.

The spirit of the animals looks through the material representation and the material representation speaks of the spirit. We can even today feel the great strength of the bull and feel the muscles underneath the silky skin. Though standing across many millennia, the bull is to our emotion a reality,—a spark from the flaming forge of the ancient world. It can snort and bleat, create and uncreate an epoch of civilization.

### Juvenile Libraries

\*About the Juvenile Libraries in Britain and America Dr. M. O. Thomas writes in *The Modern Librarian* :

Libraries for children, like all other modern library ideas, is Western in origin. Some would claim it to be a purely Anglo-Saxon idea. Although we are not much concerned about origins here I cannot help remarking that the position that all modern library ideas are exclu-

sively Anglo-Saxon in origin is quite untenable, the simple evidence being that of the report of the Select Committee appointed by the British Government in 1849 which states that in library matters not only the United States of America but also several of the Continental countries are far in advance of the United Kingdom. It is true, however, that when once the modern library idea caught the imagination of the Anglo-Saxons, they went ahead and made a more 'through job of it' than any other race. That is perhaps more true of children's libraries than any other phase of library development. There are, no doubt, a few juvenile libraries in France, Germany, Holland, Russia, Sweden, Norway and Czechoslovakia yet the system is by no means widespread as in the U. S. A. or in Great Britain. Most of those countries think that school libraries should suffice to meet the requirements of children and hence juvenile libraries seldom form a part of the public library programme, except perhaps in most important cities and towns. Nor are there many children's books available in the languages of those countries with which to stock a juvenile library.

Conditions are entirely different in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Both these countries began to make provisions for children's reading as early as the last quarter of the 19th century. But such provisions in those days never assumed the importance which they have to-day. As a matter of fact, compared with juvenile libraries of this decade, the early attempts to educate children through libraries seem to be mere mockery.

In America the idea of juvenile libraries originated in the eighties and came first as a report says, as if by inspiration to a lady by the name of Miss Emily S. Hanaway.

Three main features characterise a modern juvenile library. They are, 1. Accommodation and furniture, 2. Reading materials and 3. The librarian.

1. Time was when children used to be accommodated in dingy and ill-ventilated basements with nothing but hard benches without

backs to sit on. But library authorities today have recognized the children's claim for better accommodation and furniture.

Children's literature as a work of art takes into consideration its literary merit the wholesomeness of its imagination, the quality of its wit and humour as well as the soundness of its morals.

In the first place juvenile books should have distinct literary merits. They should be written in good style, should have the qualities of wit and humour, accuracy and modernity, simplicity and directness and should be full of short descriptions of quick actions and incidents.

Secondly, juvenile books should help to develop the imaginative faculty of children. It is this faculty which needs most development till the age of fourteen or fifteen and no literature develops it better than stories and novels. Children naturally love to read them more than any other kind of literature. Works of imagination, however, should as far as possible be true to life. The principle has sometimes been carried too far particularly in America where some of the libraries exclude even fairy tales. But most educators and librarians are agreed that fairies though not true to actual life have an actuality for the child mind which does not hinder his real conception of truth. The child lives in a world of imagination all his own and Santa Claus, fairies, talking animals and birds belong to that world. It does not conflict with his actual world.

Thirdly, children should be given not only imaginative works which are mainly recreative in character but also works of an educative and informative nature. Besides fiction which forms the majority of books, juvenile libraries stock a fairly large collection of simple works on history, geography, travel, biography, natural science, sociology, religion, etc.

Lastly, in order that children may be in touch with the latest information about their little world whether informative, educative or imaginative, they are supplied with suitable magazines and papers, the literary quality of which is the same as that of their books.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Dr. J. T. Sunderland Busy at 92

Mr. Joseph W. Emsley writes in *The Poughkeepsie Evening Star* for February 10, 1933 :

Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland, crusader for the public good, will observe his 92nd birthday tomorrow. Not many of us hope to knock off 92 birthdays and many of us might be a bit jittery on approaching such an age, but not Dr. Sunderland! He seems destined to live on for a good many years yet, with passion for work in hand and a certain tranquil attitude toward life mixed in such proportions that he forges right ahead serenely.

I called on him this week at his Poughkeepsie home which is with Mr. and Mrs. William J. Bolton at 214 Union Street. He spends part of his time here, and part of it with relatives in Michigan. A minister of the former Unitarian church here for 14 years, he likes Poughkeepsie and enjoys being with his friends here from time to time.

It was a surprise to learn that Dr. Sunderland who is the author of numerous books including the widely discussed *India in Bondage* is still writing. He is now busy on a book to be known "as *Emerson and His Friends* and another, *The Best from All Religions of the World*," a spiritual anthology on religion of the world. *India in Bondage* was completed in his late 80s!

Indeed, Dr. Sunderland even now devotes six or seven hours a day to writing, and with it appears to be enjoying the best of health. He is an ardent believer in the school of philosophy which holds that work is one of the principal things that keeps you going. He is not a crank in this respect, however, and probably idles his share of hours; he likes to take automobile rides; and he likes to talk. He still preaches occasionally, and his wealth of knowledge about men and things is such that it is no great effort for him to preach.

I asked him to impart his idea of how a person should live to reach an unusually old age.

"Take care of your health," he said. "Study the laws of life and obey them. Be cheerful and hopeful. Work hard and

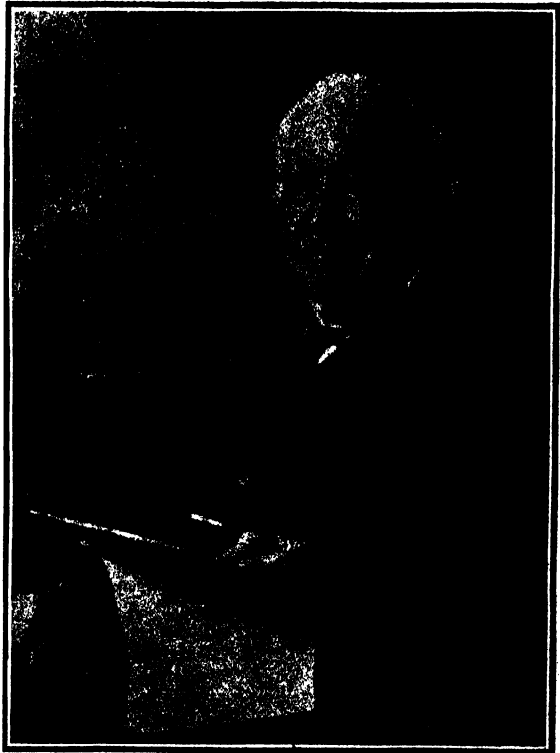
have an interest in something and stick to it!"

He eats his three squares, sleeps eight hours a day ordinarily, and when overtired sleeps nine hours.

Dr. Sunderland gave two addresses at the World Fellowship of Religion in Chicago last summer, and about a year ago preached a sermon at the First Congregational church here.

His attitude toward life seems to be summed up in his observation :

"I don't want to live after I cannot be of any more use to humanity."



Dr. J. T. Sunderland

"Coming from some people, that assertion might seem to indicate an over-zealous attitude in the interests of others, but from Dr. Sunderland



it was quite a natural thing to say. He wasn't gilding the lily. In fact, he has a robust sense of humour and appreciates his limitations, enjoys a joke on himself and all that. It is just that he has proved himself to be useful. He has scores of friends in India who keep writing to him. They constantly ask him to write things for Indian publications.

Dr. Sunderland is seriously interested in the welfare of humanity. He has become internationally known as outstanding among Americans in the knowledge of Indian affairs. His book, *India in Bondage*, has been described as one of the most scholarly and truly representative works on the Indian question, from the standpoint of the Indian people themselves. Publication of the book in India has been banned by Great Britain, and that act alone has been taken by some leading thinkers as a reliable indication of the influence of the book.

It is said that whatever side you take on the Indian question, whether you believe that Great Britain is doing right by her subject people or not, a broad understanding of the problem cannot be had without knowledge of Dr. Sunderland's studies in the matter. A native of England himself, he loves and respects his home country, although taking issue with its policies in India.

Dr. Sunderland was born in Howarth, Yorkshire, England. He came to this country with his father, Thomas Sunderland, when he was two, the family settling in Jamestown, N. Y., in the region of the Chautauqua lake. His father died when he was a child, and his mother was left with five children. His lot was not easy, and it was entirely through his own efforts he received an education.

The family moved to Iowa when Dr. Sunderland was a boy. He attended Burlington college institute, Burlington, Iowa, and spent two years at Colgate University. His studies were interrupted by the Civil war; he joined the boys in blue of the Seventh N. Y. Heavy artillery, serving on the Potomac for about a year and a half. He came out of the war uninjured and resumed his studies at Chicago University.

Dr. Sunderland married Eliza Read who was a school principal at Aurora, Ill., and at that time the only woman public school principal in the country. They had three children, two of whom are living. Mrs. Gertrude Safford, a daughter, is the widow of Dr. Safford, who was a physician of Detroit, Mich.; she is a former president of the largest women's city club in Detroit. A daughter, Florence, who died eight years ago, was a teacher at one time in the George Washington high school, New York city. Dr. Sunderland's son Edson R. is a professor of law at the University of Michigan.

He received his bachelor of arts degree at Chicago in 1867, completing his training in the divinity school of the same institution in 1870. He then became pastor of the Baptist church at Milwaukee.

Most of his years of service as a minister were with the Unitarian denomination. He served first at the Unitarian parish in Northfield, Mass., and held charges in Ann Arbor, Mich., Chicago, Hartford, Conn., Toronto, Canada, and in London.

Dr. Sunderland spent two long winters in India, in the years 1895-96 and 1913-14, and made special studies of Indian art, literature, philosophy and religion. He has written three books about India. They are *India and World Brotherhood*, *The Causes of Famine in India*, and *India in Bondage*. One or more of these have been published in translated form in India, France, and Japan, as well as America. *India in Bondage* has been in special demand, and has been distributed in 500 libraries in the world. There are 26 copies of it in the New York city library, and 12 in the Boston library. A new and enlarged edition was printed last year in this country. It contains eight new chapters.

The author of 20 or more books, Dr. Sunderland is widely known through his *The Origin and Character of the Bible*, which went into six editions, and was circulated in Russia, Bulgaria and more recently in India. Among his works are a number of pamphlets in exposition of the Unitarian faith which have been in great popular demand.

In all his writings, Dr. Sunderland had been a fighter for peace. "I fought in the Civil war," he said, "but I am a pacifist to the marrow. I have travelled a good deal and wherever I went I never could see why nations should resort to the destructive and demoralizing forces of warfare to settle their differences."

Yes, there will be a simple birthday party tomorrow! Some of Dr. Sunderland's friends are planning to call on him, among them some persons from Vassar college.

### League of Nations

International peace and economic stability can only be restored if the warring nations adopt the principles of a World Federation. Mr. Newfang's lucid exposition of this fact in *World Unity* should, in the face of a world-wide discontent, be therefore much appreciated:

The nations of the world can have permanent and universal peace whenever they are ready to pay the price. Until they are ready to pay the price there will be wars and rumours of wars, and the peoples of the earth will continue to be heavily burdened by war preparations, murderous wars and the aftermath of war-caused depressions. What is that price? It is the abandonment of international anarchy and the establishment of orderly government in the relations of nations to one another. As long as the nations of the world are unwilling to give up any part of their so-called sovereignty, their right to do

exactly as they please without any control whatever, there will be collisions of national policies, international friction and wars.

If the universal history of the human race has taught any lesson at all, it has proved that anarchy and peace cannot co-exist. There is no record in history of any people, however low in the scale of civilization, that has been able to maintain peace within its borders without government. Peace has been possible only by restricting the anarchy or sovereignty of the individual members of the community, their right to do exactly as they pleased without any control, and by establishing justice through laws and compelling compliance with those laws.

The development of the League of Nations into a world federation would in itself remove most of the causes of war. It would gradually abolish the barriers to trade between the members of the federation, allowing all traders of every member State equal access to all the raw materials and to all the markets of the world. It would gradually remove the barriers to migration, thus equalizing the pressures of population in the various parts of the world, and abolishing one of the most deep-seated causes of warfare. It would gradually do away with all restrictions on the movements of capital, thus equalizing investment demands throughout the world; it would stabilize price levels on a worldwide basis; it would make possible a world central bank carrying the world gold reserve as a basis for a world currency and carrying accounts of all national central banks for the clearing of international balances and for seasonal credits to minimize the present disturbing international gold shipments. To put it in a nutshell, a world federation would remove the economic causes of war, which are at the present day by far the greatest war causes.

#### Forest Camps for the Unemployed in U. S. A.

Unemployment impairs the very structure of society and every thoughtful nation is trying hard to cope with this deadly enemy of humanity. Not to speak of others, even rich countries like America has been threatened by this pest of society, to remove which extensive schemes have been suggested. The following extracts from an article by H. Dubreuil in *International Labour Review* may therefore be read with much interest in this country:

Unemployment had been rife for many long months in the United States.

In the countries hardest hit by unemployment the enforced idleness of the young has been viewed with particular concern; unable to find work on leaving school, they have been exposed to grave risks of moral corruption and have at the same time constituted a social problem of the first importance.

In the United States family ties were already weakening, a spirit of brutality was spreading, and the street-corner life to which the young were condemned offered greater moral dangers than in perhaps any other country.

On March 21, 1913, only seventeen days after his inauguration, Mr. Roosevelt, in a special message to Congress, outlined a general plan to help these young people who had never had a chance in life, and at the same time to confer undoubted economic advantages on the country.

The young who were unemployed were in need of a chance to recover, or at least keep, their physical and moral health. The proposed plan offered them the means of improving both by giving them healthy work in the open air of the forests under men carefully chosen for their capacity as educators as well as leaders.

Not least among the various kinds of natural wealth of all sorts of which the United States can boast are the magnificent forests still standing in every part of the country. It is, however, realized that their existence is menaced by the intense commercial demands made upon them.

Besides this danger of destruction by human agency there is the fire danger.

Like other forms of life, trees are subject to specific diseases of a highly destructive nature; they are also often attacked by insects whose invisible ravages may have incredibly disastrous effects.

A systematic campaign against these various dangers was thus in itself enough, in such an enormous country, to provide employment for large numbers.

Instead of receiving cash relief and remaining idle, young men are taken on as regular wage-paid workers; their wages are, it is true, only 30 dollars a month, but in addition they are clothed, fed, and housed under canvas in organized camps. It should be added that special arrangements are made for their families to benefit by this employment, for of the 30 dollars only 5 are paid to the worker, the remainder going direct to the home.

This modern Grand Army received the name of the Civilian Conservation Corps, and is usually known, according to the fashion for abbreviation, as the C.C.C. Men are taken on for six-monthly periods, but are free to leave the camp if they can themselves find jobs in industry.

At the end of the six months the men may sign on again or go home.

The C.C.C. is composed mainly of young men from 18 to 25 years of age; older men with special knowledge of forestry work, who are engaged in order that the campers may have the necessary technical direction, number only 25,000.

On a basis of 200 men per camp, the number of camps at the end of August was 1,440 (1,446 in September), 1,301 for unemployed young men and 139 for ex-service men. Each camp has about 15 woodmen whose duty it is to give the

campers the benefit of their special knowledge and experience and teach them how to work and how to adopt safe methods in operations which may be dangerous.

The War Department's share in the scheme is to outfit the men, transport them, condition them and supervise the construction of the camps. The Army is responsible for the administration of the camps, medical care, the organization of sports, etc.

The only buildings were wooden huts for use as kitchen, dining room, offices for the administrative staff, and tool shed.

The tents, with a plank flooring raised above the ground and a double canvas roof, belonged, it was explained, to what is known as the "tropical hospital" type. Nearby was the line of lorries used to transport the men and materials to the forest workplaces; twice a week they also carry those who want to go to the movies in the nearest township.

The dining room also acts as a recreation room for the evenings and bad weather. There is a wireless set for the use of campers and a circulating library. The library consists of a packing case, with divisions inside which act as shelves.

### Whither Science ?

The attack by Sir Arthur Eddington and Sir James Jeans on materialistic determinism has been aptly defended by Prof. Max Planck, whose expositions are altogether favourable to the main principles of scholastic philosophy. His latest work\*... which has been prefaced by Albert Einstein is a challenge to the modern English school of mathematical philosophers. The following review by Mr. H. V. Gill appears in *The Month* :

It need hardly be said that Max Planck is the great German scientist whose "Quantum Theory" has revolutionized physics,† for it has been so definitely confirmed by all recent work

\* "Where is Science going ?" By Max Planck, with a Preface by Albert Einstein. Translated and edited by James Murphy. London : George Allen & Unwin. 1933.

† Towards the end of the last century, and in the beginning of this, difficulties arose which could not be met by the ordinary laws of the wave theory of light. In order to solve them Planck advanced the view that light energy was transmitted in small indivisible units, each unit being a multiple of a certain amount or "quantum"—called after him "Planck's constant." Einstein's contribution was to assert that the energy of each "photon" or light-quantum could be expressed by  $h\nu$ , where  $h$  is Planck's constant, and  $\nu$  the frequency of the light as measured by the spectroscope. The startling way in which this theory has been found to agree with experiment is one of the

that it is now a received "law of nature." In all branches of physics Max Planck has distinguished himself, so that today, in his seventy-sixth year, he is one of the leading physicists in Europe. The reasoned words of such an authority must, therefore, have very great weight with those who wish to see modern science in its true perspective, and we need no further warrant for calling attention to them.

Einstein repudiates in the following words that he ever corroborated the theories (that the outer world is a derivative of consciousness of Sir Arthur and Sir James :

No physicist believes that. Otherwise he would not be a physicist. Neither do the physicists you have mentioned. You must distinguish between what is a literary fashion and what is scientific pronouncement. These men are genuine scientists and their literary formulations must not be taken as expressive of their scientific convictions. Why should anyone go to the trouble of gazing at the stars if he did not believe that the stars are really there ? Here I am entirely at one with Planck. We cannot logically prove the existence of the external world, any more than you can logically prove that I am talking with you now or that I am here. But you know that I am here and no subjective idealist can persuade you to the contrary.

The following passage from this well-written book will undoubtedly be of much interest :

There can never be any real opposition between religion and science ; for the one is the complement of the other. Every serious and reflective person realizes, I think, that the religious element in his nature must be recognized and cultivated if all the powers of the human soul are to act together in perfect balance and harmony. And, indeed, it was not by any accident that the greatest thinkers of all ages were also deeply religious souls, even though they made no public show of their religious feeling. It is from the co-operation of the understanding with the will that the finest fruit of philosophy has arisen, namely, the ethical fruit. Science enhances the moral values of life because it enhances the love of truth and reverence—love of truth displaying itself in the constant endeavour to arrive at a more exact knowledge of the world of mind and matter around us, and reverence, because every advance in knowledge brings us face to face with the mystery of our own being.

triumphs of intuition. Thus, the present state of the theory of light is that there is one set of phenomena which can be fairly well explained on the wave theory, but which seem incompatible with the quantum theory, and another which can be explained with reasonable accuracy by the quantum theory, but not at all by the wave theory. Much of the ingenuity of modern physics has gone to reconcile these contradictions.

# THE AUSTRIAN RIDDLE

By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

THE world conflagration in 1914 started from Austria. So people everywhere are now asking: "What will the Socialist Revolution of 1934 in Austria lead to?"

The European situation is so complicated today that it is difficult to predict the future. About the middle of 1933 in Vienna, I was discussing the Austrian situation with an exceedingly intelligent and well-informed English journalist who had travelled widely. The atmosphere in Vienna was then full of excitement and people were talking of a *coup d'état*. "No," he said, "there will be nothing of the kind. The Austrians are a genial-hearted people. I have seen matters approaching a crisis several times but on every occasion the storm blew over. This will happen once again." He was right and yet he was not.

Talking of the events of February, 1934, in Vienna the *Manchester Guardian* remarked pithily: 'The Socialists of Austria have been overthrown but unlike their comrades in Germany they have gone down fighting.' The attitude of the *Manchester Guardian* has been sympathetic towards the Austrian Socialists, whom it regards as the upholders of Parliamentary Democracy and Liberty in Central Europe. The tone of the *London Times*, on the other hand, has been distinctly sympathetic towards the present Austrian Government. The victory of the Austrian Socialists would undoubtedly have strengthened the Socialists throughout Europe and a Conservative paper like the *Times* will naturally take up an anti-Socialist attitude. The attitude of the Italian Press has on the whole been in support of the present Austrian Government. It is well known that the Austrian Government are on very friendly terms with the Italian Government and the former are drawing up a Constitution for Austria based on the Italian model. The attitude of the German Press has not been friendly towards the Austrian Government though the latter were engaged in suppressing the Socialists whom the Nazis in Germany regard as their enemies. People say that two factors account for this attitude on the part of the German Press. In the first place, the Austrian Government before attacking the Austrian Socialists, had suppressed the Austrian Nazis and in doing so, had incurred the wrath of the German Press. In the second place, by adopting a friendly attitude towards the Austrian Socialists, the Germans hope to win over to their cause the immense following which the Socialist Party had, and probably still has, in Austria. An additional factor, sometimes sug-

gested, is that since the Austrian Government have been getting the support of France in their efforts to suppress the Austrian Nazis, it is but natural that they should antagonize the Germans, even though they may be engaged at the moment in overthrowing the Socialists.

Twelve months ago, I wrote the Indian papers about three-cornered fight that had been going on between the Socialists, Nazis and Heimwehr and I stated that the ultimate fate of Austria would greatly influence the future trend of European politics. Today, one of the parties, viz., the Socialist, has gone out of action and the future therefore lies between the other two. If the Nazi Party comes into power then with or without the formal union or Anschluss, Austria will become virtually a part of Germany. This would mean a considerable accession of power to Germany and the three great Powers in Europe are therefore opposed to it. Italy with her population of forty million and odd will not, moreover, like to see a Germany of more than seventy millions stretching from her northern frontier right up to the North Sea. And the German-speaking people in the Italian (now Italian, but formerly Austrian) Tyrol may begin to get restless, particularly when Germany has, time and again, broadcast her intention of unifying the German-speaking peoples in Europe. Therefore, while the Austrian Nazis get the moral support of Germany, the Heimwehr Party who are opposed to them, get the moral support of Italy. But whatever the present position in Europe may be, to an impartial student of History it appears inevitable that after the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the German-speaking peoples of Germany and Austria should ultimately be drawn into one political unit. In their extreme vindictiveness, the Allied Powers at the Treaty of Versailles tore up into fragments the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and did not pause for a moment to realize that it was impossible for small countries like Austria and Hungary of today to exist as independent political units. It is only now that thinking men and women in the Allied countries have begun to realize that Austria can exist only as a part of Germany or as a part of a political unit like Austro-Hungary. Nearly a year ago when I was discussing Austrian politics with an American journalist, I ventured the remark that if the Allied Powers really wanted to keep Austria away from Germany, they should encourage, from the point of view of political strategy, a restoration of the Hapsburg Monarchy in Austria and Hungary. I distinctly

remember that at that time the American journalist looked at me as if I were a political babe—so strange my remark appeared to him. But today when I find that people in different countries are freely discussing the idea of a revival of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and when I read in the European Press that the supporters of Monarchy in Hungary and in Austria have recently been meeting in Vienna for discussing common problems, I feel satisfied that my conjecture of a year ago was not altogether wrong. Whatever our own political predilections may be, there can be no doubt that if the Allied Powers really wanted to divide the German-speaking peoples of Central Europe, they should have forgotten their prejudice against the Hapsburg Monarchy and after recognizing the self-determination of the Czechs, Slovaks and other Slav races, they should have left Austro-Hungary intact. As a student of History, to me at least it appears probable that in the long run Austria will have to join with German Reich or she will have to join Hungary in one political unit. The present position is in any case an unstable equilibrium and it cannot last.

To a superficial observer it will appear that the contrary of what I have just said is the truth. Order has been restored throughout Austria. The Austrian Nazis have been checkmated, while the Austrian Socialists completely suppressed. Great Britain, France and Italy have guaranteed the independence of Austria in a public communique and this move has been rightly interpreted as a determination on the part of these three Powers to keep Austria away from Germany. There is also no doubt that these three Powers would also be willing to help the Austrian Government with loans, etc., in order to help her out of the present financial morass. But will that be enough to satisfy the Austrian people and put them on their legs? To answer that question we shall have to go a little deeper into recent Austrian history.

The present Austrian Government has been composed mainly of three parties :—(1) the Christian Socials, (2) the Heimwehr and (3) the Agrarians. The Heimwehr Party are at the moment the most important element and following the example of Russia, Italy and Germany they are trying to have all the other political parties in Austria forcibly dissolved. The latest news goes to show that Herr Dollfuss, the present Prime Minister of Austria and the leader of the Christian Socials, has agreed to the dissolution of his party. If the Heimwehr succeed in the task of suppressing all the other parties, then the future development of Austrian politics will depend to some extent on the internal politics of the Heimwehr Party.

The Heimwehr are the Austrian brand of Fascists who draw their inspiration from Italy. While the Austrian Nazis dress in brown like their German comrades, the Heimwehr dress in

green and white and their flag consists of these two colours. They have much in common with the Nazis in their ideas and in their methods. Both are opposed to Parliamentary Democracy and believe in Dictatorship. To an outsider, it appears strange that two parties having so much in common should be fighting. But the fact is that within the Heimwehr, there was, and still is, an influential section in favour of uniting or co-operating with the Nazis and it is an open secret that till lately, negotiations were being carried on to that effect.

The rapid growth of an Austrian Fascist Party like the Heimwehr can be traced to three factors :—(1) Anti-Socialist feeling, (2) National sentiment, (3) International support. At the end of the last War, when the Government of Germany passed into the hands of the Social Democrats, in Austria, though the Federal Government came under the control of the Christian Socials, the



Karl Marx Hof after bombardment by Government artillery

administration of Vienna Municipality and of the Vienna province passed into the hands of the Socialists. The Austrian Socialists have all along had the reputation of being the most radical Socialist Party in Europe and the Conservative elements in Austria did not therefore view with favour the idea that such a radical party should be in control of the most strategic position in Austrian public life. The post-War situation in Austria has all along been one of unstable equilibrium. In a country with a population of six and a half millions the Federal Government has been con-

trolled by the anti-Socialist Christian Socials but they have been unable to dislodge the militant Austrian Socialists from the administration of the capital city and the major province of the country. On the other hand, the Socialists have been unable to extend their influence further and capture the Federal Government of the country because in the countryside, as distinct from the cities, they have had less influence than the other rival parties. In such a situation the ultimate overthrow of one of the parties was to be expected. To entrench themselves more securely, the Socialists had organized a private army called the *Schutzbund*. A purely political party like the Christian Socials of Herr Dolfuss stood no chance in an ultimate struggle for power with the Socialists. Therefore, to fight the latter, a militant party like the *Heimwehr* had to be born. This party was anti-Socialist in its objective from the very beginning and therefore an alliance was at once struck between the Christian Socials and the *Heimwehr*.

Some other minor considerations made the *Heimwehr* and the Christian Socials bitterly opposed to the Socialists. The Austrian Socialists have on the whole been anti-religious, or at least against the domination of the Catholic Church and as long as the Socialist Party was ruling in Germany, they were in favour of the *Anschluss* i.e., the Union with Germany. The anti-religious attitude of the Socialists gave the Christian Socials, i.e., the Catholic Party, an immense following among the peasantry, who all the world over are well known for their conservative instincts. And the danger of ultimate absorption in Germany under the auspices of the Socialist Party gave the *Heimwehr* Party an opportunity of rallying the support of the Austrian Aristocracy to their cause. It should be remembered that as an Empire, Austria is much older than Germany and it is Austria that had inherited the halo of the Holy Roman Empire. As long as Austria remained separate from Germany, the Austrian aristocracy would have some position in the country but if Austria were to be absorbed into the German Reich, then they would be nowhere. Therefore a well-known and wealthy aristocrat like Prince Starhemberg came forward to lead the *Heimwehr* (literally, the Defenders of the Home) for preserving the integrity of the Austrian State and the power and influence of the old aristocratic families.

History was utilized in order to give an impetus to this party. In June, 1933, when I was in Vienna, the Austrian Government celebrated the 250th anniversary of the victory over the Turks. In 1683, the Turks, after overrunning Eastern Europe, had laid siege to Vienna and one of those responsible for the ultimate defeat of the Turks was Starhemberg, an ancestor of the Prince Starhemberg, the present leader of the *Heimwehr*. The June celebration naturally had the support of the entire Austrian population but

it was so manoeuvred that one important result of it was to enhance the reputation of Prince Starhemberg and therefore of his party. As a part of the celebration, 40,000 *Heimwehr* volunteers in their green and white uniforms came to Vienna from the country and had a route march



The Socialist Volunteers (*Schutzbundler*) in custody at the Police Station in Floridsdorf, Vienna

through the streets of Vienna. Throughout the route march I heard the supporters of the *Heimwehr* shouting "Heil Starhemberg" while the Nazis in reply shouted "Heil Hitler"—and were chased by the Police for doing so. At the end of the celebration I congratulated a *Heimwehr* leader on the fine discipline shown by his volunteers, but he did not seem to be at all enthusiastic about the function and he complained that the Viennese public were not on the whole sympathetic to the *Heimwehr* and that in the working class quarters they had even been pelted with rotten eggs. That was in June last year. But within the next eight months they improved their public position to such an extent as to render it possible for them to make a direct assault on their enemies, the Austrian Nazis and the Austrian Socialists. To follow the steps taken one after another, for undermining their enemies, will afford an interesting study in political strategy.

At the end of the last War it was generally thought that the era of Nationalism had ended in Europe and that of social reconstruction had begun in right earnest. It is now clear, however, that the era of Nationalism has not ended. As long as the principle of self-determination is not consistently applied throughout Europe the nationalist struggle cannot cease. While the Treaty of Versailles did justice to the Czechs, Poles and the Italian-speaking people then under Austrian rule, it did considerable injustice to Germans and Hungarians who were placed under the rule of some other races. This injustice was possible at the time of the Treaty of Versailles because a feeling of extreme vindictiveness inspired the victors at Peace Conference preceding the Treaty. Until this wrong is righted, the era of nationalist

struggle cannot end in Europe nor can the possibility of war be averted.

In spite of a favourable soil for the growth of the Heimwehr Party in Austria, and in spite of the fact that the Heimwehr from the very beginning entrenched themselves on national sentiment and tradition, they could not have achieved much progress without the help of another party in Austria and without international support outside. It is here that the help of an able political leader like Herr Dolfuss proved to be invaluable. Under his leadership, the Federal Government has been formed, commanding the support of the Christian Social, Heimwehr and Agrarian Parties and in opposition to the Socialist and Nazi Parties. Without a militant party like the Heimwehr, Herr Dolfuss would not have been able to cope with the militant Nazis or with the militant Socialists who had their disciplined corps of volunteers,

Heimwehr in their double fight against the Socialists and the Austrian Nazis. And there is no doubt that much of the international support which the Austrian Government had been getting was because of the impression abroad that they were engaged primarily in suppressing the Austrian Nazis. The same international support would not have been forthcoming if it had been then realized that the Austrian Government would soon strike so brutally at the Socialist Party in Austria. The Austrian Socialists had friends in Great Britain and in France and since they had put aside the proposal of the Anschluss or Union with Germany, since the Nazis got into power there, there was no reason for Great Britain or France to be enthusiastic in their support of Herr Dolfuss if he was to strike against the Socialists in Austria. Therefore, it was sound tactics for the Austrian Government to attack the Nazi Party in Austria first and rally the fullest measure of international support while doing so. After getting world opinion on their side and checkmating the Nazis in Austria they could safely proceed with the task of dealing with the Socialists. It would have landed them in disaster if they had attempted to deal with the Socialists first. After the overthrow of the Socialists it appears as if the Heimwehr will make use of the Prime Minister Herr Dolfuss more than he will be able to exploit them.

In March, 1933, when I first came to Vienna the Austrian Government had a bare majority of one in the Lower Chamber of the Federal Parliament. That was a precarious position for any Government and could not last indefinitely. So, taking advantage of the resignation of

the Speaker, the Government, one fine morning in March, 1933, suspended the Parliament and began to govern the country by decree. Since then, Parliament has been in a state of suspended animation. In March, 1933, the accession of the Nazis to power in Germany had focussed public attention in Europe on Germany. The Austrian Socialists did not therefore realize what was happening in their own home. Moreover, since the Parliamentary opposition consisted of both the Socialists and the Austrian Nazis, many Socialists were foolish enough to think that the Government aimed primarily at the Nazis and not at themselves. After the suspension of Parliament, the Government hurled their attack more against the Nazis than against the Socialists—and this was largely responsible for lulling the latter into a sense of security. While



Herr Schmitz, the Special Commissioner appointed by the Federal Government, arriving at the Rathaus to expel the Socialist Mayor of Vienna and take forcible possession of the Municipality

called the Schutzbund. So, Herr Dolfuss naturally welcomed the alliance with the militant Heimwehr. The Heimwehr, on their side, stood to gain even more. Through Herr Dolfuss they got the support of an influential party like the Christian Socials and through this party, of the entire Catholic Church. Through Herr Dolfuss again they got the support of the Allied Powers in the struggle against the Austrian Nazis who had the moral support of Germany. Last but not least, the political wisdom and sagacity of Herr Dolfuss was of great help to them. Without his caution and restraint, they would in all probability, have courted disaster by rushing things prematurely.

In 1933 it appeared as if Herr Dolfuss and the Christian Socials were making use of the

this was going on, one could discover a lurking sympathy for Herr Dollfuss in his extra-parliamentary activities against the Nazis, on the part of certain Socialists. In discussing Austrian politics with the Socialist rank and file in those days, one clearly had the impression that they did not realize the gravity of the menace that loomed large in front of them. Any impartial outsider like myself could feel in those days that the time was not far off when the Austrian Government would turn aside and attack the Socialists. It must be said to the credit of Herr Dollfuss that on more occasions than one he made it quite clear that the Government were fighting on a double front, *i.e.*, against the Nazis and the Socialists.

When in March, 1933, the Government suspended Parliament the Speaker who belonged to the oppositionist Party, summoned Parliament in defiance of the Government. Great was the curiosity and excitement of the people and every one was asking—"What will the Government do?" The Government ordered the Police to prevent Parliament from assembling, but before they could arrive on the scene, the oppositionist deputies managed to get into Parliament House and at the appointed hour, the proceedings commenced. The Ministers and their supporters were not present, of course; nevertheless, the action of the oppositionist deputies was not without value. The only regret that Parliamentarians should have is that the opposition did not follow up their first act of defiance. The entire responsibility for this devolves on the leaders of the Socialist Party. When the Government found that the oppositionist Parties had taken the suspension of Parliamentary Government lying down, they prepared for a further attack on public liberty. The International Labour Day celebration on the first of May was banned. Such an order had not been made even under the rule of the Hapsburg Emperors. Police and military were called out in order to prevent the Socialists from demonstrating within the City though they were allowed to hold a public meeting and a sports exhibition in the Municipal Stadium. I was able to attend this meeting and was profoundly impressed with what I saw. There were at least sixty thousand people present. Five thousand girls and elderly women gave a demonstration of physical drill. Boys and grown-up men also gave a similar demonstration. The element of youth present on the occasion was very large and it showed clearly that the Socialist

Party had a considerable following among the younger generation. The Party leaders spoke with great passion and sincerity; nevertheless it struck me at the time that they were a trifle older than what they should have been. And I remember having remarked to young Socialist friends that their Party should throw up younger leaders. In contrast with the Socialist Party, the Nazi leadership was younger and more virile. On the first of May, the Nazis also had their meeting in a closed arena though they could not demonstrate within the City. Their attendance was nothing like what the Socialists had commanded, but they displayed greater enthusiasm and virility.

After the first of May, the Government did not make any further direct attack on the Socialist Party but directed their attention to



Street Scene in Vienna during the February events

the Nazi Party. Thereby they lulled the Socialists into a sense of security and also rallied international support in favour of their anti-Nazi policy. True, the Government banned the Socialist Schutzbund (Volunteers) not long after the May Day affair but the Socialist Party did not appear to be at all excited over the ban. They thought that they could continue to function secretly and they got some consolation in the fact that the Nazi Volunteers had also been banned by the Government. The premier Socialist organ, *Arbeiter Zeitung* was placed under censorship, but it was not suppressed, whereas not long after this, the Nazi papers began to be suppressed one by one. Simultaneously, an order was issued prohibiting the Nazis from wearing any uniform in public. And the climax of the attack was the forcible seizure of the Nazi Headquarters throughout the country. While this



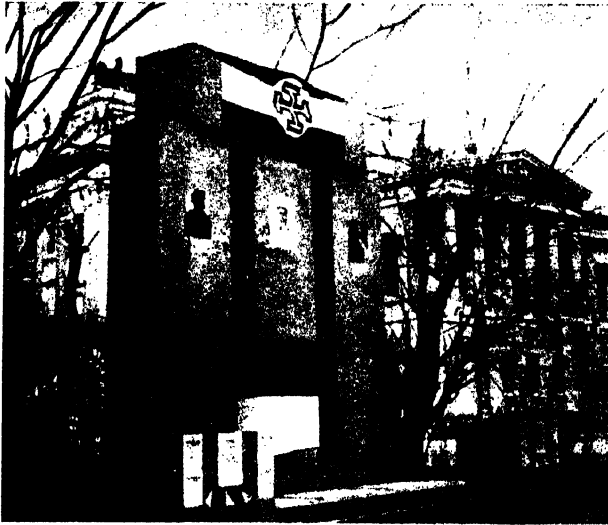
attack on the Nazis was going on in Austria, they were not idle, nor did they take things lying down. They continued their demonstrations and their activities in spite of the Government ban. The Socialists during this period continued to grumble about the restrictions placed on some of their activities and also about the seizure of some of the funds of the Socialist Municipality by the Government but they did not organize any resistance or opposition. If they had joined hands with the Nazis in a common resistance against the Government of the day, it is difficult to say what would have happened. Unfortunately for them the Nazi menace was looming so large in front of them that they were unable to realize the true dimensions of the Governmental menace. I had sometimes remarked to some Socialist friends that it was not unlikely that the Government was doing for the Austrian Nazis what the Von Papen Government had done for the German Nazis but to that remark no reply was forthcoming. Just as the Socialists had remained quiet while the Government had been attacking the Nazis, so also the Nazis remained quiet when the Government attacked the Socialists this year. The future alone will show whether from the point of view of political strategy the action of the Austrian Nazis was correct. It was idle for the Socialist leaders to have expected last year that the Government would ruthlessly suppress the Nazis but would allow them to exist. Nevertheless there are Nazis who view with perfect equanimity the suppression of the Socialists in Austria this year and who think that the Government have only made their ultimate task much easier for them.

Last year I was of the opinion that the Austrian Government were acting contrary to the laws of political strategy by carrying on the struggle on a double front and that if they wanted to succeed, they should make up with one of the two opposing parties. I must confess that as a student of History, I never expected that they (the Government) would be so successful in overthrowing both the oppositionist parties. The credit for this belongs largely to the political sagacity displayed by Herr Dollfuss. During the last twelve months he has always acted in the fullness of time. He has never shown any weakness in dealing with his political enemies nor has he been guilty of premature rashness in action. I must now refer to two important steps that he took last year in order to prepare for the final knock-out blow that he gave his opponents this year. The first step refers to the arming of the Heimwehr and their absorption in the ranks of the Governmental police. The second step refers to the holding of the Catholic Congress in Vienna last year.

It was said by many people last year in Vienna that while the Government could command an armed force of approximately 30,000 (including soldiers and police), both the Socialists and the

Heimwehr could command an armed force of about the same number. The problem for the Government therefore was how to increase the armed forces at the disposal of the Government in preparation for a civil war as took place in February this year. The Government solved this problem by taking over large numbers of the Heimwehr and giving them full military training. The important part which the Heimwehr Volunteers were called upon to play in fighting the Socialist Schutzbund this year, shows how helpless the Government forces would have been without their assistance. This additional force was all the more necessary because certain members of the police and of the Military had to be dismissed by the Government because of their pro-Nazi sympathies. (It is now an open secret that Nazi propaganda was active in the ranks of the Austrian Police and the Military.)

I have already referred to the want of enthusiasm on the part of the Viennese public which the Heimwehr and the supporters of the Government experienced in June last year. To convert the Viennese public, it was necessary to impress upon them that the Government had a large following. The Heimwehr demonstration of June, 1933 served some useful purpose in that connection but it was not enough. Therefore in September of last year, the Catholic Congress of German-speaking peoples was convened in Vienna. I was fortunate to be present again in Vienna on the occasion. The Government had made elaborate arrangements for Catholic people to visit Vienna from different parts of Austria and of other German-speaking Catholic countries. His Holiness the Pope was prevailed upon to send his Apostolic Delegate on the occasion. At a modest estimate, 200,000 people must have visited Vienna for the occasion. A fair had also been arranged in Vienna at about the same time and special railway facilities had been offered for those who visited Vienna. The additional crowd coming for the Vienna Fair and for the Catholic Congress meant more business for the hotels and the boarding-houses of Vienna and for the business community of Vienna in general. This money put into the pockets of the Viennese people in times of financial stringency helped to buy up their support, though in an unconscious way. Further, the colossal crowds of countryside people who had come to Vienna for the Catholic Congress at the instance of the Government gave every one the impression that the Government had a large following in the country and that the entire Catholic Church, including His Holiness the Pope, supported the Government of Herr Dollfuss. To an outsider like myself who moved in and out of the huge crowds, the religious sincerity of the people was quite evident. But it was equally evident that the Government were making political capital out of the Catholic Congress, though the arrangement was so clever that the ordinary man in the street did not probably realize it. Military



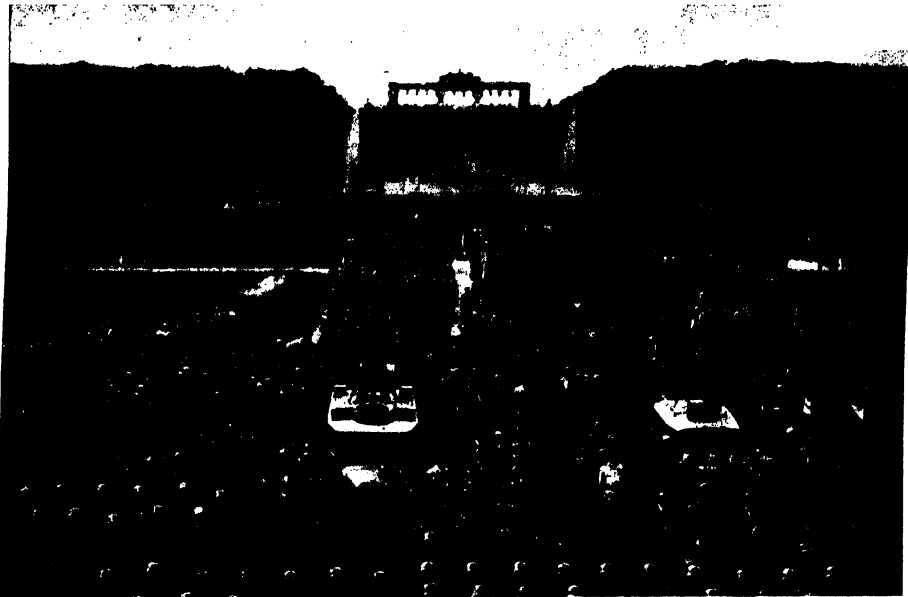
The portraits of Major Fey, Herr Dolfuss and Prince Starhemberg, substituted for the busts of the Socialist Leaders. (After February 1934.)  
See the symbol of Herr Dolfuss on top—called the Krukenkreuz (Crooked Cross)



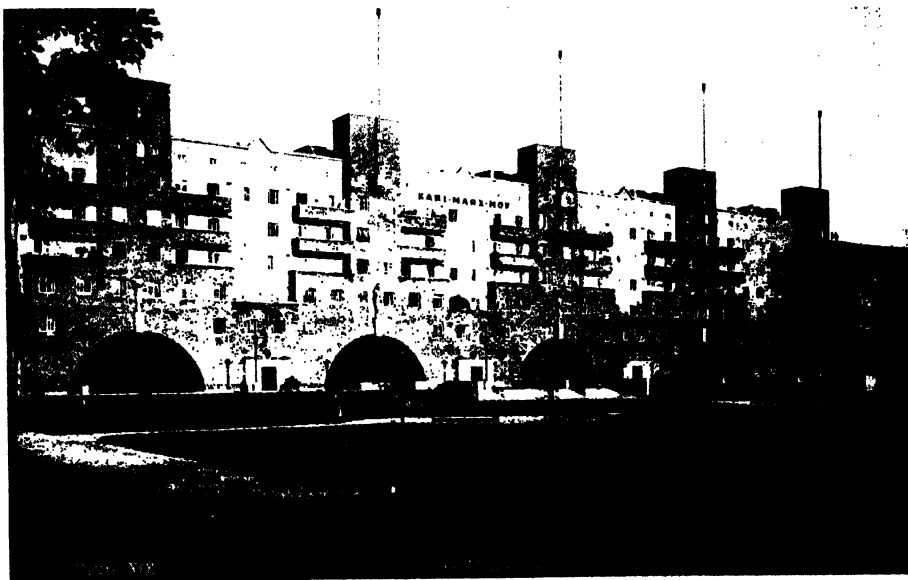
Busts of the Socialist Leaders, Reumann, Adler and Hanusch—the founders of the Austrian Republic.  
(Before February 1934).



Heimwehr Volunteers parading before the statue of Graf Starhemberg in June 1933.  
Graf Starhemberg was one of those who saved Vienna from the Turks in 1683 and is an ancestor of Prince Starhemberg, the leader of the Heimwehr at present.



Rally of Heimwehr Volunteers in Vienna in June, 1933



'Karl Marx Hof'—the quarters built by the Municipality of Vienna for workmen—now renamed as "Dolfuss-hof."

## THE AUSTRIAN RIDDLE

demonstrations were also held in connection with the Catholic Congress demonstrations. The net result of the September ceremonies was to give people, and particularly the Viennese public, the impression that the Government had an extremely strong position, having the support of the Catholic Church, the Army and the countryside people of Austria. And the prestige and reputation of Herr Dollfuss stood higher than it had ever done before.

I remember an incident that took place in Vienna at about this time. In one of the demonstrations that took place near the Rathaus (i.e. the Town Hall where the Mayor holds his office), one of the Heimwehr leaders pointing to the Rathaus said that he hoped that the day would soon come when the Government would turn out the Bolsheviks (meaning the Socialists) from the building and purge Vienna of their party. When I read the other day that the Government and Heimwehr forces had forcibly taken possession of the Rathaus and had made a prisoner of the Socialist Mayor, the speech of the Heimwehr leader appeared to me almost prophetic.

After the September ceremonies, the Government felt strong enough to proceed ruthlessly with its task of suppressing the oppositionist parties. The first few months were devoted to the suppression of the Nazis and when this was almost complete, the Government, with the advent of the new year, prepared for the assault on the Socialists. Looking at recent events in their proper perspective, it seems clear that the Socialists were fighting a losing game. Though they controlled the administration of the Vienna Municipality and of the Vienna province, their position was always weak. Abroad they had hardly any international support, while the ignominious failure of the Social Democrats in Germany had produced a demoralizing effect on Austria. The Catholic Church was dead against them and recent events have demonstrated what a strong hold the Catholic Church still has in Austria. Within Austria, they had to fight two powerful enemies, the Nazis on the one side and Christian Socials and Heimwehr on the other. In these circumstances, could they have done more?

It is quite true, as the *Manchester Guardian* reported, that the Socialists of Austria, unlike their comrades in Germany, have gone down fighting. It is a tragedy of history that a party with such a glorious record of public and social service as the Austrian Socialist Party should be overthrown and crushed in this manner. The only consolation is that they have created history. As Mr. Harold Laski wrote in the *London Daily Herald* the other day, in the history of the socialist struggle, Vienna will rank alongside of the Paris Commune and of the Russian Revolution of 1905. While admitting all that, I cannot at the same time help thinking that if the Socialist leadership had shown greater political sagacity, events might have taken a different course. From

admission made in Socialist circles now, it appears that till the very last, the Socialist leaders were negotiating for a compromise with the Government. There can be no complaint about the character of the Socialist rank and file, because, at the bidding of their leaders, they have shown of what stuff they are made. But were the leaders justified in lulling the party into a sense of security and in putting off the final struggle till the eleventh hour had struck?

While the Socialist Party has ceased to exist in Austria, the same cannot be said of the Nazis. As long as National Socialism rules in Germany, the Nazis will exist in Austria. Germany is putting the fullest economic pressure on Austria in order to bring about the downfall of the present Government. Will the present Government be able to solve the economic problem of the Austrian people? And will the Allied Powers, who are so anxious to keep Austria away from Germany, render adequate financial assistance to the present Austrian Government? If history answers both these questions in the affirmative, then undoubtedly the present Government will have a long lease of life. Otherwise there are only two alternatives for the Austrian people—a federation with Germany or with Hungary.

One of the conclusions to be drawn from the February events is that a comparatively small but well-disciplined armed force as the Austrian Government had, can overpower with the aid of artillery, any well-armed force that may be pitched against it.

Things are quiet now in Austria and will remain so for some time at least. The work of transformation is going on briskly. The green-and-white flag of the Heimwehr is flying on the top of Rathaus in order to proclaim the expulsion of the Socialist regime. The triple busts of the leader who founded the Austrian Republic have been removed and the busts of Herr Dollfuss, Prince Starhemberg and Major Fey (Heimwehr Leader) have been substituted instead. The palatial building built by the Socialist Municipality for the workers and named as Marxhof has been renamed as Dollfusshof. As a substitute for the Horned Cross or Swastika of the Nazis, Herr Dollfuss has designed a new cross as a symbol for his party. All the tactics, methods and devices employed in countries like Russia, Italy and Germany will be introduced in Austria as well. But the main problem on which will depend the future of Austrian politics is the economic problem. Till this problem is solved, there can be no peace in Austria.

A lot of speculation is going on now as to what course Herr Dollfuss will follow hereafter. Will he be able to maintain his independence or will he surrender completely to the Heimwehr? When his party—the Christian Socials—has been dissolved, where does he stand now? What kind of Constitution will he force on Austria?

Will it be an imitation of the Italian Constitution or a modification of it?

In an exceedingly well-written article in the February (1934) number of the *Nineteenth Century* Elizabeth Wiskemann has pleaded passionately for a rapprochement between the Catholic Church and Socialism in Austria in order to save the country from going over to the National Socialists. In view of the virtual extinction of the Socialist Party after the February events, the appeal is a belated one. To any outside observer it will appear clear that the Heimwehr have now got the upper hand and it will not be possible for Herr Dolfuss to maintain his independence as against them. The inner politics of the Heimwehr Party will determine the future of Austrian politics. Within the Heimwehr there has been a pro-Nazi group and also a monarchist group. The pro-Nazi section have, for the time being, been suppressed but the monarchist group have gained in importance. The latest news from Vienna goes to show that members of the Royal family are now openly identifying themselves with the Heimwehr Party and that monarchists in Austria and in Hungary have not only become active but have been holding deliberations jointly. Interesting developments may therefore take place at any time. But whatever happens, there is no doubt that for some time at least, the Allied Powers

will be able to do much in the way of influencing the trend of Austrian politics. Austria still continues to be the storm-centre of European politics, though outwardly she may appear to be calm. The Vienna Correspondent of the London *Times* seems to think that the best course for the outside Powers would be to back Herr Dolfuss and his Government and he also seems to think that the Constitution which he will give Austria will have only a 'Fascist leaven.' But in view of the influence of the Heimwehr in Austria today and the relations between that party and Italy, it seems more probable that the future constitution will be based on the Italian model. No doubt the earlier declarations of Herr Dolfuss referred to 'a Christian Corporative' State but he was then really under the influence of the Catholic Church and he was probably drawing his inspiration from the Papal Encyclical of 1931 which laid down the views of the Catholic Church on the question of social reorganization. But today it is well-nigh impossible for Herr Dolfuss to do anything in opposition to the Heimwehr and it is extremely doubtful if the latter would go as far as the Prime Minister in following the directions of the Catholic Church. Whatever happens in Austria hereafter will be of interest to the outside world and will have far-reaching repercussions throughout Europe.

### Electric Current in Soil Kills off the Bacteria

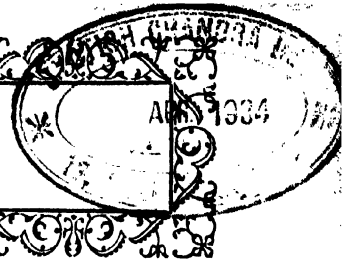
Home gardens and greenhouse men may now rid soil of disease and pests by sterilizing it with electricity, through the use of apparatus recently developed by a Seattle, Wash., research engineer. Though it resembles electric heating devices previously applied to gardening, the apparatus is not designed to heat the soil by contact but by passing electric current directly through it, between electrodes that are buried in the earth. The mild heating is said to kill all parasites.

--Popular Science



At top, electric soil sterilizer in use. Above, close-up of insulating material and plates

# NOTES



## *Education of Negroes in America and of Indians in India*

Literacy and education are not indetical—the one should not be confounded with the other. Nevertheless, it is true, broadly speaking, that education cannot be imparted to an adequate extent without literacy. Hence an attempt will be made in this note to give some idea of the progress of education in India, assuming that it can be roughly measured by the percentage of literacy of its population.

The education of the Negroes of the United States of America will be compared with that of Indians in India for the reasons stated below.

Originally the Negroes were not inhabitants of America. Their ancestors were taken from their homes in Africa and sold into slavery in America. Not to speak of any indigenous literature of their own in Africa, they had not even any indigenous alphabet. And in America they lived in a state of slavery. So long as they were slaves, they were not given any facilities for education. On the contrary, their education was penalized. So, though before the emancipation of all the Negro slaves in the U. S. A. in December 1865, a certain proportion of the free Negroes and a smaller one of the Negro slaves had become literate, the progress made by the Negroes in literacy and education has been made since December 18, 1865. Even after that date up till now the Negroes there have not enjoyed all the educational facilities which the white Americans have enjoyed.

It has been stated above that so long as here was slavery in the U. S. A., the education of the Negroes was penalized. The exact character of the punishments provided for the offence of Negro education will be understood from the following extracts made from *Harmsworth History of the World*, vol. iv,

p. 2814, by Major B. D. Basu in his *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company* :

"... the education of Negroes was expressly forbidden. Here for instance, are some passages from the Code of Virginia in 1849. 'Every assemblage of Negroes for the purpose of instruction in reading or writing shall be an unlawful assembly. Any justice may issue his warrant to any officers or other person requiring him to enter any place where such assemblage may be and seize any Negro therein; and he or any other justice may order such Negro to be punished with stripes. Again, if a white person assemble with Negroes for the purpose of instructing them to read or write, he shall be confined to jail not exceeding six months and fined not exceeding one hundred dollars.'

"Here is another paragraph from an Act passed in South Carolina in 1831. 'If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid in assisting any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof, shall for every such offence against this Act be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars and imprisoned not more than six months; or, if a person of colour, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes and fined not exceeding fifty dollars: And if a slave, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes.'

"Similar Acts were passed in Georgia and Alabama."

When the Negroes were freed in 1865, such laws ceased to be operative. In 1930 in the U. S. A. 16.3 per cent of Negroes were illiterate and 83.7 per cent were literate. This means that mainly in 65 years, from December 19, 1865, to 1930, an originally uncivilized people, without any indigenous alphabet and literature of their own, had become literate to the extent of 83.7 per cent. This has been possible because of the desire of the Negroes for knowledge, the intellectual atmosphere of America, the facilities provided by the State for their education, though less than those provided for the whites, and the facilities created by the Negroes themselves for their own education.

The facts relating to India will now be stated.

This country possessed scripts and alphabets at least two thousand years ago.

his date is given in order that it may not be challenged even by those European scholars who are most obsessed with the notion of Indian inferiority. The most ancient Sanskrit literature of India is, according to the same class of scholars, at least three thousand years old. Pali literature is also more than two thousand years old. The literatures of many modern languages of India are at least a thousand years old.

Indian literatures of the pre-British period contain not only poems, dramas, and works of fiction in prose but also valuable philosophical and scientific works of various descriptions.

It is generally admitted that in ancient times Hindus had made great progress in the art of education, though the extent of literacy in those days or in the Pathan and Mughal period cannot be definitely ascertained. But the records, reports and statements of British officers and writers go to show that in the years immediately preceding and following the establishment of the rule of the East India Company there was a greater degree of literacy in India than now. Major B. D. Basu, in his book cited above, quotes the following passage from the late Mr. Keir Hardie's work on *India*, p. 5 :—

MaxMuller, on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every four hundred of the population. Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that 'in every Hindoo village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared.'

Major Basu's book gives extracts relating to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies also.

Mr. Edward J. Thompson, whose worst enemy will not accuse him of overestimating the achievements of India or Indians, has been constrained to admit in *The Reconstruction of India* (Faber & Faber Limited, London, 1930) that in India "there was more literacy, if of a low kind, than until within the last ten years." But this grudging admission is not accurate. For, whereas "official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation" mention 80,000 schools in Bengal or one for every 400

of the population, the latest Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, for the years 1927-1932, mentions only 69,036 educational institutions, including, not merely schools, but universities, arts colleges, professional colleges, secondary schools and primary schools, for a population of 5,01,14,002 souls, or one educational institution for every 725 of the population.

Let us, however, not lay stress upon the fact that in pre-British India there was more literacy, "if of a low kind," as Mr. Thompson says, than now. Let us merely record the existing state of things.

Before that is done, it must in all fairness be recorded with profound feelings of appreciation that neither the Government of the East India Company nor the Government of India under the British Crown has ever enacted laws providing the punishment of fines, imprisonment or whipping for Indians receiving education or for Europeans giving education to Indians. In this respect the European branch of the Anglo-Saxon race can claim to be vastly superior to the American branch. It may be objected, that the Negroes of America were slaves, whereas the Indians were and are merely a conquered people and that not all parts of India were brought under subjugation by fighting. But though there is a difference between slavery and political subjection, what really matters is that the British people had the power to make the giving and receiving of education on the part of Indians a penal offence. It was extremely generous and merciful of them, therefore, not to exercise that power in the way that the white Americans did with regard to the Negroes before 1865.

It has been stated above that mainly in the course of 65 years 83·7 per cent of the originally uncivilized Negroes in America had been made literate.

Assuming that the people of India, before being brought under British rule, were uncivilized, alphabet-less, literature-less, without arts and crafts, at least 83·7 per cent of them should have been made literate in the more than 65 years of British rule—at any rate in the more than 65 years which have elapsed since the Education Despatch of 1854, commonly, though not correctly, styled the "Intellectual Charter of India," and accurately

spoken of as Wood's Despatch after Sir Charles Wood, then President of the Board of Control of the East India Company. As against the 83·7 per cent of American Negro literacy in 1930, may be mentioned the 8 (eight) per cent literacy of the people of India in 1931. So American Negroes are ten times as literate as Indians under British rule. In this respect, therefore, the European branch of the Anglo-Saxon race is vastly inferior to the American branch of the same race.

Our observation is strictly limited to literacy. Racial and political treatment should not, therefore, be brought in.

### *Literacy in India*

It does not much matter if some Provinces and States are ahead of others in literacy. For the shameful fact is that 92 per cent of Indians are illiterate and only 8 per cent are literate. Nevertheless, as the Provinces and States will have to make independent efforts to reach at least the American Negro's level of literacy, namely, 83·7 per mille, the following table taken from the Census of India Report for 1931, showing the number of literates per mille, may be found useful as a reminder :

Burma	368	Central Provinces	66
Cochin	337	Panjab	63
Travancore	289	Assam States	61
Baroda	209	Bengal States	61
Aden	182	United Provinces	55
Coorg	176	Baluchistan	54
Andamans & Nicobars	170	Bihar & Orissa	53
Delhi	163	Central India	52
Ajmer-Merwara	125	Hyderabad	50
Western India States	125	N.-W. F. Province	49
Madras States*	121	U. P. States	49
Bengal	111	Gwalior	47
Bombay†	108	Rajputana	43
Madras	108	Panjab States	42
Mysore	106	Panjab States Agency	42
Assam	93	Jammu & Kashmir	40
Bombay States	71	B. and O. States	39
* <i>Excluding Cochin &amp; Travancore.</i>		Sikkim	35
† <i>Including Aden.</i>		C. P. States	23

There is a wrong notion that in India some communities are very much advanced in education. The following table taken from the Census Report for 1931, showing the number of literates per thousand, makes it plain that no community has reached the American Negro's level of literacy :

Parsis	791	Indian Buddhists	90
Jews	416	Hindus	84
Jains	353	Muslims	64
Christians	279	Tribal	7
Sikhs	91	<i>All exclusive of Burma.</i>	

The Baidyas of Bengal, the Tamil Brahmins of the Madras Presidency and the Kayasthas of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are said to be very advanced in education. But they are all far below the American Negro's level of literacy. Among Baidyas 635 per thousand are literate, among Tamil Brahmins 626, and among U. P. Kayasthas about 416.

We have spoken above of the American Negro's level of literacy. Of the native-born American whites, 98·5 per cent or 985 per thousand are literate. The Japanese figure is slightly higher.

### *"Educationally almost saturated"*

The latest official Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, observes that "these two communities (Christians and 'educationally advanced' Hindus) are "educationally almost saturated." Perhaps in proof of this statement, this official publication says that "the number of their pupils has not shown much variation during the last decade." As a matter of fact, as the same official report mentions elsewhere (p. 8), "the advanced Hindus have lost ground in the primary and the secondary stages, in which their enrolment was 6,31,531 at the end of the quinquennium as against 6,40,309 in 1926-27."

A substance is said to be saturated with some other substance when the former has absorbed and holds the greatest amount possible of the latter. But can it be said that any Hindu caste, however 'advanced' educationally, has absorbed the largest possible amount of education? If it be found that almost all persons above the age of, say, 5 belonging to any caste are at least literate, or that almost all its boys and girls of school-going age are receiving instruction, then it can be said that it is educationally saturated. But as the Quinquennial Review nowhere says which Hindu castes are officially considered educationally advanced, nor what percentage of the total population is officially held to be of school-going age, the accuracy of the official



remark cannot be tested. The only test that can be applied is to see whether any Hindu caste in Bengal is literate to as great an extent as, say, the native-born American whites, of whom 985 per thousand are literate. Now, in the Bengal Census Report for 1931, the most literate castes mentioned are: Baidya, 635 per thousand literate; Brahman, 452 per thousand literate; Kayastha, 401 per thousand literate; Agarwala, 344 per thousand literate; and Shaha 268 per thousand literate. These figures show that none of these castes approach the native-born American whites (or even the American Negroes) in literacy, and that there are numerous adults and juveniles among them who are illiterate. Therefore, it is undoubtedly incorrect to say that the 'educationally advanced' Hindus of Bengal are 'educationally almost saturated.' They are nothing of the kind. The reason why there has been a decrease in the number of pupils from those classes is, not because there has been excessive education among them, but because economic depression and unemployment have struck them hard, and consequently they have become less able to send their children to school than they were before.

### *Lady Clerks and Soldier Clerks*

On the 6th of March last Mr. S. C. Mitra asked some questions in the Legislative Assembly relating to lady clerks and soldier clerks, obviously employed in military offices.

Mr. S. C. Mitra put a number of questions asking why British soldier clerks and lady clerks were given a higher pay, whereas the pay of Indian clerks was further reduced for future recruitment.

Mr. Tottenham replied that the Government were satisfied that soldier clerks and lady clerks of suitable qualifications could not be obtained at a lesser salary, while Indian clerks could be obtained on rates considerably lower than those they now received. Lady clerks were necessary, as they performed certain duties more efficiently and better than men (laughter).

The Government may be satisfied that soldier clerks and lady clerks could not be got for lesser pay, but Indians think that, as there is much unemployment in Britain, Government could have got white clerks of both sexes on lesser pay if they could have brought themselves to take advantage of white persons' neediness just as they have taken advantage of unemployment among Indian

educated men to reduce the pay of Indian male clerks.

Mr. S. C. Mitra: "May I ask the Home Member whether the Government of India have decided to recruit lady clerks for certain classes of work in the civil departments as well?"

Sir Henry Haig: "I must have notice of that question."

Mr. B. Das: "May I take it that lady clerks are employed because they exercise a healthy influence on the conscience of officers which leads to efficiency?"

Mr. Tottenham: "No Sir."

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: "Are they asked to leave service when they get married?"

Mr. Tottenham: "That's so."

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: "What's the reason for employing unmarried girls?"

Mr. Tottenham: "Reasons are obvious. Married ladies have other duties to perform" (laughter).

Do the unmarried lady clerks perform these "other duties" of married ladies while unmarried, so that on getting married they cannot perform them both at home and in office because of the fatigue of reduplication?

Sir Henry Sidney maintained that there was a considerable scope for reduction of expenditure under overhead charges. He objected to soldier clerks being given a higher pay. He recalled the fact that for ten years he had been urging economy in the medical services, but unfortunately though India had to foot the bill the War Office dictated the policy and insisted on a costly British personnel in the ancillary services. The speaker pleaded for a small army, a unit being raised from among Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans who must have a higher pay than Indian soldiers.

Addressing Mr. Tottenham, he added: "They are sons of your own soldiers. Give them a chance of bearing the military burden and taking part in the defence of their own country."

The following "Twilight Twitters" from *The Bombay Sentinel* relate to the foregoing bits from the Assembly Catechism of March 6 last:

Mr. Tottenham told the Assembly that the Army officials wanted "lady clerks" on higher salaries than Indians, because they could perform "certain duties" more efficiently and better than men.

We believe you, George!

To another Member Mr. Tottenham said these "lady clerks" left the service when they got married because the Army officers had no longer any use for married "lady clerks."

He seems to know something.

The Army Secretary further explained that "married ladies" had other duties to perform at home, which possibly they could not do in the office, though it was admitted that they did not exercise a healthy influence on the conscience of officers leading to efficiency.

We had thought as much. But the bad example of the Army is now being copied by Civil officers, who, too, can't be denied the efficiency of these "lady clerks" in performing certain duties.

Sir Henry Gidney made a moving appeal to the Army Secretary to raise a small army unit of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans, since "they are the sons of your own soldiers."

Of course, it had no reference to this Army Secretary's explanation about lady clerks.

The Army Secretary wisely refused to commit himself either way, and the parentage of the Colonel's Anglo-Indian wards remained undecided.

We must now wait for a further appeal to soldiers by the gallant Colonel—who can never say die in such a good cause.

### *Commander-in-Chief on Wordy War-path*

Sir Philip Chetwode, the Commander-in-Chief, said in the course of his speech during the debate on the Capitation Tribunal's Report in the Council of State that most of the speeches in both houses against excessive army expenditure were in the nature of special pleading in which "an economy of truth was practised." It was perhaps his extreme courtesy which led him to say that he would not like to characterize some of those speeches, in the words of a well known British politician, as "frigid and calculated lies." Was it because they did not want to be outdone in courtesy that the valiant Members of the Council of State referred to did not like to say or even to think that Sir Philip's speech abounded in tepid and effortless "terminological inexactitudes" involving a holocaust of truth? That Sir Philip had no regard for truth will appear from the fact that he has said that the army in India is kept solely for Indian purposes, whereas it is well known and was repeated in the House of Commons on March 7 last by Sir Samuel Hoare and Earl Winterton, a former under-secretary for state, that India is a training ground for the British army and the army in India had been repeatedly used in the past and would be used in the future also for imperial purposes.

The certificate of frugal use of truth which the aforesaid members have received from the Commander-in-Chief should stand them in good stead on the outbreak of the next world war. They should then apply for jobs in the British Imperial War Lies Department.

### *"Respectful" Co-operation*

In giving relief to the sufferers from the earthquake in Bihar, it is not only unobjec-

tionable but necessary that there should be co-operation between the Government and all the non-official agencies engaged in the work of philanthropy in that province. Such co-operation implies mutual confidence and respect. Therefore, Congress workers did nothing wrong to offer their co-operation to the Government unmasked. But it would have been enough if simply co-operation or cordial or wholehearted co-operation had been offered. The addition of the word 'respectful' was at the best superfluous. On account of the use of words like 'respectfully' and 'most respectfully' in petitions and the like, the word 'respectful' in similar contexts has come to be associated more with conventional obsequiousness than with any sincere feeling of respect.

It is needless to emphasize that it is not here insinuated that Mahatma Gandhi has been obsequious. Such an insinuation would be absurd.

### *Reconstruction of Bihar and Hindu Architecture*

As many towns and villages in Bihar will have to be reconstructed, all those who are directly and indirectly connected with the work of reconstruction should have their attention drawn to the ancient Indian ideas of village-planning, town-planning and architecture in general. They are to be found in Professor Dr. P. K. Acharya's masterly edition of the ancient standard Sanskrit work *Manasara* in five sumptuous volumes. Those who do not know Sanskrit need not think that the work will not be of any use to them. For Dr. Acharya has given a full English translation of the work with critical notes. There are also numerous plates, which will help architects, engineers and builders in their work.

European architecture has not been a complete success in India either from the artistic or from the economic point of view. We should give a trial to our own architectural rules and plans, which were not crude but scientific.

The eighty chapters of this monumental work deal with various subjects, among which may be mentioned, as of immediate importance, the selection of site, the examination of soil, site-

plans, the village, town-planning, the dimensions of buildings, the bases and pedestals of columns, the features of buildings one-storeyed to twelve-storeyed, courts, temples, pavilions, mansions, dwelling-houses, royal palaces, etc.

As the Government and non-official relief societies and the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga are going to spend lakhs of rupees, they would do well to spend a very much smaller sum to purchase copies of this work, for the preparation and publication of which the author has received encouragement and assistance from the Government of India, the Government of the United Provinces and other governments, and some high officials. The work has been published by the Oxford University Press.

It has been reported in the papers that in Nepal old temples, constructed according to ancient Indian methods, have not suffered so much from the earthquake as more modern buildings. There is reason to believe that buildings on the *Manasara* plans and methods would be durable and beautiful, as well as comparatively inexpensive.

The patriotism of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Babu Rajendra Prasad and other leaders need not be referred to. But it is not to their or anybody else's patriotism that it is necessary to appeal. The appeal is to common sense. And the common-sense view is that an elaborate and practical handbook of architecture, which has come down from antiquity and which embodies the age-long experience of many experts native to the soil and the climate, should at least be given a trial. To dismiss it without such trial, is to insult ourselves as well as our ancestors. Of course, there should be adaptations to modern conditions, wherever necessary.

### **Sir Abdur Rahim on the Capitation Charges**

During the Budget debate in the Assembly, Sir Abdur Rahim moved a token cut in respect of the demand for the Army Department. : In the course of his speech he said :

India had been treated very inequitably in the matter of capitation charges. Only very meagre facts had been placed before the Assembly, but even those were enough to make the assertion that, while the Government of India had fought

for fairplay, they had been treated very badly. The Army Secretary had admitted during the last debate in the Assembly on this question that India was entitled to more than two crores.

Mr. Tottenham, the Army Secretary, wanted to correct him by saying : "I never said we were entitled but that we had pressed for more." Sir Abdur Rahim replied :

"Supposing your figure had been accepted, it would have been much more than two crores."

Mr. Tottenham : "Yes, but that doesn't mean we were entitled to more" (laughter).

Sir Abdur Rahim : "I dare say you did not put forward the case which you did not believe as being just and fair. These two crores appear to be a sort of a gift to India and it does not meet the situation. We want full justice to the Indian people. We are not asking for dole or charity. British garrisons are maintained in India for imperial purposes. This was a statement made in the Simon Commission Report, which is the political bible of die-hards, whether in England or in India.

"As for the Frontier problem, which is flung in our face every time, I ask whether the state of things is the same now as it was in 1920. Then, what about economies that are possible in the administrative and ancillary services of the army ?"

### **Sin and the Bihar Earthquake**

According to the *Associated Press*,

Patna, March 20.

Mahatma Gandhi addressed the first public meeting at Mangles Tank, Patna City, this afternoon, when large crowds numbering about 40,000 gathered to hear him. An address on behalf of citizens was presented to him.

Gandhiji in the course of his speech said a terrible calamity had befallen them as a punishment for their sins. Their duty after the terrible disaster was to purify themselves.

According to the *United Press*,

Patna, March. 20.

"Sin is the cause of this great calamity, though I cannot say whose sin it is. Sin must be expiated by those who still survive." Thus said Mahatma Gandhi addressing a largely attended public meeting this evening held at Mangles Tank, Patna City.

Both the news agencies agree in reporting that Mahatmaji said that sin was the cause of the Bihar earthquake. The *United Press* adds the words "though I cannot say whose sin it is." That perhaps means that Gandhiji does not know definitely who the persons are whose sin has been punished in this terrible manner. But these persons must be either the present generation of Biharis, killed or wounded by the earthquake, or their ancestors. For it is a well-observed fact that for certain kinds of

wickedness on the part of men and women their descendants suffer, as they likewise profit by the virtues of their ancestors. In the case of infectious or contagious diseases, men also sometimes suffer for the faults of others. Similarly, the good example and the influence of the good character of persons benefit others. All such cases of suffering and benefit admit of scientific explanation.

But Mahatmaji has not explained the laws according to which untouchability, lying, personal impurity, dishonesty, thieving, etc., can bring down strong buildings and thereby kill or wound men, women and children, cause fissures in the soil, spread sand over fertile lands, choke up wells, and so on and so forth. Nor has it been clear to us why God should punish the Biharis alone for the sins of Indians in general, including themselves;—for we are not among those who are in His secrets. It has never been demonstrated or asserted that the Biharis are the most wicked among Indians, or that untouchability, dishonesty, personal impurity, thieving, lying, etc., prevail in Bihar to a greater extent than in any other province or area. Are those in Bihar who have not suffered in life, limb or property by the earthquake entirely sinless or at least more virtuous than those who have suffered? Are those who have suffered most the most sinful? Justice requires that there should be gradation in punishment. Can anybody point out such gradation in the case of the sufferers from earthquake in Bihar? As regards untouchability, in certain parts of the Madras Presidency, for example, this evil custom prevails to a greater extent and in a more heinous form than in Bihar. If untouchability be the cause of the earthquake, why should Bihar be made the scapegoat for the sins of other areas? Of course, according to orthodox Christians, Jesus Christ suffered for the sins of all mankind, so that they might be saved. We do not believe in this doctrine of vicarious punishment or suffering. But even if we did, we do not know that anybody has claimed that the people of Bihar are like Christ and have been punished for the salvation of other Indians.

Somewhat figuratively it is true that all Indians are one family, the inhabitants of Bihar being part of the family. It is true

in the same way, that all men, including the people of Bihar, are one family. It is also true that sometimes innocent members of a family have to suffer for the faults of others. But if the theory that the Biharis are suffering for the sins of all Indians is to be accepted, it should first be established that the earthquake is really a visitation for sins, the causal connection between sin and the destruction of houses etc. and the like and human lives by earthquake should be established and it should be clearly proved why Bihar should have been chosen to suffer for itself and the rest of India. The Mahatma believes what he says and says what he believes. But mere assertions of even the greatest of men without proof cannot and ought not to satisfy all modern minds.

It is as well known to us as to the most loyal and devout of Gandhiji's disciples and followers that he is incapable of knowingly insulting or being cruel to anybody. But it seems to us that to tell the sufferers from the earthquake that they or their near and dear ones who are dead or maimed were or are sinners is to add insult and cruelty to their losses and sufferings. Not that they or any of us are immaculate. But why *practically* mark them out or brand them as sinners *par excellence*?

If sin be the cause of the havoc wrought by the earthquake, piety must be its remedy. And, therefore, if the people of Bihar be pious again, their ruined houses, lands, wells, etc., should be restored to their former condition without any engineering or other effort on the part of official and non-official agencies. We certainly want that men should be virtuous and pious, but not in the expectation that virtue and piety will prevent the loss and suffering caused by earthquakes, hurricanes, inundations etc.

We have said, we are not in the secrets of God, and we, therefore, profess complete agnosticism regarding the moral and spiritual causes of earthquakes, if any. Scientists may or may not have been able to discover the causes of all cosmical or terrestrial convulsions and disturbances. But of some they have been able to find out the causes. Meteorologists are trying to know beforehand the time of the breaking of storms or the approach of floods. On many occasions they have actually been

able to give useful warnings beforehand, though so far as earthquakes are concerned scientists have not to our knowledge received or published premonitions. But it is our belief that if anybody were to say that hurricanes and floods were caused by the sins of sufferers from them, he might be instrumental in misleading people to believe that such terrestrial disturbances being caused by human sin, they could likewise be prevented by human piety, and therefore, meteorologists and other similar scientific men need not carry on their investigations or be listened to.

The idea of punishment should not at all be connected with terrestrial phenomena like earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, etc. They have happened in the past and would happen again in the future irrespective of whether particular continents, countries, provinces, districts, towns and villages are inhabited by the most virtuous people or not. Such things happen in consequence of the operation of natural laws, which also are no doubt expressions of God's will, for not even a leaf falls without His knowledge and will. But it is not correct to think that natural phenomena happen directly or necessarily to punish vice or reward virtue. The same forces of Nature which in some places and on some occasions cause loss and suffering are beneficial and cause happiness in other places and times. It is all in the day's work, and we should accept both kinds of occurrences with equanimity. Sudden or untimely death is not worse, or more terrible than death of the opposite kind. Nor is death necessarily a punishment. It dissolves the body but not the soul. As for property, we cannot take it with us to the next world.

Moreover, we should bear in mind the fact that the anthropocentric idea of the universe is not applicable in all cases. It cannot be said that the Creator of the Universe does everything solely with a view to either rewarding or punishing men. There are other worlds than our own; and other creatures, other organisms, other things than man even in this world. Cosmic and terrestrial phenomena have a bearing on all of them, which ought to be borne in mind, if not also studied.

In conclusion, we should like to add that

justice requires that punishments should fit and be appropriate to offences. Decades ago Rabindranath Tagore wrote a poem which contains two lines in which, referring to the treatment received by the so-called untouchables and other similar classes in our country, he says: "O my luckless country, to those whom you have humiliated—you will have to be equal to them in your own humiliation." That India is a pariah among nations, appears to us to be a more appropriate and scientifically explicable punishment for the evil customs of untouchability and the like than the Bihar earthquake.

As an example of the opposite kind of thing happening to a nation, take the case of Japan. That country had the *Samurai* as its highest caste whose profession was to fight and to rule, and its *Eta*, who were the lowest caste and were untouchables. The *Samurai* gave up their privileges of their own accord, and the stigma of untouchability was removed from the brows of the *Eta*. Japan's high place among nations is due in the last resort in part at least to the uplift of the lowly and the relinquishment of privileges by the aristocracy.

### *Independence for the Philippines*

According to a Reuter's telegram,

President Roosevelt has signed the Philippine Independence Bill already approved by the Congress granting independence within ten to twelve years. The measure is subject to approval by the Philippine Legislature, which must accept the terms of the Bill by October 1, otherwise the Bill lapses.

The terms of the Bill have not yet been cabled. But if the Filipinos get independence or even internal autonomy twelve years hence, they will get after 46 years of American occupation of their islands what India has not got after more than a century and a half of British occupation. Even now, the Filipinos have a far better constitution than what the White Paper promises to India.

### *Lord Willingdon on Lord Irwin*

In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* Antony begins his funeral oration thus:—

"Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears; I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him."

In unveiling the statue of Lord Irwin, who is happily still in the land of the living, Lord Willingdon might have said :

"Friends, Britons, Indians, lend me your ears ; I come to praise Irwin, though I buried the Irwin-Gandhi pact."

### *Devanagari As Common Script*

The address of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda as president of the Hindi Conference at Delhi, which was read out for him in his absence, contains the following passage :

"As to the question of a common script for India, I am opposed to Roman for the same reason that I am opposed to English vernacular. It is not rooted in our soil. It is like the esperanto, an artificial product, not admittedly great, dozens of alphabets added to the confusion of tongues. But as in Hindi we can arrive at a *Lingua Franca*, so Devanagari is our natural common script. Any one who knows the Sanskrit characters can easily learn to read all the derivative scripts. Enlightened patriotism calls for a national tongue and reason urges that we achieve a standard and universal script. Our great neighbour China with four hundred million people is now teaching a common set of characters to all, and producing a new literature in the common tongue. If China in turmoil can do it, we can."

The adoption of Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani as the *Lingua Indica* does not involve the giving up or the suppression of the other living languages of India. When there is such a *Lingua Indica*, it will be used by those whose mother tongue it is not, only for interprovincial communication and for All-India purposes ; but at the same time those whose mother tongue it is not will continue to use their mother tongue and cultivate its literature. If, however, there is a common script for India of Indian origin, it must lead to the giving up of all other indigenous scripts. For, otherwise, except in the areas whose script is to become the common script of India, there would be two scripts, *viz.*, the All-India and the provincial. But that would be very inconvenient. In Andhra-desa or Tamil Nad or Orissa or Bengal or Assam, for example, it would be necessary to print Telugu, Tamil, Oriya, Bengali or Assamese books in two scripts. But if the All-India script alone were used in supersession of every other script, it would be necessary to print all books only in one script. That would be very convenient.

But we should be very careful in our choice and adoption of a script. Supposing all provinces of India agreed to have a Sanskrit script, of which we are not sure, though our personal predilection is in favour of such a script, it would by no means even then follow that Nagari would be the most suitable. It is neither the easiest nor the most convenient to read, write or print and perhaps it is not also the oldest.

It is true the Roman script is not rooted in our soil. But it was not rooted in the soil of Turkey, yet Turkey has adopted it. In saying this we are not arguing in favour of the adoption of the Roman script. What we mean is that, if a change has to be made, let us adopt that script which will make reading, writing and printing easiest for our children and children's children. There was a time when the Deva Nagari script did not exist. There were then older scripts which appeared to be rooted in our soil. Yet they have disappeared. If we make a good choice now, it will become rooted in the soil in course of time. It should also be borne in mind that no alphabet, no script, is perfect as a whole ;—some letters may be taken and kept as they are, others may have to be rejected, still others may have to be altered a little and some new ones may have to be added.

If unobjectionable from other points of view, that script would be preferable which would make it most practicable for Indians to have cultural and commercial relations with the largest number of men in and outside India.

### *Khan Obaidullah Khan Not to be Released.*

It is much to be regretted that the Viceroy has refused to intervene in the matter of the suggested release of Khan Obaidullah Khan who is lying seriously ill at Multan jail. No doubt,\* the matter is strictly within the jurisdiction of the N.-W. F. Province Government. But the Viceroy could have influenced that Government if he chose to do so.

### *"Why Not Poison Him?"*

With reference to this same gentleman (Khan Obaidullah Khan) Mr. Maswood

Ahmed, M.L.A., asked the Home Member in the Assembly, "If the Government propose to get rid of the man for ever, why not poison him?" This was to be sure a most astounding question, one of the like of which has been, we believe, never asked in any legislative chamber. Does Mr. Maswood Ahmed know or suspect or imagine that the Government ever wanted to get rid of once for all and therefore poisoned any prisoner, internce or detenu, that he asked such a question? The matter arose thus:

New Delhi, Mar. 16.

Replying to Mr. Maswood Ahmed whether any correspondence had passed between the Government of India and the Government of North-West Frontier Province in connection with the illness of Obeidullah Khan, a political prisoner, now confined in Multan Central Jail, Sir Harry Haig stated that the Frontier Government had reported to the Government of India the facts which were subsequently published in a communique. The Government of India did not propose to take up with the Government of North-West Frontier Province the question of Obeidullah Khan's release, as the prisoner was undergoing imprisonment in default of giving security under section 40 of the Frontier Crimes Regulation and the Government of India were not prepared to interfere in the matter of his release, which was a concern of the Frontier Government.

Volleys of supplementary questions were asked from all corners of the House regarding the release and illness of Obeidullah Khan.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed asked whether it was not a fact that Obeidullah Khan has been suffering from tuberculosis.

Sir Harry Haig: I understand that is so.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: Did he not first contract the disease at Multan?

Sir Harry Haig: I have no information as to when and where the disease was contracted.

Dewan Lalchand Navalrai: Are not the Government of India in view of the prisoner's serious illness and in view of the Frontier Government not taking proper steps prepared to interfere in the matter?

Sir Harry Haig: Certainly not. The prisoner resorted to hunger-strike and in my judgment the Government of India cannot interfere.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: Is not Obeidullah Khan's case a peculiar one, inasmuch as he has been sent to the Multan Jail by the Frontier Government while responsibility of his health lies with the Panjab Government?

Sir Harry Haig: I don't think there is any serious complication there. The responsibility of his release lies with the Frontier Government.

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chowdhury: Why did the prisoner resort to hunger-strike?

Sir Harry Haig: Shortly after his deportation he resorted to hunger-strike and this is the fifth occasion of hunger-strike apparently as a protest against his retransfer to Multan Jail.

Mr. Lahiri Chowdhury: Who will be responsible for the prisoner's death?

Sir Harry Haig: If a man resorts to hunger-strike and dies, the responsibility lies with him.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed: Obeidullah Khan contracted the disease at Multan, the climate of which place does not suit him. Why, then, he has been sent back there?

Mr. Navalrai: Who will be responsible if he dies?

Sir Harry Haig: The man himself who resorts to hunger-strikes voluntarily.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: Haven't the Government of India intervened on similar occasions in the past?

Sir Harry Haig: I have no recollection, except in one case, which we do regard as peculiarly our own, namely, the case of Mr. Gandhi. (Laughter).

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed: As he contracted tuberculosis in Multan is not it an essential part of jail discipline that he should not be kept in Multan?

Sir Harry Haig: He was sent to Multan, as the Government considered it to be in the interest of his health.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: Will the Government enquire if he had tuberculosis at Multan?

Sir Harry Haig: I don't propose to make any enquiry.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed: If the Government propose to get rid of the man for ever, why not poison him?

Sir Harry Haig: That's not a reasonable way of looking at a hunger-striker who chooses to do so voluntarily, with the result that he has impaired his health.

Mr. Gayaprasad Singh: Are the Government aware that the mother of Obeidullah sent telegrams to the Members of the Assembly stating that the condition of the prisoner is precarious?

Sir Harry Haig: I am quite aware of the pressure that has been brought to bear on the members.

Mr. Gayaprasad Singh: How a telegram appealing for justice and sympathy can be regarded as pressure being brought to bear? (applause).

Sir Harry Haig: Members assume that certain action ought to have been taken. There I differ.

—United Press.

The impression in the mind of the public is that in many cases prisoners, internees, deportees or detenus do not get the treatment to which they are entitled even according to the jail code, that they seek remedies through the proper channel, and when they fail to get justice that way, they resort to hungerstrike. And at this stage Government officers refuse to enquire into the matter on the ground that the hungerstrikers want to force the hands of the Government. A sort of vicious circle comes into existence in this way.

It is encouraging to find that members of the Assembly from different provinces and communities interested themselves in the tragic case of Khan Obeidullah Khan. It is to be hoped this attitude would be kept up

in other cases also. The number of men deprived of their liberty without trial is larger in Bengal than elsewhere. Some of these men contracted tuberculosis or some other serious illness while in a state of detention, which ended fatally in not a very few cases. To be interested in the cases of such persons, one must remove from one's mind the assumption that they are terrorists (as that has never been proved), as also the assumption that terrorists are not entitled to humane treatment, for the worst of human beings are entitled to humane treatment.

### *Vernacularization of Calcutta University Matriculation*

The Hon'ble Khwaja Nazimuddin, Education Minister of Bengal, has recently stated that the Bengal Government approve of the vernacular vehicle of instruction and examination being adopted for the Calcutta University Matriculation, and that details are to be settled at a conference to which the University will be asked to send six delegates.

The approval could and should have been given long ago. But perhaps the Khwaja Sahab could not make up his mind until His Highness and Holiness the Right Honourable the Aga Khan, who is not a Bengali and does not know Bengali, gave an unsolicited and unwanted certificate to the Bengali language and literature and asked Mussalman Bengalis to cultivate it.

As for the details of the vernacularization scheme to be settled at the Conference, there is some curiosity and much greater apprehension felt. The conference, one may be sure, will consist of at least 13 members, so that, even if all the University nominees were left-wingers, they might be easily outvoted.

### *"Whither Britain"*

Mr. G. B. Shaw gave a broadcast talk in London in February last in the series named "Whither Britain." A summary of his talk runs as follows:

Mr. Shaw said that the instinct not only of the distant Indian but even of the nearby Welshman, the Irishman, and the Scot, was to resent and repudiate Imperial dominance, so that if we were to preserve the connection, we must make it appear

flattering and advantageous to all the parts of the Empire, giving them Home Rule, calling them Dominions instead of Colonies, and putting them on the same footing as what we called the Mother Country, or even on a better one. But let them think what that might lead to. There was only a handful of English-speaking people with pink skins in the Dominions. The Indians outnumbered the rest of the Empire, including England, five to one. Consequently, the effect of making India a Dominion, in the Canadian sense, would be that England would become, in effect, a Dominion of India, and England might not like that. England might break off from the Empire, as the United States did.

He could not feel sure of the permanence of any intimate political combination not based on homogeneity—on the people in the combination being reasonably like one another in their tastes and religious faiths, their traditions and hopes. A combination of the northern States of Europe with the United States of America, and with Australia and New Zealand, would be far more homogeneous than any possible combination of Europeans and Asiatics. If he were a stranger from another planet he would say that an attempt to combine England with India before England was combined with the United States on the one side and with all her Western European neighbours on the other was a crazy reversal of the natural order of things, and could not possibly last. If we did not make the constituents of the Empire so independent of England that England would have nothing to do but support an enormously expensive Navy to protect them, they would break off as the American Colonies did; yet if we granted them that independence, the tail would wag the dog, as it did very vigorously at the Ottawa Conference.

Mr. G. B. Shaw dared to refer to Indians, Welshmen, Irishmen and Scots resenting and repudiating Imperial dominance, because, unlike Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, he talked in a place outside the jurisdiction of the Calcutta police and Chief Presidency Magistrate! Is it not?

### *A Gratuitous Jibe at the Bengali's "Babu English."*

The following passage occurs in the presidential address of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda, read at the twenty-third session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan held at Delhi last month:

That Hindi can be made the vehicle of a great literature Tulsidas and Kabir showed. And a Bengali can learn it in a few days—whereas it takes him many years to speak even the Babu-speech which makes him a joke to those whose Macaulayan English he apes.

It is not clear why the Bengali or his "Babu-speech" has been brought in here. Rivalry or professional jealousy, or offended



dignity could not have been the cause. For the Maharaja is not an aspirant for clerkships to which Bengali Babus aspire, nor do the Bengali Babus want to become ruling princes. There are numerous Bengalis who speak Hindi as well as the average man whose mother tongue it is. Some Bengalis have written and others continue to write good Hindi. The Maharaja has great wealth and power to serve the cause of Hindi. But some Bengalis, too, have served and continue to serve its cause according to their resources.

The Maharaja's address has appeared in the papers in English. It is not stated whether it was originally written in English. If it was written in English, not in Hindi, which it ought to have been, that would go to show that the Maharaja was lacking in a sufficient knowledge of Hindi.

As for Babu-English, it is no discredit for a foreigner not to be able to speak and write English like Englishmen; but if a Bengali cannot speak and write Bengali correctly, that is discreditable to him. Bengalis are not the only foreigners who cannot speak and write English like Englishmen. And in spite of their Babu-English some Bengalis have attained distinction as writers of English. For example, in a letter to Rammohun Roy, one of the earliest Babus to speak and write English, Jeremy Bentham, the English philosopher, wrote: "Your works are made known to me by a book, in which I read a style, which, but for the name of a Hindu, I should certainly have ascribed to the pen of a superiorly educated and instructed Englishman." In the same letter, he praised the *History of India* by James Mill, but added: "though as to style I wish I could with truth and sincerity pronounce it equal to yours." Rammohun Roy's writings, however, have no place in English literature proper. But perhaps Babu Rabindranath Tagore's writings may occupy a small corner in it, as also those of Toru Dutt and Sarojini Naidu, daughters of Babus.

### *The Japanese Budget and The Indian Central and Provincial Budgets*

For weeks past, newspapers have maintained discussions of various items in the

Central and the many Provincial Budgets, and the council chambers have rung with debates relating to budget allotments and proposed cuts. Whether the Central Budget or any Provincial Budget is considered, one thing must strike the observer, *viz.*, the poverty of India. In spite of the Central and Provincial Governments having taxed the people to as great an extent as they can bear, how small, comparatively speaking, are the amounts budgeted for! One need not consider the budgets of wealthy Western countries like the U. S. A. or Great Britain. Even the budget of a comparatively small Asiatic country like Japan gives evidence of greater wealth than India. The weekly edition of the *Japan Chronicle*, dated February 22 last, states that the 2,120,000,000 yen budget was passed after feeble debate. According to the normal value of the yen, it is equivalent to 2 *sh.* and 1½ *d.* or say, roughly, Re. 1-8. So the amount budgeted for is Rs. 318,00,00,000 (three hundred and eighteen crores of rupees). The population of Japan proper is 6,44,50,005 (Oct. 1, 1930) and of the Japanese empire 9,03,96,043. The population of British India is 27,15,26,933. If the Japanese budget is a budget for the whole empire, then, according to the proportion which British India's population bears to that of the Japanese empire, *viz.*, 3 : 1, our central and all the provincial budgets combined ought to be for Rs. 954,00,000,000 (nine hundred and fifty-four crores of rupees), if India were as rich as Japan. But if the Japanese budget is for Japan proper alone, then as British India's population is more than four times that of Japan, our central and provincial budgets combined ought to be for Rs. 1,272,00,000,000 (twelve hundred and seventy-two crores of rupees). The budget estimates of all the provinces for 1934-35 are not before us. In the *Statesman's Year-book* for 1933 the total revenue (revised estimates) of the central and all the provincial Governments in 1931-32 is given as Rs. 203,72,52,000. It is stated in the same book that the above excludes the revenue of municipalities and district and local boards. Perhaps the Japanese budget does not include the revenues of Japanese municipalities and district and local boards. But if it does, let us add to our central and provincial revenues for 1931-32 the gross

income for 1929-30 of all our municipalities—Rs. 37,77,90,999—and the gross income in the same year of all our district and local boards, namely, Rs. 16,36,58,453, which are given in the aforesaid work. The total then comes to Rs. 257,87,01,452. Even this is much less than the amount budgeted for by Japan, and very much less than what our revenues ought to be according to the Japanese scale.

Japan is rich because she can spend much more in her "nation-building" departments than India, and she can spend much more than India because she is rich. So, that which is the cause from one point of view is the effect from the other point of view. From whichever point of view we consider the matter, Japan is able to do what she does, because she is self-ruling. India cannot become wealthier unless more is spent on her nation-building activities, and she cannot spend more on them unless she is wealthier. And it is obvious that she cannot be or do either until and unless she is self-ruling.

Therefore, though discussion of the details of the central and provincial budgets has its limited uses, the essential and main Indian endeavour should be directed towards the attainment of self-rule.

### *Schools for the Feeble-minded*

In the United States of America, with less than half the population of British India, there were 303 schools for feeble-minded children in 1927 with a total of 1,04,021 pupils—58,966 boys and 45,055 girls. So far as we are aware, in the whole of India there is only one school for Indian feeble-minded children at Jhargram in the Midnapur district of Bengal. It has 8 pupils—7 boys and 1 girl. One of the boys belongs to Hyderabad, Sindh. Even this small school is sorely in need of financial help. Recently Mr. Bottomley, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, visited the school and was satisfied with its working.

### *The Meaning of Austria*

Austria is at present a very small State, containing a population of about 68 lakhs. But the political changes which have recently occurred there are in importance

out of all proportion to this small population. The leading article in *The Inquirer* of London for March 3 last, goes so far as to say that "it may well be that the fate of democratic government in the West has been decided by the crushing of Austrian democracy." According to *The New Republic* of America:

The meaning of the Austrian tragedy, beneath all the surface complications, emerges. It is but a step in preparation of a new European holocaust, in which the workers, having been defeated at home and absorbed into capitalist states, will be set murdering one another across national boundaries.

From these two brief extracts the reader should be able to judge of the timeliness and importance of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's dispassionate and informing article on Austria in the present number of *The Modern Review*.

### *Bengal, Not "the favoured child"*

It is a misfortune that in India there are communal dissensions, jealousies and bickerings, that there have cropped up linguistic jealousies, and that there are provincial jealousies to boot. While it may be a painful necessity to have sometimes to try to remedy injustice and wrong to particular communities and provinces, no Indian should knowingly say or do anything to aggravate the state of tension produced by the afore said jealousies, dissensions and bickerings. Some one has called Bengal a 'naughty child.' He ought not to have used the expression. But it is not necessary to take further notice of it. Others have spoken of Bengal as the "favoured child" of the Government. If Bengal were really favoured by the Government, Bengalis would not be proud of the fact. Sir Bampfylde Fuller spoke of the Mussalman Bengalis as his favourite wife. That expression was not appreciated by sensible Mussalman Bengalis.

As a matter of fact Bengal is not the favoured child of the Government. It is reluctantly and with some pain that in proof of our assertion we have to repeat certain facts which have been published in this *Review* more than once in previous numbers.

The following paragraph is from the Report of the Bengal Government's Retrenchment Committee, 1932 :

"The total revenues of the Government of India in the same year 1921-22, amounted to Rs. 64,52,66,000, of which Bengal contributed no less than Rs. 23,11,98,000. Its unfortunate position, therefore, was due, not to the natural poverty of the province, but solely to the method of allocating the total revenues of India between the provinces and the Central Government. The difficulties of the Government of Bengal were enhanced by the fact that the sources of revenue assigned to it were inelastic and gave little prospect of expansion in the near future.

Of the sources of revenue assigned to Bengal, excise is one. With more than double the population of Bombay Bengal's excise revenue is less than that of Bombay by Rs. 161 lakhs. With a population smaller than that of Bengal by more than three millions, Madras has an excise revenue exceeding that of Bengal by 336 lakhs. Bengal can, of course, make this source of revenue elastic by greater addiction to drink. But Bengal prefers temperance and inelasticity of this source of revenue.

The paragraph quoted above from the Bengal Retrenchment Committee's Report shows that in 1921-22 the Government of India derived more than 35 per cent of its total revenue from the one province of Bengal. That was not a favour shown to Bengal.

Nor was 1921-22 the only year when the Central Government took an excessive amount from Bengal. It has been a continuous process. Take another year, the year 1928-29, for example. In that year the provinces contributed to the Central Exchequer the sums shown against them in the following table :

	Rs.
Madras	7,14,00,000
Bombay	5,84,00,000
U. P.	7,17,00,000
Panjab	3,46,00,000
B. & O.	5,76,00,000
C. P. & B.	2,25,00,000
Assam	1,27,00,000
Bengal	16,59,00,000

This table shows that in 1928-29, next to Bengal the largest contributors to the Central Exchequer were the United Provinces and Madras. But these two provinces combined contributed only Rs. 14,31,00,000, which was Rs. 2,28,00,000 less than Bengal's contribution ! Forced contribution, of course. This was not a favour shown to Bengal.

Our point is, not that more money ought to have been taken from the other provinces, but that less ought to have been taken from Bengal.

That can be done by the Central Government effecting economies in its expenditure.

### *The Permanent Settlement*

It is usual to assert that, if it were not for the Permanent Settlement of land revenue, Bengal would have got sufficient money for all kinds of expenditure. But the existence of the Permanent Settlement cannot be a justification for taking an excessive amount from Bengal by bleeding her white.

The Permanent Settlement was not concluded by the Government with a view to showing favour to Bengal. Let us see what Rammohun Roy, who had nothing to do with our present-day provincial jealousies and controversies, wrote about it. Said he :

"The amount of assessment fixed on the lands of those provinces (Bengal, Behar and Orissa) at the time of the Permanent Settlement (1793), was as high as had ever been assessed, and in many instances higher than had ever before been realized by the exertions of any government, Mohamedan or British. Therefore, the Government sacrificed nothing in concluding that settlement. If it had not been formed, the landholders (*Zemindars*) would always have taken care to prevent the revenue from increasing by not bringing the waste lands into cultivation, and by collusive arrangements to elude further demands; while the state of the cultivators would not have been at all better than it is now."

We refrain from quoting Rammohun Roy further to show how the Government at that time got more revenue by concluding the Permanent Settlement than by periodical settlements, as in this note our object is merely to point out that the Permanent Settlement was not concluded as a piece of favour to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, but as a measure of necessity. It should also be borne in mind that, as Rammohun Roy was a champion of the peasants, he cannot be accused of special pleading on behalf of the landholders.

If the Permanent Settlement has been beneficial to the landholders, which we doubt, it has benefited solely or mainly that small body of men, not all Bengal or Bengalis in general. On account of it, the zemindars as a class, with some exceptions, have become indolent and unenterprising spendthrifts, in consequence of their hundreds of their estates in district after district have been sold for a song owing to their inability to pay the land revenue due.

As regards the number of men in Bengal who may have got more money from the land owing to the Permanent Settlement than they could have otherwise done, a definite idea can be formed from the number of estates in the province, which is 1,01,594. As landholders generally own several estates each, the number of zemindars can be counted only in thousands, whereas the total population of Bengal is more than fifty millions.

Exaggerated ideas prevail as to the land revenue which Bengal *should* pay. The following table shows the areas in square miles of the bigger provinces of India, and the land revenue in rupees collected from them in 1930-31, the latest year for which figures have been given in the *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1933* :

Province.	Area in Square miles.	Land revenue.
Madras	142,277	488,61,964
Bombay	123,679	474,45,139
Bengal	77,521	308,93,102
United Provinces	106,248	617,98,933
Punjab	99,200	269,12,631
Bihar and Orissa	83,051	180,03,708
C. P. and Berar	99,920	218,50,292

This table shows that in area Bengal is the smallest of the major provinces, but it is not Bengal which pays the smallest amount as land revenue. Considering area, the United Provinces have to pay an exorbitantly high land revenue, which explains the genesis of the agrarian movement there.

It is, no doubt, true that the area of the cultivated and cultivable land in each province is not in every case proportionate to its total area. So let us see how much such land each province has.

The figures are in millions of acres.

Province	Net Area actually sown	Current fallows	Culturable waste other than fallow
Madras	34	10	12
Bombay	32	10	6
Bengal	23	5	5
United Provinces	35	2	10
Punjab	26	4	14
Bihar and Orissa	24	6	6
C. P. and Berar	25	3	14

In this table also Bengal is found to be at the bottom as regards the net area of land actually sown, as also the total of such land *plus* current fallows and culturable waste other than fallow.

So, from whatever point of view we look at the matter, Bengal should not be expected to pay a very much larger land revenue than she does. It may be that some of her land is very fertile. But that is the case with most other provinces. On the other hand, Bengal labours under two disadvantages ; *viz.*, she has to support a larger agricultural population than any other province, and she does not enjoy to any appreciable extent the advantage of productive Government irrigation works, which most other provinces do.

### *Statue of Sir Asutosh Mukhopadhyay Unveiled*

That men should be known or characterized by their being likened to some lower



Statue of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee  
By the Courtesy of Ananda Bazar Patrika

animal or other is not a practice to be proud of. For Man is higher than the highest of

lower animals. But even the ancients in India and foreign countries used to compare some men to lions, tigers, bulls, etc., and even the gait of beautiful women used to be likened to the movements of elephants! So there is no help for it. But for all that, it is not because Sir Asutosh Mukhopadhyay has been styled by his admirers "The Bengal Tiger," that he has deserved a statue—though, of course, if wolves, foxes, jackals and asses have statues erected to their memory, a Tiger among men certainly deserved one. The reason why Sir Asutosh deserved a statue is that he had a high and comprehensive intellectual ideal for the Calcutta University and did great things courageously and sagaciously to realize that ideal.

He was a Swadeshist. And it is, therefore, fitting that his statue should have been made by an Indian artist, Mr. Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury, principal of the Madras School of Arts. It is to be hoped that in future the casting in bronze of such statues would also be possible in India.

### *Irrigation in the Provinces*

The following two tables, taken from the *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1933*, show the advantages of Government canal irrigation enjoyed by some provinces.

#### PRODUCTIVE WORKS

Province	Mileage	Capital outlay
Madras	3,749	126553942
Bombay	4,986	194475766
Bengal	Nil	6743541
United Provinces	2372	220025636
Panjab	3266	327802051
Burma	354	21221281
N.-W. F. Province	86	7407400

#### UNPRODUCTIVE WORKS

Province	Mileage	Capital outlay
Madras	716	40394528
Bombay	2832	128287004
Bengal	70	8492053
United Provinces	447	31186812
Panjab	1047	5967198
Burma	140	17030509
Bihar and Orissa	718	62763915
Central Provinces	352	66317678
N.-W. F. Province	138	22014647

These two tables show that in irrigation Bengal has not been treated as a favoured child, though she stands sorely in need of irrigation. Another table is given below to support that conclusion.

Province.	Acres irrigated from Government canals
Madras	3700567
Bombay	3209387
Bengal	77188
United Provinces	3060320
Panjab	10238527
Burma	663356
Bihar and Orissa	775241
N.-W. F. Province	392055

### *Education: Agricultural and Training Colleges*

Bengal is the most populous province. But its educational expenditure from Government funds is less than that of Madras, Bombay, U. P. and the Panjab. The actual figures were given in our last number. This does not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

While there are agricultural colleges in Madras, Bombay, U. P., Panjab, Burma, and U. P. and Berar, of which the expenses were given in our last number, Bengal has no agricultural college. This does not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

The Eighth Quinquennial Review of Education in Bengal, 1927-1932, says:

"When we consider how many schools there are in Bengal and how few trained teachers, the output of the training colleges seems a mere drop in the bucket; 78 per cent of the high school teachers in Madras are trained, and 81 per cent of the middle school teachers. In Bengal there are only 13 per cent trained teachers in high schools and only 27 per cent in middle schools."

These figures do not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

### *Revenues Left to Different Provinces for their Expenditure*

It has been shown before that the Central Government takes from Bengal a much greater proportion of and a much greater actual amount from the revenues collected within the province than from any other province, with the result that an utterly inadequate amount is left for her provincial expenses. With populations of 21, 23, 48, and 50 millions respectively, Bombay, the Panjab, the U. P. and Bengal are to be allowed by the Central Government in 1934-35 to have for provincial expenditure 1522, 1066, 1150, and 907 lakhs respectively. This does not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

### *Meston Award and the Provinces*

The Meston Award has hit some provinces hard, Bengal being the hardest hit, as shown above. But Bengal has never stood in the way of any other province obtaining justice, nor called it a favoured child of the Government.

### *Bengal and Jute Export Duty*

All this talk of Bengal being the favoured child has arisen out of the fact that the Central Government has been convinced that the appropriation of the jute export duty by the Central Government has been unjust to Bengal, and also to Assam and Bihar. But instead of allowing Bengal, Assam and Bihar to have the whole of what is collected in these provinces, the Government of India has decided to let them keep only half of the proceeds of the duty.

Now, this is not charity, not dole, but only very partial reparation of a wrong. From the year in which the duty was imposed, the Government of India has got from this source some sixty crores of rupees. To this large sum, the Central Government was not at all entitled; as the duty was not an import but an export duty, and the thing exported was a monopoly, mostly of Bengal, and in small part of Assam and Bihar.

If any other province is entitled to get or keep the whole or part of any other tax, it should certainly have it. Bengal will not stand in the way or be jealous or say that that province is a favoured child of the Government.

### *Excise Duty on Matches, and "Assistance" to Bengal !*

The mischief is due in great part, if not entirely, to the language used by Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member, in stating how he would remedy the wrong done to Bengal. By the Central Government's legalized misappropriation of a great part of Bengal's revenues, Bengal has been reduced to poverty. Therefore, if the legalized misappropriation is to cease entirely or in part, the honest thing to do is to repent and to say that there will not be any legalized misappropriation any longer. But instead of doing that Sir George

Schuster describes Bengal as a beggar who requires charity. Mark his language. Paragraph 33 of his budget speech is entitled proposal for financial assistance to Bengal. First the province is artificially beggared and then there is talk of assisting it !

Then we are told, "the need for some special help to Bengal has been recognized in the White Paper : . . ." because Bengal has been piling up deficits ! As the Central Government has been exacting forced contributions, what could Bengal do but pile up deficits ?

Not only the people of Bengal but successive Governors of Bengal have protested against the Central Government taking away the proceeds of the jute duty. Moreover, the Aga Khan, in a recent speech of his, has supported Bengal's claim to the whole of the jute export duty, stating that he and those with whom he was associated at the Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee's sittings had throughout supported this claim as entirely just.

It was wrong on the part of Sir George Schuster to state in paragraph 34 of his budget speech that the imposition of an excise duty on matches was meant to *help* Bengal. This led non-Bengalis in particular to think that they were being taxed to give alms to Bengal. It should be borne in mind that, but for the 60 crores of rupees of the jute export duty taken mostly from Bengal, all the provinces would have had to be taxed to a much greater extent, and that Bengal, being the most populous province, would have to pay a greater portion of the matches duty than any other province.

Not that we support the matches duty or sugar duty or any other duty going to be imposed. The Central Government should and could have met all just claims and expenses by wise economy without fresh taxation.

### *Some Advantages Accruing to Provinces other than Bengal*

Many persons have thought and said that Bengal has been greatly favoured by the Government by the Permanent Settlement. We have briefly stated some facts relating to it in a previous note. Let us assume, however, that it has been of great advantage to

Bengal. The question is, have not the Government done other things which have benefited mainly provinces other than Bengal?

Vast sums have been spent on irrigation works. Very little of these have fallen to Bengal's share.

The Government have spent very much less for giving education to Bengal than to many other provinces.

The textile protective duties have brought wealth mainly to Bombay, and Bengal, having few cotton mills, has only had to pay higher price for cloth and yarn. Of course, Bengal may be foolish and wanting in business ability and enterprise, and may be to blame. But we are stating facts.

The iron and steel protective duties have benefited mostly Bombay. Bengal has had to purchase iron and steel goods at a higher price.

The import duty on wheat has benefited mainly the Panjab and the U. P. and next to them C. P. and Berar, Bombay, and B. and O. Bengal has had to purchase wheat at a higher price, cheap Australian wheat having been made dear by the import duty on wheat.

Being the largest consumer of salt Bengal has suffered from the salt duty most, the Government have not helped or encouraged Bengal to manufacture salt, and the Bombay-Alien merchants have gained most.

It may be that it is due to Bengal's lack of ability that she has not gained any advantage from these duties, etc.; but she has at least refrained from insulting the other provinces by wrongly saying that they are the favoured children of the Government. For the promotion of Swadesham and national unity Bengal has cheerfully paid higher prices and suffered in other ways, and is prepared to do so in the future also. She does not grudge any province's good luck or reward for enterprise.

### *"Favoured Child" Indeed !*

Bengal, which is mostly a uni-lingual province, has been dismembered three times—once, when some Bengali-speaking areas were tacked on to Assam in the last century; secondly, when Bengal was partitioned to create the province of East Bengal and Assam; and thirdly, when in the alleged act of unsettling

the Curzonian Partition of Bengal, some Bengali-speaking areas were separated from Bengal and tacked on to Bihar. Hundreds of Bengali youths have been detained for indefinite periods at Deoli, Buxa and Hijli detention camps and in some ordinary jails without trial. Nobody has ever proved or even tried to prove that they are terrorists. In the two houses of the present Central Legislature Bengal has not been given the number of representatives she is entitled to on the basis of population, or on the bases of cultural progress, volume of trade, manufactures, agricultural produce, extraction of minerals, etc. In the White Paper proposals also Bengal has been given a smaller number of seats in the Central Legislature than she would be entitled to on the basis of population or any other basis.

These facts do not show that Bengal is a favoured child.

### *The Late Princess Kamala Raja Scindia*

The accidental death of the Princess Kamala Raja Scindia of Gwalior so soon after her marriage is a great tragedy. She was an educated and accomplished princess—educated



Princess Kamala Raja Scindia

and accomplished not only in the ordinary but also in the Maratha sense. A brief character sketch of the princess by Professor Hira Lal Chatterjee has to be held over for our next issue on account of want of space in the present number.

### *Disabilities of "Harijans" in Madras*

Mahatma Gandhi has published in *Harijan* for March 9, 1934, a catalogue of the disabilities of 'Adi-Hindus of Tamil Districts' which he has condensed from a memorandum received by him at Coonoor. This indictment of Madras 'caste-Hindus' consists of 17 counts with many more sub-counts, concluding with the 18th count, which runs :

"We feel sorry that your august person has not taken birth in the 'Adi-Hindu' community to realize our practical difficulties."

The list of disabilities is really formidable, as Gandhiji says, and reflects the greatest discredit on the Hindu community of South India. On going through it one does not wonder that a person like Mahatma Gandhi, who feels so much for the 'Adi-Hindus', thinks that the Bihar earthquake was caused by the sin of untouchability.

Gandhiji has appended the following remarks to the catalogue :

This is a formidable catalogue. There is no exaggeration in it, if one or two mental reservations are understood. Every statement is true of some place. No disability is universal. Some are rare. And all are being abated by voluntary effort. These reservations should be known in order to get the proper perspective. They do not in any way reduce caste-Hindus' shame or warrant inaction on the part of reformers. The shame of caste-Hindus will continue so long as these disabilities are practised in the name of religion, no matter how little or great an extent. It is the clear duty of Sanatanists, so-called, to denounce the disabilities in the severest possible language and join hands with the reformers in protecting Harijans from humiliation heaped upon them under the sanction of religious custom. The eighteenth grievance which the signatories have specially underlined I regard as a compliment paid by them to me. Yes, it is quite possible that I would have felt the force of these terrible grievances much more, had I been born an Adi-Hindu. Not having had that luck, I have become one by adoption. There will be no rest for me, nor society, so long as untouchability persists.

### *The late Pandit Shyamlal Nehru*

The late Pandit Shyamlal Nehru, whose sudden death was announced last month, had not been recently taking much active part in public life. His activities in connection with Mrs. Besant's Home Rule movement and with the Congress movement, and what he did in relation to the now defunct *Independent of Allahabad* and as an M. L. A., were recalled by several members of the Legislative

Assembly when appropriate references, were made to him.

### *The late Raja Sir Motichand*

At the public meeting recently held in the Calcutta Albert Hall to pay respect to the memory of the late Raja Sir Motichand of Benares, references were made to the culture and philanthropy of the deceased gentleman. He made a gift of one lakh of rupees to the Benares University, founded and maintained the Anath Ashram and gave regular help to many institutions. He was a champion of the Swadeshi movement and founded the Benares Bank. A memorial meeting in Calcutta in honour of a Benares *rais* must not be considered a formal affair, for cordial relations existed between many men of Bengal and Raja Sir Motichand and his relatives like Babu Shivaprasad Gupta, Babu Gokulchand and the late Babu Mangalprasad.

### *The late Babu Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhuri*

The late Babu Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhuri of Natuda, who was the premier landlord of the Nadia district, died recently in Calcutta at the advanced age of 86. He belonged to a generation of which there are not many survivors in Bengal today. He will be remembered for his educational donations, for having established and maintained a high school, and a charitable dispensary and hospital, and for his work as Vice-Chairman of the District Board. Above all, he will be remembered for having successfully and stoutly fought the powerful European indigo-planters of his district, thereby recovering a great part of his extensive property from their clutches and saved the tenants from their oppression.

### *The Late R. B. Sundar Das Suri*

The late Rai Bahadur Sundar Das Suri, who died recently at Lahore at the age of about 77, was a noted educationist of the Panjab. The last appointment which he held in the public service was that of Inspector of Schools. He was a Fellow of the Panjab University and a Trustee of the Dyal Singh College and Library from their very inception. He had a wide knowledge of economics. His



book on "Some Aspects of the Gold Standard" was published in February last. He was a pioneer of the education of girls and women in the Panjab. He introduced co-education in the Dyal Singh College.

### *Communalism in Education in the Panjab*

For some time past efforts have been going on for the introduction of "communal representation" in the Panjab University. Dr. Lucas's recent resolution in favour of so-called adequate representation of different Indian communities in it is a thin (or rather thick) end of the wedge. The idea of communal representation is nowhere more absurd and mischievous than in the sphere of education, particularly when "adequate" is taken to mean, not in proportion to the number of educational institutions maintained by a community, not in proportion to its educational endowments and the number of its educated men and students, but merely in proportion to the numbers of men, women and children, however illiterate, which belong to it. Such attempts are being made in Bengal also. The movement is at bottom one for jobs and more jobs, not the advancement of learning.

### *The Right to Live*

In Bombay, Karachi, and some other places labourers have made demonstrations with slogans like "give us work or give us bread." These betoken the increasing self-consciousness of the masses, and, whatever the "Haves" may think, are welcome signs of the social changes which are inevitable.

Every human being who is born has the right to live. This right to live is more sacred than the right to property. The right to live consists of the right to food, raiment, dwelling, knowledge, health and happiness. No society, no State can be said to be alive to its duties which does not in practice recognize this right. History records numerous instances of unrest and revolutions due to the practical non-recognition of this right.

### *Alleged Conduct of Soldiers in Midnapur*

An Associated Press message, dated New Delhi, March 19, runs as follows :

During the discussion on the Finance Bill in the Assembly today Mr. S. C. Mitra in the course of

his speech read out to the House grave allegations regarding the behaviour of soldiers posted in Midnapore District (Contai Sub-division). He said that the profession of a soldier was respected in India but it was now being disgraced. All instances quoted by the speaker mentioned names of the parties concerned and many cases of allegations included unusually harsh treatment for people refusing to salute the Union Jack under compulsion and invitations to the people to attend receptions to the District Magistrate and to soldiers under threat that absence would mean disloyalty. A number of offences against women were alleged and wanton destruction of property and stealing of cash and ornaments.

He further related how schools had been forced to receive batches of soldiers at the time of their visit and how tea-parties and 'dallies' or in lieu thereof cash payments were extorted from the public. (Cries of 'shame' 'shame' from the non-official members).

Mr. Mitra complained that the Commander-in-Chief never attended the Assembly now. The speaker said that he was prepared to hand over to Government the complaints he had made but recalled that he had made similar statements last year, but no information was available as to what action was taken by Government.

Dealing next with the case of detenus Mr. Mitra pleaded that political prisoners should be given better treatment and that detenus kept so long should be released. He felt that the spirit of patriotism once kindled could not be killed by repression but Government could devise means of bringing these men towards constitutional methods of agitation. Yet Government had done nothing in that direction.

Sir Harry Haig, the Home Member, was not present (which he ought to have been) when Mr. Mitra made all these allegations. He replied to the charges on March 21. Mr. Mitra had mentioned the names of the parties concerned and had given specific instances. Sir Harry said :

It was impossible for any Government Member to give a categorical answer to the points raised in the course of a debate and he would ask the Bengal Government to supply the information.

The allegations made by Mr. Mitra had been made previously at a public meeting in the Calcutta Albert Hall and in newspapers, and a public inquiry had been asked for. But no such enquiry has been made. A statement made by a government that the allegations are entirely unfounded or are exaggerated, do not at all convince the public. For such official statements proceed in the last resort from the very men whose acts are complained against or from their superior officers. Now, just as Sir Harry Haig cannot be assumed to be superior to the public men of India in general, so those who complain of the conduct of soldiers, etc. and send

information to M. L. A's and other public men cannot be assumed to be less reliable than the village chaukidars, constables and other policemen, sepoys, etc. It is only a public inquiry which can supply data for arriving at a correct conclusion. When the conduct of some soldiers in Burma was complained of Lord Curzon had a memorable inquiry instituted and punished the offenders and their fellows, for which he became very unpopular with the Army and was hissed at at the Durbar. But he was a strong man and did not deviate from what he considered to be his duty. His example should be emulated by the present-day rulers of India. More recently, in the Hijli affair, even an official inquiry publicly made exposed the untruthfulness of the parties complained against and the false statements which had emanated from the secretariat.

### *"Monopoly of Patriotism"*

Some sentences in Sir Harry Haig's speech in reply to Mr. S. C. Mitra's allegations require a little comment.

Referring to the problem of detenus, Sir Harry Haig was astonished at Mr. Mitra's charges. Mr. Mitra had declared that Government should not imagine that by merely keeping in restraint a few thousand young men they would kill the ideas of patriotism.

Sir Harry Haig asked: Does Mr. Mitra think that we are keeping these young men in order to kill the ideas of patriotism? The problem of detenus is practically confined to Bengal. Are there no patriots in other provinces? Has Bengal the monopoly of patriotism? Or is it not that Bengal has the monopoly of something different (political murder)? What Government are seeking is not to repress patriotism, but the desire for murder. That is the justification for the policy of keeping those young men under restraint. We fully believe that they are terrorists. The Bengal Government check their information by placing it before two Judges. If they proceed on wrong information, it is only in a very small number of cases.

Mr. Mitra, interrupting, stated that the procedure was only in respect of State prisoners.

Sir Harry Haig replied, "As regards State prisoners we follow exactly the same procedure as is followed by the Bengal Government in regard to prisoners under the criminal law. I would invite Mr. Mitra to make it clear whether by expressing his feelings, as he did, he in any way desired to support the murder of Government officials or their friends."

Mr. Mitra immediately answered in the negative.

Sir Harry Haig: I have no doubt that he did not desire to encourage that feeling, but somehow his language was open to that doubt.

Just as Sir George Schuster's statement in his budget speech that the duty on matches

was meant to "help" Bengal had the tendency to rouse and did rouse feelings of hostility to Bengal, so Sir Harry Haig's question, "Has Bengal the monopoly of patriotism?" was likely to rouse undesirable feelings against Bengal which would be injurious to the cause of Indian national unity and solidarity.

As Sir Harry Haig and other Government officers of his ilk "fully believe" that all the detenus are terrorists, it is not to be surprised at that he misunderstood Mr. Mitra. But Mr. Mitra's real meaning was quite plain to the non-official public. In Bengal at any rate, the belief (it may be a wrong belief) very widely prevails that the presence of some terrorists in the province has been taken advantage of by the police to bring about the detention of a much larger number of non-violent workers for the cause of freedom. It was understood that Mr. S. C. Mitra must have spoken under the influence of that belief. Neither he nor any other Bengali public man is so foolish as to say or suggest that Bengal has a monopoly of patriotism. Bengal has not. There is patriotism in other provinces, too. The Government's reaction to and treatment of the malady may be different in different provinces.

Sir Harry Haig says that the Bengal Government check their information against detenus and state prisoners by placing it before two Judges. "If they proceed on wrong information, it is only in a very small number of cases." Thanks for that small admission. But the cases may really be much larger. Whatever may be the real state of things, mere examination of information in camera by two Judges (or more) can never be a substitute for a public trial according to the ordinary processes of the law, with the right of the accused to examine and cross-examine the prosecution, to bring forward defence witnesses, to engage counsel and to exercise the right of appeal.

Sir Harry Haig says that Bengal has the monopoly of political murder in India. That is true of recent times but not of all time, as history would tell him.

### *The Viceroy on Unemployment*

In the course of his inaugural speech at the third inter-university conference at New Delhi H. E. Lord Willingdon said:

It is heart-rending that many young men who have fought their way successfully up the educational ladder and have gained high degrees and distinctions, often in spite of many obstacles and handicaps, are yet unable to find means either of maintaining themselves or of serving their fellow men. From the point of view of the country it is disastrous that the labours and initiative of these young men should be running to waste.

Keen and unmerited disappointment, accentuated by irksome inactivity, are apt to lead high-spirited young men into dangerous and unexpected channels.

When, for whatever reasons, high-spirited young men are found to have actually been led into dangerous and unexpected channels but not to have actually committed under or aided or abetted in murder actually committed, the remedy provided by the latest criminal law in Bengal is to hang them.

### *Inter-University Conference*

Eighteen universities for 352 millions of people are not too many, but too few. The number of Indian University students is not too large but too small. Indian Universities teach not too many but too few subjects. If any of them attempt to teach any subjects for which they have not got adequate resources, the remedy is not to restrict their freedom of teaching any subject they like, but to provide them with sufficient resources. If the State cannot or will not do that, neither should the State deprive the Universities of freedom. In Great Britain, in U. S. A., in Germany, and in many other countries, the same subject is often taught in more than one University. If in a large country like India, Universities do the same, it is unnecessary, nay mischievous, to call it overlapping.

If the Inter-University Conference be in official leading strings and want really only or mainly to control and restrict but not to give substantial help and guidance to Universities, it cannot discharge any useful function.

### *Sudden Coup in Nepal*

According to a long *Associated Press* statement, from which we make brief extracts, \*

There was a dramatic scene when on Sunday March 18 in the presence of His Majesty the King of Nepal the five senior members of that branch (Class C) of the ruling family which cannot claim "pure descent" were formally deprived of their appointments and of all rights of succession and power as members of the ruling military oligarchy, of which His Highness the Maharaja Sir Jodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, G. C. I. E., is the head.

The reason for this *coup* is given in part in the following paragraph :

The three classes of the family are composed of (A) those descended from Bir Shumshere or one of his sixteen brothers, of whom the present Maharaja is the only survivor, by wives belonging to the same caste. Class B is composed of those descendants by wives of high but lower caste to that of the ruling dynasty. Class B has always been excluded from the succession and from the hierarchy of persons composing the military oligarchy. Class C, however, descended from women of low caste, had always been tolerated owing to the fact that the children were brought up with their fathers, who were unwilling to make any invidious distinctions. But as the next person in the line of succession belonged to this class, trouble was foreshadowed owing to the probability that the Nepalese people, who have a great regard for purity of descent, might not be prepared to accept as the ruling chief a member of this class, with the result that the permanency of the dynasty might be jeopardized.

As among the senior members of class C Rudra had attained the rank of Commander-in-Chief and is stated to enjoy great popularity with the army, he was obviously a very able man. Statecraft of a certain character might have necessitated his and his kinsmen's degradation, but the step cannot be defended on grounds of justice. It is fortunate that there has not been any bloodshed.

### *S. B. Samaj Earthquake Relief Work*

The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj has been giving relief on a small scale to persons rendered helpless by the earthquake in Monghyr and at Bishanpur near Sitamarhi.

Up to 23rd March, 1934, the relief work done at Monghyr has been as follows :

Cloths and blankets have been distributed among the needy people of the *bhadralog* class within the town of Monghyr and some rice given to the poorer people living on the outskirts of the town. In the village of Mai, Hussampur and Sandalpur materials have been issued for the building of 75 huts by the poor people without distinction of caste and creed on their own homestead lands. Steps are now being taken to enable these villagers to complete the construction of their huts. In this work the Government Housing Committee have been helping us by selling bamboos to us at 25 p. c. discount on the cost price and the Bihar Central Relief Committee has been supplying us with coir ropes at cost price.

But funds being very inadequate it will not be possible to continue the good work much longer. The need is great and urgent. Those who want to help, will kindly send their subscriptions to Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Office, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

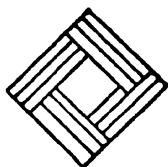




FOR THE MARKET  
A Soudanese Girl

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## THE CRIME OF COLOUR

BY NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA

**P**ROBABLY there has never been a time when men have not prided themselves and considered themselves superior to other men for one reason or another : it may be the possession of wealth, the consciousness of greater physical strength or higher intellectual powers, or the membership of a superior race. A distinction has to be made between individual pride and racial pride. A Roman was proud because he was a citizen of Rome even if he had no claim to any individual achievement entitling him to fame. An Israelite was proud because he belonged to a tribe reputed to be the chosen people of God. In such and similar cases pride was looked upon as a birthright.

There were various shades of this feeling of pride. There was the pride of race or national pride, there was class pride, and finally, there was individual pride. This last may be left out of account, because it is scarcely a matter of public concern. When a nation has the misfortune to be subject to another the scornful pride of the ruling race is easily explicable. The pride of class is a different thing. The patricians and plebians were both Romans, both had equal right to call themselves Roman citizens, and yet the plebian grovelled before the patrician. The Brahmin and the Vaishya were both Aryans, but the Vaishya dared not keep his seat on the approach of a Brahmin. Superiority and contempt were expressed in various ways : one

proclaimed that he was a Roman, another contemned another as an Aurya ; the Greeks prided themselves not only on their valour but on their looks. To them physical beauty was a high cult.

There is no evidence, however, in the ancient literature of any race that the colour, or the absence of colour, of the skin was ever regarded as a source of national or racial pride. The pigment of the skin is due to the sun. Near the equator the fierce heat of the sun tends to darken the skin ; in temperate and cold climates the skin becomes light and fair. The whiteness of the skin is no indication of the greatness of a race. If so, the Laplanders should have become a great nation. According to the weight of evidence as collected by European Egyptologists the ancient Egyptians were the oldest of the civilized nations of the world and they were by no means a white-skinned race. On the other hand, the children of Israel, who exceeded the Egyptians in numbers, were a fair-skinned people, but were held in bondage for a long time by the Egyptians. In the end, they did not rise and overthrow the power of the Egyptians, but escaped from captivity and crossed the Red Sea and settled in Palestine. The Israelites themselves claimed all sorts of privileges as a chosen people, but they never prided themselves upon the colour of their skin. They despised the worshippers of idols and the uncircumcised,

but it is nowhere mentioned that they looked down upon black-skinned races and tribes, nor is there any proof that they were proud of their complexion.

The ancient Romans were not a white race but the world has never known another nation so proud as these ancient people. Combined with all the arrogance and insolence of a powerful nation the Romans had a splendid poise, a superb self-reliance. No nation in Europe or anywhere on the face of the earth today can claim equality with the Romans. Modern Europe lives in the shadow of ancient Rome. The language of Rome is the mother of many European tongues, high academic addresses are still spoken in the language of Rome, the laws of Rome are the model on which the laws of the most advanced countries in Europe are framed. To be called Caesar would be the highest ambition of any crowned monarch—there are very few now left—in Europe. A proud or an ambitious Italian calls himself a Roman, but it is a memory and nothing more. The blue-eyed, white Saxon was conquered and ruled by the olive-skinned Roman, who regarded the conquest of a part of Britain as a trivial incident. There was no such thing as the pride of skin among the ancient great nations of the world and most of them were not white-skinned.

In the wide range of Shakespeare's creations two black-skinned characters are to be found: the first is Othello, one of nature's noblemen, the hero of the play, which is named after him. He was a moor of Venice and there can be no question as regards the ebony of his skin. Othello was a great captain; he lived and spoke as a great man, and never said or did anything ignoble. His one weakness was his unreasoning jealousy of his white wife, Desdemona. The villain who poisoned his ears and was responsible for the murder of Desdemona and the suicide of Othello was Iago, a white-skinned Greek. The second black-skinned character is the Prince of Morocco, a suitor for the hand of Portia in the *Merchant of Venice*. Portia was not free to choose a husband. Her deceased father had arranged that she should be the prize in a lottery and the man who opened the right

casket out of three should have her for wife. The Prince of Morocco, before proceeding to the hazard of the ordeal, addressed Portia in apologetic words while declaring that he was as red-blooded as 'the fairest creature northward born':

Mislike me not for my complexion,  
The shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun,  
To whom I am a neighbour and near bred.

Portia was a woman of nimble wit and adroit speech with forensic subtlety that might have put many King's counsel to shame, and she put the Prince at once at ease:

The lottery of my destiny  
Bars me the right of voluntary choosing:  
But if my father had not scanted me  
And hedg'd one by his wit, to yield myself  
His wife who wins me by that means I told you,  
Yourself, renowned prince, then stood as fair  
As any comer I have look'd on yet  
For my affection.

These are gracious words and courteous; yet when the Prince failed to pick out the casket containing Portia's likeness and so passed out of the running for her hand she gave frank expression to her sense of relief:

A gentle riddance...

Let all of his complexion choose me so.

Portia did not want a black husband but if the Prince had opened the right casket she would not have refused to marry him. That was her position. There is no contempt, express or implied, but merely the instinctive reluctance of a white woman to mate with a black man. It is equally true that coloured women of good families do not desire white husbands.

It is after the age of Shakespeare and in comparatively recent times that white races have been displaying an unmeasured contempt for coloured races, specially dark races. The word 'nigger' is full of concentrated venom. Distinguished writers and even a winner of the Nobel prize for Literature have represented coloured people as devils incarnate. I am not in a position to say anything about books written in different European languages, but such French, Russian and German books as have been translated are free from any particular prejudice against coloured people. From the works of fiction written by many English writers it is evident that the great crime of the villains of their stories is the

colour of their skin. The almond-eyed, yellow-skinned Mongolian is very often a fiend in human shape; the brown Indian is a liar and a cheat; the black African is a criminal of the worst type. Asiatics and Africans alone are not singled out for this distinction. The Dago, who is either of Spanish or Italian origin, is a favourite villain of the English story-writer. Most of these writers have no first-hand knowledge of the coloured people about whom they write, but they know what will go down with the reading public—the shallow-brained public incapable of reading anything more serious than works of fiction—and they cater accordingly. It is impossible to exclude the inference that writers and readers are equally interested in associating crime with colour. It is true that most of these books are fugitive and are soon forgotten, but even if they belong to the genus ephemera they make up for the lack of durability by a never-ending supply.

A slight incident bearing on this subject may be recalled. When Dadabhai Naoroji was a candidate for election to the House of Commons as a Member of Parliament, Lord Salisbury, who was Secretary of State for India and afterwards Prime Minister of England, spoke scoffingly of Dadabhai Naoroji as 'a black man' in a public speech. Man against man the Parsi had a fairer complexion than the swart Englishman, and if Dadabhai Naoroji and Lord Salisbury were to stand side by side, the latter would have appeared quite dark as compared with the former. But it was undeniable that the English nobleman belonged to a white race and the Parsi politician to a brown one. Lord Salisbury's contemptuous expression could have only one meaning and that was that a black man as such was unfit to represent white man in the legislature. Yet as Secretary of State Lord Salisbury never hesitated to accept his salary from the black people of India.

The contemptuousness for coloured races never assumes that form for the colour of their money is quite good and entirely acceptable. Coloured people are despised by white people in books, in conversation and when they meet, but white races have no objection to trade with coloured races. For many years white traders have carried on an

extensive trade with the black African people. It is a matter of common knowledge that large quantities of ivory, elephant tusks, and other valuable articles were obtained from tribes of the Negroid race in Africa by white European traders. Very little money changed hands; the trade was carried on by a system of barter; in exchange for ivory the white traders gave glass beads, cheap prints and worthless gewgaws pleasing to the eyes of the savages. To the white traders this was a perfectly equitable and honest form of commercial business. With equal alacrity white traders sold large supplies of dope and intoxicating liquors to coloured people, either openly or surreptitiously. Can it be denied that the Red Indians of North America and the Maoris of Australia were practically exterminated by alcohol, the 'fire-water' which wiped out whole tribes and which was liberally supplied by white people?

Since white races consider themselves incomparably superior to coloured races it may be very reasonably expected that there should be no connubial relations, far less promiscuity, between white and coloured races. But no such distinction has been observed anywhere. Men belonging to white races have consorted indiscriminately with women of black, brown, yellow and red races, and white women have taken coloured men for their husbands. These men are not always the dregs of society, or wastrels and beach-combers. It has been found necessary to issue strict orders prohibiting alliances between officers belonging to a white race and coloured women. Men of white races may be found living with coloured women in every part of the world.

Wherein, then, lies the vaunted superiority of the white races over the coloured races of the human family? True, several coloured races are at present ruled by white races, but that is merely a turn of the whirligig of time. No race rules for ever, or for long, by virtue of its skin. Some of the most powerful nations of ancient times were not white-skinned and they often conquered white races and held dominion over them. In trade relations with coloured races white people have frequently shown that they have no commercial honesty,



and they are notoriously lax in sex relations with people of coloured races. The claim of superiority as put forward for white races in

works of fiction and other books as well as the disparagement of coloured races are unfounded and untenable.

## EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

NEED FOR A BUREAU OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH.D.

**T**HE present problem of the "educated unemployment," which is challenging the attention of most of our thinking leaders, is due largely to the fact that the development of our system of higher education has been determined by the political and administrative exigencies of an alien Government. In fact, the whole system of education, such as it exists today, still continues to be a striking commentary upon the results of associating Government posts with success in University examinations. Sad though it is, it is true, nevertheless, that the Universities in India have been crushed under the burden of a system which diverts their energies from the pursuit of sound learning to the production of candidates for Government clerkships. Students unfit for a University career are driven there to seek a degree or certificate to serve as a passport for service. This policy worked well enough when colleges were few, and the candidates turned out were small in number. But now as the number of young men who graduate from year to year, exceed by far the Government's power of absorption, the country is over-flooded with educated men, and the army of the "educated unemployed" is ever on the increase.

### A DOUBTFUL WAY-OUT

How then, one asks, is this problem to be solved? The Nawab of Chhattari thinks that it could be solved by not allowing all students to go up for higher education. Likewise Sir H. Suhrawardy maintains that higher education should be regulated and limited. Though there are others who follow

this way of thinking, one seriously questions if this is the right method of attack. Higher education is calculated to impart general culture and such culture is essential for success even in business. Any educational policy which tends to limit the democratization of the privilege of culture, must be considered not only as dangerous but suicidal. Further, the method of limiting student admission to the University as a way out of our present problem does not go far enough to be a satisfactory solution. This method of elimination, to use a technical term to describe what happens when educational standards are not meant, illustrates only too strikingly one prevailing evil of the present educational system. Besides, those who are thus eliminated as unfit for one career or type of education come very close to being stigmatized as unfit for any other occupation. They are led unfortunately to regard themselves either as inferior material for the particular occupation in which they would like to engage or as material fit for some occupation of a supposedly inferior sort.

Recently His Excellency Lord Willingdon remarked, in the course of his address while opening the Conference of Indian Universities at New Delhi, that from the point of view of the country the problem of ever-increasing unemployment among the graduates and matriculates was disastrous in that the labours and initiative of young men were running to waste. Keen and unmerited disappointment, accentuated by irksome inactivity, were apt to lead high-spirited young men into dangerous and unexpected channels. It was within the province of the educational authorities so to adjust the general scheme of

education that the bent of the students and pupils should be turned towards occupations best suited to their conditions and capacities. In this observation the Viceroys, I believe, is right. Colleges must, in fact, seek, not to prevent students from going up for higher education but, to give those better fitted by temperament and natural endowments training for agricultural and commercial occupations, and also advice and encouragement to those competent to undertake independent business enterprises. A system operated in this spirit would, instead of "eliminating," "shift" or "transfer" its students from one social or educational unit to another. But then how are the educational authorities to determine who should be thus diverted from one type of education to another? To determine the fitness of a student for a particular line of work, we need to perfect aptitude tests. The aim of all such tests should be to discover not who are inherently unfitted to pursue any particular occupation but rather better adapted to one occupation than to another. Such tests should be utilized at the end of successive stages of general education to assist the authorities to determine into what subsequent stages the student shall be encouraged to proceed.

#### HOW AMERICAN COLLEGES MEET THIS SITUATION

This important function of giving wise guidance to students in their vocational choice is now receiving more and more recognition in the progressive countries of the West. Within recent years a number of colleges and Universities in the United States, for instance, have undertaken in an organized way to provide more or less vocational guidance service for their students. The nature and the organization for providing such service differ greatly with different institutions. Oberlin started in 1913 with a "vocational secretary for women students." Her business was to investigate vocational opportunities suited to college women, and also conditions of employment; further she was expected to get information regarding vocational schools and to inform herself on the relation of the student's major electives to her choice of vocation. In the same year,

a faculty committee on vocational guidance was appointed at Stanford University. Both Oberlin and Stanford, the former in 1917 and the latter in 1919, published hand-books descriptive of occupations open to college graduates. The Stanford Committee has also established in the University Library a vocational section and filled it with books, pamphlets and bibliographies relating to all kinds of trades and occupations. It now provides occupational talks on particular vocations, holds vocational conferences on opportunities other than teaching, and arranges individual conferences between students and members of the faculty. When a student enters the University, he is expected to fill out a vocational guidance blank which gives the members of the committee some idea of the student's interests, his physical condition, vocational experience and so forth.

Somewhere about 1920, Dartmouth College appointed an Associate Dean, whose title was later changed to Director of Personal Research, to develop a vocational guidance programme for that institution. It became the duty of this officer to bring together the large amount of information on file in different departments of the college about each individual student. From the registration card of the student, this officer is expected to collect information concerning the student's personal and family life; from the office of the Director of Physical Culture the record of his physical condition; from the Dean's office, his record of prizes, scholarship, honours and delinquencies; from the department of psychology a record of his intelligence rating based on the test given each autumn to the first year class, and from other members of the faculty a personal estimate of the student's capacity and character. With these data at hand, the Director tries to have at least one private interview with each undergraduate. And this interview takes the form of an analysis of the student's scholarship, his physical condition, his general intelligence, his interests and aptitudes, his choice of a life career and his preparation for it. All available facts about the individual are used in ascertaining his fitness for the occupations selected by him. Further, the student's experience up-to-date is considered and analysed, and finally he is urged strongly to take up such work during

the summer vacation for the purpose of trying himself out.

#### OCCUPATIONAL ADVICE FOR WOMEN

Many women's colleges are also experimenting on these lines. Vassar College, for example, maintains a Vocational Bureau, with a Director in charge, who has the same professional standing as a full professor. The Bureau is, in fact, organized as an essential part of the academic administration of the college. The vocational interests of students and of its alumni are registered in the office, and the Bureau serves as a centre for vocational information and guidance. The Bureau seeks to guide and direct the student along the lines of her greatest development whether it be for further study or actual placement in a given position. A very definite effort is always made to bring before the students a fair and comprehensive picture of useful work to be done during the summer vacations and after the college course is completed. Annually a general Vocational Conference is also held at the college to stimulate the students' occupational interests and to give them a bird's-eye view of different trades and professions open to women. At various times during the academic year representative business and professional men and women are also invited to the college, and interviews are arranged for students to enable them to get first-hand information in a given field. These are only a few of the many American colleges which have inaugurated a definite programme of vocational guidance. There are many other higher educational institutions which are now working out elaborate plans for vocational guidance in the light of the experience gained so far. Here is ample evidence therefore of the rapidly growing interest on the part of American college and University authorities in the problem of vocational guidance.

#### VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN INDIAN COLLEGES

In India also we must follow much the same line of attack. This work of vocational guidance can only be done satisfactorily by a well-organized Bureau of Vocational Guidance whose programme may include the following :

1. *Personal Information Service.* A Bureau of Vocational Guidance in an Indian college should seek to bring together as much information as possible concerning each student for the purpose of study and use in interviews and in placement work. The student's record in schools previously attended, his physical examination and health record, his general intelligence, the subjects taken in college with his standing in each, his behaviour and conduct record in college, term reports on his extra-curricular activities, a personality rating by his instructors, his employment record, if any, before entering college, his choice of occupation with the plans he has made to prepare himself for it are among the data which should be brought together. With such information on hand, our educational advisers could more easily help the student in his vocational choice or in placing him in the kind of work where he is most likely to succeed.

2. *Vocational Counsel Service.* Though the oldest form of vocational guidance is individual counselling, yet a great majority of those who make up the adult population of today received but little counsel from their teachers. A solitary pupil gets this sort of help now and then. This sort of individual counselling, it must be mentioned, is unscientific in that it is nearly always based upon very meagre knowledge of occupations and of the qualities and special aptitudes of the one counselled. In the last few years attempts have been made to organize vocational counselling in a more scientific manner as we have already noticed how such work is being carried on in American colleges. If we, in India, also wish to give satisfactory and up-to-date counsel service to all our college students, a Bureau of Vocational Guidance must be organized in every college. Only then could interviews be given to individual students, as often as conditions warrant, on matters affecting vocational choice and preparation. If an occupation has been chosen, then the Bureau would consider its suitability in the light of such information as is available concerning the nature of the occupation and the aptitudes of the student. It would also give attention to the student's plan for preparation and self-improvement after entering the chosen occupation. If no choice of occupation has already been made, the Bureau

would naturally consider a plan of procedure in making a choice, and seek information concerning occupations which have some interest for the student and then give him the necessary guidance.

3. *Vocational Information Service.* Most of our students know little or nothing about the opportunities and requirements of various occupations, and even graduates of our Universities know next to nothing about the opportunities afforded by the world of affairs to the college graduate. Nor do our students possess any adequate information concerning their own abilities, special aptitudes and personality traits. If the day arrives when they simply must have a job, then they jump at the first one that comes their way, regardless of their natural fitness for it. This procedure is highly irrational since it entails great economic loss to the individual and society. In spite of that terrible wastage involved, our colleges have not yet come to realize that one of their important duties to their students is to give them wise guidance in the choice of their vocation. We need an agency interested in vocational guidance to make a systematic effort to give occupational information to our students. The Vocational Information Service must provide a library of books, pamphlets and other material concerning occupations of interest to college students, and make arrangements for gathering pertinent information about occupations not adequately covered in the printed material. Some attempt must be made not only to gather occupational information but also make such information easily accessible to students. Only a well-organized Bureau of Vocational Guidance could give satisfactory help both in the way of bringing together occupational information and giving to students definite help regarding specific employment opportunities.

4. *Placement Service.* Placement service may be regarded as one of the most important functions of a Bureau of Vocational Guidance. Getting a proper start in the chosen occupation is quite as important as choosing it, and there is no more reason to expect the unaided pupil to do the one to the best advantage than the other. He is just as likely to choose unwisely among several opportunities to enter the chosen occupation,—if, indeed, he is so for-

tunate as to learn of several, —as he is to choose the occupation unwisely in the first place. And the economic waste involved in entering unsuitable occupations applies equally well to unfortunate entry into suitable occupations. A well-managed placement office will have available, or be in a position to obtain much more complete and reliable information concerning the different openings in a given occupation, where these openings are their peculiar requirements, opportunities for promotion within the organization concerned and the like, than an individual student can possibly obtain on his own account. The placement office will also have all the necessary information concerning the students who have chosen to enter their particular occupations, and can provide the employer such information better than any other agency. It must be granted that bringing these two together is a service of great value to the prospective student worker and to the employer alike when performed in an honest and discriminating manner.

5. *Research Department.* No college or University programme of vocational guidance can be considered comprehensive which does not provide for research. Investigations, which deal with organization and administration of a guidance programme, must be carried on. The technique of counselling and placement calls for extensive study. Occupational information needs to be gathered and evaluated. More scientific study must be made on the significance of intelligence ratings for vocational guidance. We need better methods of determining special aptitudes and also more reliable methods of rating personality traits of students. Some investigation must also be made regarding the possibility of providing vocational exploratory experiences for college students. In fact, the nature of vocational guidance and its relation to business, industrial and professional life are such that no work of this kind could be carried on satisfactorily without cultivating the spirit and methods of scientific research. Indeed, a Bureau of Vocational Guidance cannot do justice to itself without a well-equipped department of vocational research.

Some may oppose a vocational guidance programme of this character, maintaining that college is not a vocational preparatory institu-

tion but one for providing a liberal education. In reality, however, the programme discussed above merely recognizes facts and conditions as they exist. The real need for work of this kind becomes all the more urgent when we ponder over the extraordinary circumstance that so large a portion of our students come up to the end of their senior year in college with little or no plan for the future, with little or no knowledge of their opportunities and with no decision as to the field of work which they will enter. In view of this wasteful procedure and of the prevailing discontent in our country in respect of the present problem of the "educated unemployed," we can ill-afford to ignore much longer this important function of our educational institutions. Our educational authorities must regard vocational guidance as an integral part of education. Nothing is of such great vital interest to

college men and women as the question of choosing and entering upon a career. We cannot solve our present problem of the educated unemployed merely by limiting the admission of students to Universities. No single authority is competent enough to determine who are qualified to continue their education into higher branches. Only by a careful analysis of the pupil's academic history, his intelligence and academic achievement tests during his school year, his family's vocational history, his character qualities and his personal feeling about vocations, is it possible to guide him to choose wisely. Arbitrary prohibition of students is an unwise method. The way to put greater meaning and effectiveness into the work of the college is to recognize frankly, and attack scientifically, the problems involved in the transfer of students from college to vocation.

## || MANILAL C. PAREKH

By IDA M. GURWELL

ONE of the outstanding speakers from the Orient, who attended the World's Fellowship of Faiths held in Chicago during the past summer, and who took an active part in the Conference, was Manilal C. Parekh.

Mr. Parekh is not a stranger in America as was evidenced by the welcome he received everywhere. We like this calm man. We like his understanding and his deep-seated spirituality.

Mr. Parekh is a follower of Christ. It is rather unusual in the Occident to know a Hindu Christian. A Jain by birth, he became a member of the Brahmo Samaj, and later in 1918, of the Church of England. He lives with his people and is of high caste. For ten years he was a missionary of the Church of Keshub Chunder Sen; and for a year after becoming a member of the Church of England was connected actively with

churches and missions. He severed these connections later, believing he could do better work independently.

The man is a broad religious student and an author of several religious books including translations. Among his religious books is a biography of Mahatma Gandhi, written in collaboration with the Rev. R. H. Gray. He has also written a biography of Keshub Chunder Sen, and one of Rammohun Roy, both in English. Mr. Parekh knows and loves India and has contributed much information concerning its beauty and traditions. A chapter in "An Indian Approach to India" was written by him. Born in Western India, he is one of the few followers of Christ who has asserted the right to adhere to the traditional ways of India. This is unique.

The lecture given before the World's Fellowship of Faiths by Mr. Parekh was as follows :

Dear Brothers and Sisters of the World's Fellowship of Faiths :

I appreciate very much the courtesy of the organizers of this Conference in asking me to be the spokesman of this meeting on the last day of the Conference, and I wish to speak to you on the message that India has to give to this Parliament of Religions, and to the world.

During these days when we, belonging to different creeds and religions, have met together, we have found the Fellowship of Faiths a living reality, and we cannot be too thankful to God for it. You will be interested to know, however, with many of us in India, and in the Orient, that this kind of Fellowship is an integral part of our Religions, and it has been so throughout the centuries. During the last century two great religious movements arose in the Orient : Bahaism in Persia, and Brahma Samaj in India. Both these have preached the harmony of Religions. Of the latter of these the seed was first sown by the great Hindu Raja Rammohun Roy, whose Centenary we are celebrating on a grand scale in India at this time. It is indeed in the fitness of things that we should hold this Conference so close to this Centenary. He was certainly one of the first prophets of such Fellowships. He was followed in the course of time by Devendranath Tagore, the father of the great poet, and Keshub Chunder Sen. The latter was indeed a great prophet and his life's work was to bring the Religions of the world together. Few men in modern times have done so much to bring the Religions and Races together.

The chief message, however, of the Brahma Samaj, and through others of India, with its great past is this : That the foundation of such a Fellowship of Faiths must be laid in a close vital Fellowship with God, who is our Father and Mother, Friend and Companion. Fellowship apart from this is a mere intellectual pastime, and is a mockery of the true Communion which should be ours. We who claim to be *Broader* than others, should also be *Deeper* in our realization of God, and should know first-hand the infinite love of Father and Mother. We, in India, know God as the Mother, for we know nothing higher than Motherhood in this world.

We should also have a closer Fellowship with great Teachers and Prophets of the world. In fact we should be greater disciples of Buddha and

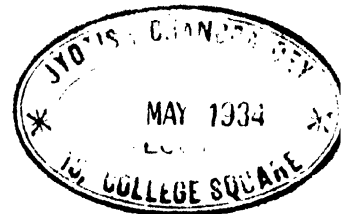
Jesus, than the Buddhists and Christians themselves are. It is only in this way that we can speak with authority to the world.

This Fellowship with God and Jesus Christ and other Prophets must result in higher moral and spiritual life on our part, and our love for mankind should be a great passion with us. Our righteousness should be greater than that of others, if we lay claim to something higher than the world has found. I shall go farther and say, that we should include not only mankind in this Fellowship, but the whole Universe. Let our love be so great that it includes the entire Creation. It is then we can go to the world and say, we have found something that is great and wonderful, a revelation not only to us but to all.

Manilal Parekh's message to this great Conference that registered the best thoughts of practically every known cult, ism and creed in the world, was received in the devout attitude in which it was given and catalogued as helpful building material for Spiritual Oneness.

Rudyard Kipling said, in speaking of the East and West, "Never the Twain Shall Meet." We who know Manilal Parekh and other high-thinking men of India, and America, feel that the Occident and Orient have met, and in the meeting ; because the problems have loomed big on the horizon of the Nations of the World ; and because of the serious intent on the part of all to understand ; that there is an honest attempt everywhere towards real Brotherhood.

India's age-old Traditions : America's Youthful Contributions. One hopes for a magnetic fusion ; a harmonious combination of the best in both, and that the East and West shall join in reaping a harvest of well-sown, tenderly-nurtured, Religious Ideals, that shall benefit all mankind.



# LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS AND PRIVILEGE OF THE PRESS

By PARIMAL ROY, M. A.

IT has been in the past a question of considerable dispute whether privilege of the Parliament extends to the publication of Parliamentary proceedings in the Press. There was a time when the Parliament itself repeatedly declared such publications as a breach of privilege.\* There were Standing Orders of the Parliament prohibiting such publications; and it was argued with some force, that no privilege could attach to any report which was published in contravention of the Standing Orders. For, then, it was in itself a contempt of the House. Orders are also in record which the Parliament issued from time to time, forbidding the publication of the debates and proceedings of the House, by newspapers. The earliest reports of Parliamentary proceedings were only published in fear and trembling as "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput" with the names of the speakers disguised. And even for such camouflaged reports, the editors had to answer charges of breach of privilege, while Johnson's pen had to withhold completely "those ponderous speeches for Whig dogs"! At a later date, however, the reports began to be published in the form of "letters from an M. P. to a friend in the country." And although after 1752 they were frankly published as reports, the Standing Orders had not even then lost their force, and the trials of the speakers could only be ventured.†

At the present moment, however, the Standing Orders are quite obsolete; and the prohibitions having thus long since fallen into disuse, it is at once important and interesting to know in what directions privilege attaching to Parliamentary proceedings has since been allowed to develop in Britain. It should be noted incidentally that we are not concerned here with the official reports of Parliamentary proceedings which are indisputably protected by the orders of the Parliament,\*\* under which they are prepared, but with such reports as may be published outside the Parliament, beyond the precincts of the Houses and unauthorized by the Legislature.

We can approach this problem to some advantage, through an examination of specific cases in which the question as to whether reports of Parliamentary proceedings are privileged, came in some form or other, under investigation.

\* May: Parliamentary Practice, p. 74.

† This account of the earlier reports is based upon Odger. See his "Libel and Slander," 4th edition, p. 308.

\*\* Also by Parliamentary Paper Act 1840, 3 and 4 Vict. C. 9.

For, any principle, other than statutory, that may have been established in this matter, can have no better authority than dicta of learned judges having reference to the point in question.

Two remarkable cases have established that "if a member publishes his speech, his printed statement becomes a separate publication, unconnected with any proceedings in Parliament."‡ What follows from this is that when a member of the British Parliament himself publishes a speech made in the Parliament, he virtually repeats it outside and must therefore take the consequence as an ordinary citizen on proof of malice. A newspaper, if it publishes such a speech, repeated *mahi fide*, is also equally liable to a tion, as the speech in such circumstances will be regarded as a vehicle of slander. The two cases referred hereto are *Rex vs. Lord Abington* (1713) and *Rex vs. Creevy* (1813), and the view of law they have established is that the publication in newspapers of speeches made in Parliament, reflecting upon the character of individuals, is actionable. The decisions in these two cases are thus entirely with reference to single speeches, and not to the proceedings of the Parliament, in their entirety, with which we are concerned.

In a later case, *viz.*, *Darison vs. Duncan*, the rigour of the above decision was relaxed to a little extent. It was held that while the privilege of publishing a speech made in the British Parliament was certainly limited, "a publication of a report of his speech by a member of the House of Commons, *bona fide* addressed to his constituents would be privileged."§ The privilege in such a case would arise simply because such a publication would be regarded as nothing more than a mere communication between a member and his constituents. In the same case the proposition was laid down by Wightman, J., that reports of Parliamentary proceedings are in complete analogy with those of legal proceedings in a court of law; so that the principle on which exemption from legal consequences is extended to the publication of the latter is applicable with equal force to the publication of the former.¶ It is however needless

§ May: Parliamentary Practice, p. 400.

¶ L. R. 4, Q. B., p. 79 & p. 95.

§ A newspaper report of public judicial proceedings is the subject of statutory privilege under Sec. 3 of the Law of Libel Amendment Act, 1888. The privilege is absolute if the report is (i) fair and accurate, (ii) published contemporaneously with the proceedings, (iii) not forbidden by the Court and (iv) not indecent, blasphemous or seditious. If any of

to point out that the principle alluded to is that the public interest and advantage of publication must outweigh the private and personal injury, *i. e.*, a few may be injured with impunity for the good of the many.

There is, however, difference of opinion on the propriety of this analogy between legal proceedings and Parliamentary proceedings.

But even accepting the plausibility of the analogy, it must be admitted that the case of *Darison vs. Duncan* does not decide whether an action of libel can be founded on a report of Parliamentary proceedings published in the Press. For the present case arose out of a report of the proceedings at a public meeting,\* in which the conduct of an individual was called in question; and the Court was not therefore called upon to determine how far the privilege would extend to a report of the proceedings in the Parliament.

The case of *Stockdale vs. Hansard* leaves us in no better situation. In this case a report by the Inspector of Prisons containing defamatory statements "of a most disgusting nature" about the plaintiff (Stockdale) was printed and sold outside the House by the defendants (the printers of the House of Commons) by orders of the House of Commons. The defence pleaded orders of the House and privilege of Parliament, but the Court decided in favour of Stockdale. We need not, however, hastily conclude that this gives us authority to withhold protection from publications of Parliamentary proceedings outside the House. For, decision in this case was purely to the effect that the House of Commons cannot by mere resolution, under plea of privilege, change the law, *i. e.*, make legal what is illegal under the law of the land. No opinion was thus expressed on the subject of the publication of the reports of Parliamentary proceedings in the Press, which was evidently beyond the scope of the enquiry. "The question is not whether the act complained of, being unlawful at law, is rendered lawful by the order of the House or protected by the assertion of its privilege, but whether it is, independently of such order or assertion of privilege, in itself privileged and lawful."†

these conditions fails, the privilege is qualified. See Salmond : *Law of Torts*, 5th ed. Pp. 498-99 & Fraser : *Law of Torts*, Ed. 8th. Pp. 203-04.

\* It is now provided by Sec. 4 of the Law of Libel Amendment Act, 1888, that fair and accurate reports in a newspaper of the proceedings of any public meeting or of any other kind of meeting referred to in that Sec., shall be conditionally privileged, provided that the publication of the matter decidedly contributes to public advantage.

For definition of 'public meeting' *vide* foot-note (n) at p. 499 Salmond : *Law of Torts*, 5th Edition.

† L. R. 4. Q. B., p. 87. Note that the first question contained in the statement has been met by the Parliamentary Papers Act, 1840 (3 and 4 vict. c. 9.) which extends protection to publications under the orders of the Parliament.

We have mentioned elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that fair and accurate contemporaneous reports of public judicial proceedings, published in a newspaper, are now privileged on statutory authority. This privilege has been granted on two important grounds. In the first place, it has been held that reports of proceedings of Courts of Justice are generally published in newspapers, not for any malicious purpose, but solely with the honest intention of giving information to the public and incidentally for the service of society. The presumption of malice, if any, being thus rebutted, no legal consequence should attend such publications. In the second place, the privilege is justified by the Doctrine of privilege itself, which says that a publication should be privileged if, by injuring a few, it can contribute to the benefit of many.

On the basis of this immunity granted to the publication of proceedings in a Court of Justice and the analogy between a Court of Law and a legislature, a solution for our present problem, may, however, be found in the case of *Wason vs. Walter* of 1867. The facts of the case may be briefly stated. A Mr. Wason presented to the House of Lords a petition in which he prayed for the dismissal of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, lately appointed Lord Chief Baron, on the ground that Sir Fitzroy had in the past deceived a Committee of the House of Commons by a deliberate lie. A debate naturally ensued on the presentation of the petition in the House of Lords, and the charge was utterly refuted by a Committee appointed for the purpose. *The Times* published the proceedings of the House of Lords, together with the reports and the debate, and a leading article described Lord Russell who presented the petition on behalf of Wason, as "an instrument for the circulation of calumnies." An action of libel against the proprietors of *The Times* was brought before the Court, and among other things, the question arose as to whether the publication of proceedings of either House of Parliament in the newspapers, was privileged.

This then is a case in which the position of public Press in respect of the publication of Parliamentary proceedings, was directly in issue. Cockburn : C. J., in delivering judgment emphasized upon the allied characters of a Court of Justice and the national Parliament† and declared that whatever would afford immunity to a report of the proceedings in a Court of Law "will equally apply to a report of proceedings in Parliament."‡ The publication in *The Times* was, therefore, declared to be privileged; and it was thus established that a faithful report in a public newspaper of Parliamentary proceedings "containing matter

\* Foot-note (2) at page 3.

† "The analogy between the two cases is in every respect complete."—L. R. 4. Q. B., p. 93.

§ L. R. 4. Q. B., p. 95.



disparaging to the character of an individual... is not actionable at the suit of the person whose character has been called in question!\* The privilege was evidently extended on the principle "that the advantage of publicity to the community at large outweighs any private injury resulting from the publication."†

Here, therefore, is a definite judicial decision on the vexed question of the privilege of the Press in the matter of Parliamentary proceedings. The view of law that has been established is that faithful and fair reports of the proceedings of the Parliament, published in newspapers, are definitely privileged. In laying down the law, however, reliance, it will have been observed, was put more on the fundamental principle than on any written law or authority, neither of which was forthcoming at the time. The decision of Cockburn has not admittedly been embodied in a statute even to this date. But the judge-made law has certainly been accepted and acted upon by the British Courts as a precedent, and now stands as a charter for the British Press.

Having thus examined the view of law that has been established in England, we are naturally inclined to examine the nature of privilege that the Press in India enjoys, if at all, with regard to the proceedings of the Indian legislatures.

In February, 1932, the question was put to the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly 'if under any Ordinances, or rules made or orders issued, by the executive authority, newspapers could be penalized for publishing reports of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly.'§ The Home Member in reply said that "no rules or orders of the kind suggested... have been issued"; and the Honourable Members were assured that the right of free speech in the Legislatures was secured to them by Sec. 67 (7) and Sec. 72D (7) of the Government of India Act, 1919. But it was at the same time pointed out "that the protection afforded... does not extend to the publication of reports by newspapers of which the liability is determined by the ordinary law."§ The ordinary law, according to the Home Member, included not only the Press Act of 1931 but also the Ordinances of 1932. This naturally gave rise to a heated discussion in the Assembly as some of the members thought\*\* that the Ordinances, by restricting the publication of the proceedings in the newspapers, affected the privilege of the House granted to it by the Government of India Act of 1919. They put forward a two-fold objection. In the first place, an Ordinance, it was submitted, although a law, is nevertheless not made by the

Assembly and should not therefore, for expediency, tamper with the privilege of the House; while, secondly, it was argued that a provision (of which the existence is questionable) made by the Sovereign Parliament cannot be affected by a subordinate law-making authority. In winding up the debate that ensued the President asked the Home Member if he was prepared to say "that so far as the publication of the proceedings of this House in the newspapers is concerned, no Ordinance will affect them."\* The Home Member, however, could not make any authoritative statement on the question because he was not sure what the precise legal effect of an Ordinance was; and indeed the following extract† from the proceedings is not a very happy reflection upon the conviction with which he spoke:

Do I take it that the publication of the reports of this Assembly will be subject to the provisions of these Ordinances and law...?

—In certain circumstances it is possible that a publication might fall within these provisions.

Even though the speech may have been allowed by the President and the Hon. the Leader of the House took no objection?

—I think that it is possible that that might happen.

The Home Member having thus failed, the question was then put to the Law Member 'whether issue of the Ordinances makes any difference in the matter of the publication of the proceedings of this House in the newspapers'.§ The Law Member, apparently taken by surprise, wanted time for his answer, and having presumably looked up a large number of authorities overnight, declared next day that "the Ordinances have made no change in the ordinary law of the land in the matter of publication in the public Press or otherwise of the proceedings of the Legislature."§

The ruling of the Law Member thus purported to make it clear that the Press in India enjoys no privilege in regard to the publication of proceedings of the Legislature. And although the Ordinances\*\* alluded to, increased the possibility of unwittingly committing a breach of law, the possibility certainly existed even before the Ordinances were enacted. It may be incidentally pointed out here that the Home Member was wholly irrelevant when, in reply to a question whether similar provision existed elsewhere, he said that the same principle existed also in England, referring in support to his statement to May's *Parliamentary Practice*. This was mislead-

\* Legislative Assembly Debates 12 Feb. 1932, pp. 662-63.

† Legislative Assembly Debates. 10 Feb. 1932, p. 545; Italics are mine.

§ Legislative Assembly Debates 12 Feb. 1932, p. 663.

§ Legislative Assembly Debates 13 Feb. 1933, p. 722.

\*\* Particularly Sec. 63 Ordinance No. II of 1932.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 73.

† *Ibid.*, p. 73.

§ Legislative Assembly Debates, 10 Feb., 1932, p. 545.

§ *Ibid.* Italics are mine.

\*\* Cf. Legislative Assembly Debates 12 Feb. 1932, p. 659.

ing. For, Erskine May\* dealt with the maintenance by Parliament of the Standing Orders, and that certainly has nothing to do with the law that we are seeking here.

The rigorous view of law is this. The statutory privilege in India is limited to the actual making of speeches in the houses of Legislature and to official reports thereof, in pursuance of Sec. 67 (7) and Sec. 72D (7) of the Government of India Act.† It does not strictly extend to any private report or publication in the public Press. The fourth exception to Sec. 499 of the Indian Penal Code§ affords protection only to publications of the proceedings of a Court of Justice and not of the Legislature. The result is that there is no statutory provision to protect newspapers reporting the proceedings of the Assembly or the Councils.

And yet it is not a fact that proceedings of the Indian Legislature—not infrequently defamatory—are not published in our newspapers. So that we are naturally led to suspect that the Press in India does after all rely upon a protection which is not as imaginary as it may be imagined. It will be remembered that we approached this problem of the privilege of the Press for England through a review of cases in which the question in some form or other came under investigation. Unfortunately for India there is a total absence of any case in which this question was directly in issue. The grievance of the Press which may have arisen out of this lack of protection, is as yet purely theoretical. For, no Court in India has to this date been given an occasion to pronounce judgment upon this important problem of the Press.

But this strange absence of any judicial decision over the matter may be accepted with mixed feelings of not despair only but also hope. For, the very fact that no private individual has ever brought an action of libel against a newspaper for having published a libellous

report of the proceedings of the Legislature, shows (besides pointing to the degree of free-masonry that exists among our people!) that the plaintiff fears, that in the event of a litigation, he would be forthwith put out of Court. And that gives us additional reasons to suspect that the privilege *naturally* exists even though a case like *Wason vs. Walter* is yet to come up for decision in India. We shall state our reasons.

It is a well-known fact that the High Courts in India have always relied upon the principles of English Common Law and equity where there has been no written law or authority to help them. It will be irrelevant to discuss here how far the English Common Law and equity have gone to build up the law and procedure in India. But it will be admitted without ado that the High Courts have exercised the Common Law powers and jurisdiction of the King's Bench for more than a century and a half, and have freely drawn upon its principles for the protection of the rights and liberties of the people in India. Besides, every law-court in India is by statute a court of equity and as such is entitled to decide all doubtful questions of law according to the principles of equity, justice and good conscience.

Having regard to all this, it is not, therefore, open to an Indian judge to say that the protection accorded to the members of the Legislature does not extend to report, other than official, of the proceedings of the Legislature. It is true that there is no statutory protection against anybody aggrieved by a libellous report, bringing an action against a newspaper. But the absence of any specific legislation need not prevent the Court from drawing upon the Common Law powers of England. For, is it not well settled that in the absence of local statutes English Common Law applies to the ordinary original jurisdiction of the High Court in India?‡ And if so, is not the Cockburn law as valid in India as it is in England?

As a matter of fact, it is this applicability of the Cockburn law that is emphatically the reason why the newspaper-editors in India have so far been left undisturbed by aggrieved parties. The plaintiff is sure to be put out of Court, as the law already exists in spite of its absence in a statutory form. We have mentioned that the fourth exception to Sec. 499 of the Indian Penal Code, extends protection, not to the proceedings of the Legislature, but only to the proceedings of a Court of Justice. That, however, does not show that the exclusion of the newspapers from protection was out of any deliberate design. The Indian Penal Code must necessarily be silent over the question simply

\* *Parliamentary Practice*, Ch. 4 : It used to be argued that no privilege could attach to anything published in contravention of the Standing Orders of the two Houses.

† The Government of India Act provides : "Subject to the rules or Standing Orders affecting the Chamber, there shall be freedom of speech in both Chambers of the Indian Legislature. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court by reason of his speech or vote in either Chamber, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of either Chamber." The provisions with regard to the Provincial legislatures is also the same *mutatis mutandis*.

§ The protection is from criminal action for defamation, although civil action is in order. But even if a civil action is brought, the plaintiff will be put out of Court as will be shown hereafter ( Cf. Sec. 3 Law of Libel Act 51 and 52 Vict. c. 64.) The civil privilege will be *prima facie* more and not less than the criminal.

\* Quoted in *The Statesman* editorial on 21 Feb. 1932. In the mofusil, however, justice, equity and good conscience may help to bring the Common Laws into force.

because it was compiled long before an Assembly of the present type was contemplated.\*

The applicability to Indian cases of the Cockburn law has already been clearly and definitely recognized in the case of *Lala Lajpat Rai vs. The Englishman Ltd. (Appeal case)*.† The facts of the case were briefly as follows: *The Englishman* published in its Calcutta edition a statement which purported to give an explanation of the 'real reasons' as to why Lala Lajpat Rai was arrested and deported by the Government of India in 1907. The statement was considered libellous, and *The Englishman* having refused an apology which was demanded, the plaintiff brought an action of libel against the proprietors of the paper and was awarded damages to the extent of Rs. 15,000. The defendants appealed and it was argued on their behalf that prior to its publication§ in *The Englishman*, the 'libel' in question was already stated in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India. But although the damages were reduced to Rs. 1,500, the appeal was dismissed on the ground that "no authority can be cited for the proposition that a person is entitled to publish Parliamentary proceedings as a statement of his own and in the form of an offending article." "I agree," said Harington, J., "that the defendant was entitled to publish that Secretary of State for India has made in the House of Commons such and such a statement, and as long as he published a substantially accurate account of what was said in the House of Commons, not as a statement of his own, but a statement made in the place, then I think he would be doing nothing unlawful."\*\*

This clearly shows that it has already been recognized by an Indian Court that in the event of an action of libel brought by an offended person against a newspaper for a faithful reproduction of proceedings in the Legislature, damaging to his character, the verdict must always be given in favour of the newspaper, on the authority of the law laid down by Cockburn. The report in such a case will be indisputably privileged and the newspaper "would

be doing nothing unlawful," although it would be a wide and undue extension of this privilege if it were to cover any independent statement of facts drawn from the proceedings of the Legislature.

The situation is thus cleared up. As in England, so in India, a faithful report in a public newspaper of the proceedings of either house of the Legislature, containing matter disparaging to the character of an individual, which occurs in the ordinary course of proceedings, is not actionable at the suit of the person offended. A faithful report of a *debate*, as differentiated from the proceedings taken as a whole, is also equally privileged on the authority of the same law.\* And in both these cases the privilege is of course qualified. As for speeches, the opinion of Mr. D. N. Banerjee is that "there is nothing in the Act to protect a member from being legally dealt with in a Court of Law if he himself publishes his speech which is actionable. In England if a member publishes his speech his printed statement becomes a separate publication unconnected with any proceeding in Parliament." (May, p. 100). In the absence of anything to the contrary it may be presumed that the publication of a libellous speech delivered in either Chamber of the Indian Legislature, otherwise than officially, is punishable.† In the absence of a definite law this is of course the exact legal position. But the point of view from which we have considered the whole of this subject permits us to venture the opinion that in the event of specific cases, laws are sure to be laid down by judicial authorities much on the same lines as in England.

But while the conclusions are thus plain enough, the Indian Government has not so far given to the Press the necessary statutory protection which is indispensable for a democratic country. On the contrary, some of us have watched with dismay the recent encroachments made upon legitimate journalism in India. It is, indeed, time that the law is made plain as well to the Press as to the public through proper channels, without leaving it to its remote chances in a Court of Justice.

\* Read *the Statesman* editorial, 21 Feb. 1932.

† *Cal. Weekly Notes*, Vol. 14, p. 724.

§ It should be noted that priority of publication under privilege is no justification for republication. See *Blake and Odgers*, p. 176.

\*\* *Cal. Weekly Notes*, Vol. 14, p. 724.

\* L. R. 4 Q. B., p. 90.

† D. N. Banerjee: *Indian Constitution*, 2nd edition, p. 194.



# N. R. A. (NATIONAL RECOVERY ACT) AND WORLD TRADE

By SASADHAR SINHA

**T**O understand the crisis to which the world until the other day had more or less resigned itself with a philosophic calmness, one must have a clear conception of the fundamental facts as to how the different sources of production and the various developments (industrial, capitalist and imperialist) went through a series of evolutions.

The origin of British foreign investment, as Keynes very ably discusses, was the booty brought by Drake and followed by the formation of the Levant Company. "Largely out of the profits of the Levant Company, there was formed the East India Company—the profits of which during the seventeenth and eighteenth century were the main foundations of England's foreign connections; and so on." Even as far back as 1600, real wages in England were only half what they had been 100 years ago and during this profit inflation, advantages and fruits of economic progress went to profiteers only. A profit inflation is, according to Keynes, almost certain to bring about a more unequal distribution of wealth and the abnormal growth of capital-wealth always accompanies this profit inflation. It was under such auspices that modern capitalism was born and the root of the evils is, therefore, centuries old. Economists from time to time advanced theories to solve current problems but the gravity of the situation was never realized until lately. The central features of the crisis today are cut-throat competition among capitalist countries, over-production and narrowing down of market, changes in the technique of production, difficulties of further exploitation, contradictions between production and consumption, break-down of the machinery of distributions, etc.

The finances of the world were in a stalemate until the beginning of 1932. England was the first country to protest though very mildly against orthodox economics,

but it was left to America to challenge it and shake its very foundation. The American experiments are comparable to the first and second five-year plans of Russia though the respective aims are poles asunder.

England went off the gold standard in September, 1931. A national government was returned by an overwhelming majority under panic conditions and English capitalism was stimulated to restore some of its lost ground. There have been changes but the Victorian structure still remains and added to it, the proverbial characteristic of English people who are always shy of launching bold experiments, may very well be the limit of British sphere of influence in the World recovery—the alternative of which is chaos.

The newspapers with one or two exceptions are all unanimous that the worst is over and that British prosperity is within sight. They forget that the crisis may be over in this country but the depression is certainly not. The economies of these islands are so bound up with the rest of the world and the face of the earth has changed so much since the last war, that Great Britain has been obliged to concentrate all her attention on an area of 89,041 square miles and population of 44,932,881 persons compared with U. S. A., Germany and Japan (to mention only a few of her competitors) with areas of 2973776, 180985 and 147592 square miles, and populations of 122,775,046, 62,410,619 and 64,450,005 persons respectively, all these countries being more favourably supplied with such materials as keep the industrial centres active. The Empire free trade is one of the many counsels of despair and so far the results have shown, they only deserve a lip service.

The British efforts to tide over the depression were not preceded by any plan, they were based on the traditional confidence that Great Britain, given favourable conditions, as a matter of course was entitled to take its old place among industrial nations. Thus

did the English capitalists shun an excellent opportunity to give a much-desired lead.

The British achievements during 1931 were essentially safety first though in a short view sane. The Tories put a stop to credit expansion, drastic cuts were made, most of the public and social services were suspended and dole was restricted. There was a controversy in the Press and the Parliaments on Cobdenism, various arguments were set forth for and against and ultimately England became protectionist. For the last two years English trade is doing much better due to mounting and widening tariff and we find factories within customs walls producing articles formerly imported despite trade union exactions. Quotas and agricultural marketing schemes and the recent trade nationalism give one the impression of apparent prosperity but the size and population again are England's greatest handicap.

However much the British market may be steady today, the statistics are not very encouraging and it is very difficult to say how long this progress of upward trend can be maintained in spite of all its soundness, more so in view of the American National Recovery Act and other world factors (we are deliberately excluding Russia from our consideration). Once the N. R. A. (National Recovery Act of the United States of America) succeeds, capitalism will assume an entirely different form and individual capitalism as practised in older countries will be doomed to its logical conclusion.

The crisis had generally come to be regarded as chronic but thanks to Roosevelt, the issue now is simple—we are in the thresholds of a new society and our choice lies between the American and Russian methods.

The statistics of post-War American industry are very interesting. We may not go into details about figures but it will be sufficient to say that before the new experiments U. S. A. had lost  $\frac{1}{2}$  of their world trade and the output of iron and steel—the key industry of the country, was reduced by  $\frac{9}{10}$ . The American exports of industrial machinery were \$ 338,027,000 in 1929 and in the first eight months of 1933 were only \$ 31,779,967 (with a marked tendency to

improvement). The textiles showed a drop during the corresponding period from 135,115,000 to about 23 million dollars. The average receipt of farmers from 1923 to 1929 amounted to \$ 11,000,000 but they amounted to 9,000, 7,000, and 5,000 in 1930, 31 and 32. Unemployment stood at 12 millions including 3 millions who can be classed as permanent.

Roosevelt, since he entered the White House, knew his own mind. He had a programme in his sleeves and up till now he is truly and faithfully carrying out (or at least attempting to) that programme item by item even with a fanatic's zeal. He did read the situation clearly and at once blamed the financial instability and the reduced price level with its consequent fall in purchasing power for all the ills of the world in general and U. S. A. in particular. Here a student of Economics may enter into a serious controversy. Fall in prices leads to restriction in production which is identical with reduction of employment. The question arises whether the fundamental cause of a crisis is due to fall in prices or to production beyond the capacity of market.

Artificial respiration to bring back to life a dying system would be useless, nothing but a planned economy could save the American or the world situation. So one of the first things Roosevelt did was to stabilize that part of the economic process wherein lies the final determination of whether or not practically all of the individuals in the nation will be brought the necessities and few of the comforts of life. Planned economy, therefore, cannot ignore the ramifications of the cost of living. Further, a nation exists as a result of productive effort and all productive efforts must, therefore, be disciplined for the benefit of the whole, *i. e.*, the State. Hence the National Industrial Recovery Act and the codes—the colossal magnitude of which can be grasped from the following data of expenditure :

Public Work	\$3,000,000,000
Liquidation Corporation	\$1,500,000,000
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	925,000,000
State Relief	500,000,000
Miscellaneous	1,275,000,000
<hr/>	
\$ 7,200,000,000 or £1,250,000,000	

The immediate aim of Roosevelt was to raise prices in U. S. A. and incidentally elsewhere by a redistribution of wealth within

the States to the advantage of farmers and other debtors. He armed himself with the following powers—(a) gold embargo, (b) depreciation of dollar in foreign exchange, a process that leads to readjustment of ratio between American and non-American prices, (c) inflation, (d) processing taxes, (e) restriction on farm produce, (f) reduction in working hour. The word inflation has a natural prejudice against it and Roosevelt has been very careful to avoid it but this undoubtedly is his last weapon which he will not hesitate to use whenever he thinks the time is most opportune or when the pressure from the farmers becomes irresistible.

The earliest results of N. R. A. were rather encouraging. The yield of the first three months was the largest and during the second and third stages, any progress visible was diminishing. The reasons for such set-backs were complex and many, but they can be explained under the following heads :

(i) Buying ahead of commodities and merchandise gradually discounted after the first impetus and stimulus.

(ii) Speculation in stocks specially grain, cotton etc. collapsed.

(iii) In textile industry particularly, selling prices had doubled, production costs had reached such a point where purchasing of textile and volume of output might be curtailed.

Against all these odds there was an encouraging sign in retail trade. Though we should bear in mind that wages, cost and price were far from balancing one another, the latest bulletin of the American Federation of Labour states that a 6 per cent increase in wages has been eaten up by an 8 per cent increase in the cost of living. Only in oil production where the scheme conferred a virtual governmental dictatorship, things worked smoothly. Roosevelt knew his was an uphill task and the first disappointments to convert his country from rabid individualism to a faith in reorganization, planning and the rest did not deter him. He instituted his famous codes, his chief object being to win labour's support. Not only working conditions of labour were determined but practices for obtaining custom that are to be regarded as improper were specified. This has been one of his greatest

master-strokes and the American labour today is said to be behind him to a man, and he can very well defy the brickbats showered on him by Ford and other individualists. Within a few months Roosevelt had some satisfaction at least. Cost of living had risen by 9 per cent higher in September compared with March but 17 per cent in September, 1932. Compared with March pay roll increased by 55 per cent and employment by 30 per cent. August indexes revealed that in 14 of 89 industries employment was higher than in 1926 ; on the other hand, employment in 30 industries and pay rolls in 69 were less than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the 1926 level. As regards manufacturing activity, the highest proportionate rise (11 p. c.) was reported in iron and steel group where wages increased by 89 (33 p.c.) and employment by 92,000 (28 p. c.).

In agriculture which is America's most critical problem and where the "farm strike" and other threats are causing Roosevelt greatest anxiety, the effects of N. R. A. seem to be slow and tiring. The entire activity of the farmers had been dislocated through the appreciation of money from 1926 to 1933. Therefore, it is held that to restore their fortune by reversing the monetary process is the only proper way to help the whole nation. The farmer's contention appears to be to "jerk up" prices to cover the cost of production and the prescription of a minimum price below which dealers would not be allowed to buy. Behind the demand is the ultimate object of resorting to the pre-War ratio between agricultural and industrial produce which is obviously impossible of achievement. Roosevelt's remedy is to raise prices by increasing consumer's demand. He has been very liberal in his reliefs. Only recently there was an announcement that for corn and hog raiser alone, Federal Government intends to pour upon them \$500,000,000, thereby increasing the farmer's income by 50 per cent. The latest returns show that employment and pay roll in agriculture are well above the level of a year ago (August figures for employment and pay roll record an increase of 7.3 per cent and 11 per cent respectively).

We are now in the fourth and perhaps the final stage of the recovery plans. It is still based on original plans, the whole machine

is now assembled and upon the success or failure of Roosevelt depends the very fate of capitalism already assailed from many sides. The crux of the whole problem is how to push up price level, that and that alone will bring back prosperity or recovery, whatever one may choose to call and Roosevelt will stop at nothing until he has brought this about and avert the inevitable collapse.

Rise in price means the fall in value of money and this is precisely why Roosevelt wants to buy up gold at higher and higher price until it is dear enough over against other commodities. American price level depends on gold value of dollar, gold would have to fetch more than \$40 an ounce before 1926 level is reached. Hence the attempt to raise prices by the control of the gold value of dollar.

One of the most principal functions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is to buy and sell gold at predetermined price and thus determine the gold value of the dollar. R. F. C. is fully able to prevent the external depreciation of the dollar going any farther than it desires. Since America went off the gold standard and refused to stabilize the dollar which left the World Economic Conference in the lurch, Roosevelt has been rushing onwards with his monetary policy very shrewdly and carefully backed by the support and advice of Moley, Irving and Warren—the sponsors of the now famous Commodity or Rubber Dollar theory which, in other words, is nothing but the price index fixation of the value of gold. The sacrifice of sound currency at the altar of national exigency does not necessarily mean currency competition. Such competition tends to have a boomerang effect and returns to strike at the point from which it started.

The inflationists in U. S. A. are farmers who have been most hard hit by depression. A managed currency which has no fixed value in gold but gives it a new gold content, is the nearest equivalent to a full-fledged inflation that can restore the price level on 1926 level. Roosevelt is extremely reluctant to resort to actual printing press inflation but if his relief measures for the middle western farmers are not successful and their discontent is increased, a limited amount of paper money may be issued backed by a considerable gold reserve

that permits a much larger paper money than is now in circulation without inflation.

When Roosevelt took the American situation in hand, the choice was lying between stabilization and inflation with a view to raising of general price level. Prices in November have risen 20 p. c. but is still only 70 p. c. of the average sought to be attained. It is no wonder therefore that the possibilities of an early stabilization are remote. Roosevelt, however, prefers credit expansion to inflation.

The secret of Roosevelt's success lies in an intelligent manipulation of dollar and in this past experience is likely to be of greatest help to him. From 1914 to 1928 world's gold stock had increased by 38 p. c. and the world's production of basic commodities by the same percentage; therefore, the world gold supply was just about adequate to support pre-War prices provided all the world returned to the gold basis. But prices in England were 45 p.c. above pre-War and in U. S. A. 41 p.c. At that time the countries were trying to return to gold, France returned on June 25, 1928 and the gold panic was soon on. With the panic, hoarding became inevitable. The moment thrift or hoarding got ahead of enterprise, it positively discouraged recovery of enterprise and set up a vicious circle by its adverse effects on profits, for the vital force of enterprise is not thrift but profit. Therefore, less than pre-War prices were to be expected. There were other factors too that aggravated the slump. Shortage of capital in Germany and Central Europe and certain structural and financial maladjustments which were the legacies of the war-time dislocation and other perverse policies left the situation rather hopeless for a natural recovery. We have also to take into consideration the profit inflation in France and the international deflation caused by the drain of gold in France and U. S. A. in 1929. This accumulation of gold, the effect of which was scarcity in rest of the world, increased the price of gold in terms of other commodities and decreased the price of other commodities in terms of gold.

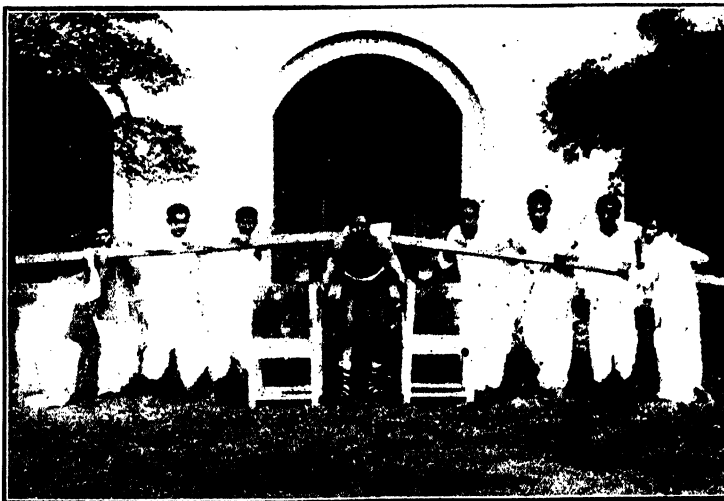
Unlike England who was driven off the Gold Standard because she had to send gold abroad to meet her debt charges and an adverse balance of trade and the refusal of American and French Banks to advance any

more loans beyond £130,000,000 to prevent withdrawal of gold from England by foreign countries ; there was no need for the United States to go off gold but she had to do it as the first and immediate of a series of measures for the purpose of raising prices. There was, however, another question—that of liquidating the unbearable burden of internal indebtedness.

As the situation stands today, until the Congress meets one can safely prophesy that Roosevelt's activities will be confined to take control of the international gold market which he believes to be the only way to raise the price level. The effects upon American government bonds and upon other foreign countries even if a cheap dollar reduced their purchasing power, are only matters of secondary consideration to him. By purchasing gold from France he can even drive the Gold Standard countries off the gold and thus remove a major obstacle for the revaluation of the dollar. As it is, franc is today being kept artificially overvalued. The British Treasury is arraigned for forcing a rate of 83 when 100 would be proper. The question now arises:—can U. S. A. drive its own dollar down without breaking down its own credit at the

same time ? The reader will do well to observe what Prof. Gregory has to say on the subject. According to him the commodity dollar is only a means to an end, as soon as it is realized that depreciation of dollar is leading to unsettlement in commodity markets and the fall of the dollar is being offset by a fall in world prices, inflation will at once proceed according to plan. Roosevelt is bent upon devaluing the dollar by the full extent of 50 p. c. and he counts upon resultant inflation to achieve the advance in commodity prices.

The British industry must be on its guard because the N. R. A. can react upon it bitterly. The potential dangers of under-cutting from American manufacturers are great in the near future if N. R. A. works according to plan. Repercussions on machinery, electrical goods and automobiles will be greatest. American exports of iron and steel, textiles and chemicals are normally of a specialized character and in these fields Russian market may be closed to England. British-canned foodstuffs, rubber goods, paints, woollen textiles and leather goods will also feel the wind a little but prohibitive customs can spoil the advantages of a depressed dollar.



Mr. Bhupesh Chandra Karmakar, an athlete of Calcutta, is bending an iron rod 18'×3"×4", two maunds in weight.



# KATHAKALI: THE CLASSICAL DANCE ART OF INDIA

By G. VENKATACHALAM

**K**ERALA is a fascinating bit of coastal country in the extreme south-west corner of India. Its wooded hills with vegetations of variegated kind; its green paddy fields running in serpentine curves, flanked by thickly planted plantain and arecanut groves and garden-houses; its backwaters with little islands, and lovely

and misery; the magic and mystery that still surround life here; all these exert a strange fascination on a visitor. Kerala is a tropical paradise, with palm-fringed horizons and surf-swept beaches, only to be rivalled by Lanka or Java.

Kerala is rich in arts too. The old temples and palaces contain fragments of fresco paintings as interesting as any in India, and some of the figures and groups on the walls of the Trichur temple and Mattancheri palace are not much inferior in artistic quality to those of Ajanta or Bagh. Stone-carvings and bronze images of the gods are also to be seen in abundance. Folk-arts here have met the same fate as in other parts of India, and, of late, some interest is being evinced in their revival, especially in the two popular folk-dances of *Kuttiyattam* and *Kathakali*, which are being taught to girls in schools. But by far the most unique and famous art of Kerala is Kathakali, the dance art *par excellence* in India.

It is one of the ironies of Indian life and art that real talent and genuine merit are not so much recognized and appreciated as spurious ones sponsored by vested interests. The New Delhi scheme was a well-known instance. With such master-artists like Nandalal Bose, Venkatappa, Ukil, Asit Halder and others in the country, whose knowledge and skill in fresco painting cannot easily be equalled or surpassed, it was amusing to see the Government holding competitions among school students and third-rate artists for the execution of that work, with what result the world now knows! It is the same with the art of dancing. Much of the so-called Indian classical dances, "performed" by both professionals and amateurs, is neither classical nor Indian but a quaint jumble of Arabian, Egyptian and Indian dances, with sensuous bodily movements, meaningless steps, and gestures set to some popular tune.

The even so-called Ajanta dances are preposterous impostures, for there is nothing in the whole series of Ajanta paintings, excepting a single dance scene in Cave No. 2, that can give a student of dance art any valuable material save certain *motifs* and ideas for costumes, ornaments, head-dress and, perhaps, some graceful and dignified poses and postures. And yet how that name is wickedly exploited and what funny kinds of dances are exhibited under that name! A notable exception was the interpretation given by Menaka, (Mrs. Leila Sokhey), entitled *Ajanta*



Rama and Lakshmana  
Kathakali dancers in their full costumes.

lagoons reflecting dreamily the blue sky and the fantastically bent palms on the banks; the gray huts and the red-tiled roofs peeping through the rich foliage of garden compounds; the big bare-breasted women working bent all day long in the fields, singing sad songs to forget their hardships; the dark, strong-limbed men at their ploughs and oxen; the white-clad and clean-looking Nairs and their womenfolk of soft, olive complexion, dark eyes and shy looks; the proud exclusive Nambudri with his caste arrogance and social tyranny; the oppressed untouchable and the unseeable with their long-drawn agony

*Darshan*, which was a sincere attempt to bring to life something of the spirit of Ajanta.

But how many in this country who have seen the so-called classical dances of India have heard of, not to say, seen Kathakali, *the only genuine hundred per cent classical dance art of ancient India*, one of the most highly perfected dance arts in the world? Kathakali is not merely based upon the science of *Bharata Natya Sastra*, but on traditions more ancient than that; and this art has remained, save in its own birth-place, unknown, unhonoured and unsung even by the enthusiastic exponents of Indian cultural renaissance. But thanks to the genius of a poet and his flaming enthusiasm, it refuses to remain any longer in obscurity, and the day is not far off when it will take its place in the world of art as prominently as the Russian *Ballet* or the Javanese *Wayang Wong*, and also considerably influence the future dance art of the world.

Kathakali, in its present form, may be said to date back from the early eighteenth century, and its association with a prince of Travancore may, to a certain extent, be historically correct. But its real beginnings can be traced to a race and civilization much anterior to the Aryan, and its antiquity must indeed be very remote considering that it has certain primitive elements in its rhythm, music, make-up, dress and ornaments, and also that it gave birth, at a distant past, to the Javanese and Kandyan dances. One can also trace elements of Polynesian rhythms and movements in it. It has most undoubtedly absorbed and assimilated the whole of *Bharata Natya*, which gives it its present cultured character.

I have no doubt, whatsoever, that its origin was in magic, and even today its *elemental* nature can be felt by any sensitive person. It must have played a tremendous part in the religious rites of the ancients who knew how to invoke invisible powers, both of evil and good, by symbols of sounds and gestures. Both primitive and civilized nations of the world have recognized and used this symbolic language for communication with subtler worlds and invisible beings. The Egyptian Masonry, the Hindu Vedic Rites, the Chaldean Magic, all these were several forms of magic based on a deeper understanding of the laws of nature and their psychic effects. It was well known to the ancients that sounds and gestures create definite forms and colours in subtler matter, and they have a certain meaning and message to the spirits whose aids are sought by these magical formulas and rites. Some of the sounds and gestures and the accompanying drum-beats in Kathakali, especially as in the opening scene of *Keechaka-radha* and the like, are distinctly of the spirit-invoking kind. I do not know how far the actors themselves realize the magical quality of their arts—I suppose they feel but do not

understand—but I am certain that the powers they invoke and release are tremendous.

Hence I venture to claim for this art an antiquity far greater than is usually assigned to it. To say that this art is only about two hundred and fifty years old is absurd. In the first place it cannot be the work of anyone single individual or a group of individuals, however clever and talented he or they may be; *it is a heritage of a race*, as old as itself. In the second place, it is not humanly possible to evolve and perfect an art of this kind within the short space of two centuries, even if a whole nation had put its whole energy in perfecting it, and we know for certain that this art was dying a natural death during the last two centuries, except for isolated patronage here and there by a few landlords and petty chieftains. I



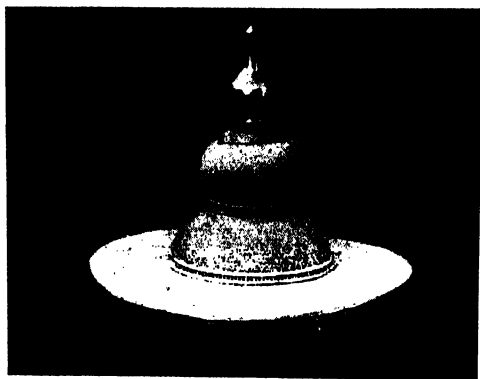
Head-dress worn by characters like Krishna, Rama or Arjuna.

claim for Kathakali an age anterior to *Bharata Natya* or *Ajanta Chitra* or *Sanchi Silpa*; in fact, this art is as great in its own line as *Ajanta* frescoes are in painting or *Bahrut* friezes are in sculpture.

Now what then is this Kathakali, the impatient reader may ask? It is, as its name indicates, Story Play (Katha: story, Kali: play), or the narration of a story in the form of a drama. But in this case the drama is a pantomime or dumb-show, accompanied by music, song and dance. It is a unique dramatic art, as daring in its conception as it is complex in its expression. Even a whole epic like the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana* is presented to the public, without a single word spoken by the actors but through an evolved technique of suitable gestures, suggestive poses, clever facial expressions and appropriate song and music. It is more elaborate than a musical play and more exacting than ordinary dramatic acting.

It is an open-air show, meant to be performed in a grove or maidan, and never inside a theatre. It has, therefore, not the usual painted curtains

and horrid backgrounds of the Indian stage to mar its general effect. Its settings are simple and admirably serve the purpose. Just a *shamianna*, with a high roof supported by four poles; two tall bell-metal oil lamps burning bright all through the night and shedding cool light not trying to the eyes of both the actors and audience; a beautifully-coloured cloth held in front by two dressed-up boys every time an actor or actors make entry or exit, serving as a drop-curtain; and a stool for actors to sit upon or rest their legs as the case may be. The audience sit in front on matted floor, and the singers and drummers sing and play standing immediately behind the actors. The orchestra consists of two singers (or narrators of stories), a *maddalam* player, a *chenda* player, a cymbal and a gong player. Conch is sounded at the beginning of a show. The first impression of this music is rather loud and harsh, but when the ears get used to them it is pleasing and enjoyable.



Head-dress worn by characters like Hanuman, Vali etc.

Certain changes would need to be effected if they are to be played in a closed theatre, as the sound would be deafening, but as far as possible it is wiser to have them in open air.

The play, usually a story or scene from the Indian classics, lasts a whole night, from 9 p. m. to 6 a. m.; at times continuing for several nights. In its own place and among its own people this may be all right, but when it has to be presented outside Kerala and to people with modern tastes and ideas, there must be a time-limit to it, say, two to three hours at the most. This much-needed reform is being introduced by the Kerala Kalamandalam, under the leadership of the poet Vallathol, who is devoting all his time, energy and money for the revival of this ancient art, with a hope that it would be accepted and appreciated by the world at large in its reformed state. He himself is an expert exponent of the science of gesture, and his enthusiasm is

contagious. He has a keen and energetic collaborator in this work in Mr. Mukunda Raja of Kunnankulam, the Honorary Secretary of the Kalamandalam.

The conventional form of presenting a play is as follows:

First there is the announcement to the villages all around, known as *Kelikottu*, drum-beating about sunset time, and this is followed by *Todayan* and *Vandana-slokams* (dance, music and prayers) behind the curtains, a little before the commencement of the play, and after this the first appearance of characters amidst a loud flourish of drums and conch, known as *Parappadu*, and the interval between this and the actual commencement of the story is taken by *Melappada*, musical contests between the *Maddalam* and *chenda* players and the singers.

The stories interpreted by Kathakali are in poetic forms set to music, which closely resembles the temple music of South India. Several gifted poets of Kerala, some of them princes of the royal blood, have contributed much to this art in the form of poems and plays written for this purpose, which the actors faithfully try to interpret in Kathakali. The singers here, like the *Dalangs* in Java, are not possessed with a good voice, which is unfortunate, and even the drummers should be trained to play softer music than they do now. It would not be a bad idea if *Eduka* (stringed-drum) be introduced in certain scenes where solo dances are performed conveying the *Sringara* or *soka rasas*. For a proper appreciation of this art by the world at large, certain innovations and changes need to be effected, and experiments to that end should soon be made.

There are thirty varieties of dances, some simple and some complex, in Kathakali, and they are based on a sound knowledge of rhythmic laws of body movements. There is very little "foot-work," in the Western sense of the term, and some of the steps are obviously primitive and uncouth. The main emphasis seems to be not so much grace or beauty but strength, but still there are a good number of graceful movements and steps in the dance. A student of Indian sculpture can easily trace in this art the varied bends and flexions, poses and postures that one sees in stone and bronze images.

This art is not merely suggestive and interpretative but highly descriptive and realistic too, such as the Peacock Dance. It is an amazingly truthful portrayal of the bird's moods and movements, its vanity and majesty. The composer of this dance was not only a keen observer of nature, and particularly of the life of the peacock, but also a psychologist who understood a little bird's flutterings of heart and mind. This clever imitation and interpretation of animal and bird life is an interesting feature of Kathakali. Knowledge and originality characterize everyone of these interpretative dances, and

not mere whim and fancy of artist as in some of the modern dances.

It is here that tradition helps and keeps in check individual idiosyncracies from running riot. A sad feature of modern art is this supreme conceit and folly in art interpretation and creation without the requisite talent or guidance. Tradition can both help or hinder, it all depends upon the artist and his genius. It is my conviction that the traditional forms evolved in Kathakali can greatly help any aspiring student of dance, and I have no doubt that more and more will go in search of it as Ragini Devi and Uday Shankar have done.

*Abhinaya*, i. e., interpretation and portrayal of moods, emotions and ideas through hand gestures (*mudras*) and facial expressions, is a singularly significant aspect of Indian dancing, and it is developed into an interesting science and art. Body movements and rhythmic footsteps have their own important place in Hindu dancing but not a primary place as in Western dancing. Bharata, the reputed author of *Natya Sastra*, has elaborated a system of gestures (*mudras*), and it is in use, though in a corrupt form, in the several styles of dance existing today. But the unknown author or authors of Kathakali, either following a more ancient tradition or creating a new one, have enriched this with a wealth of words, idioms, phrases and expressions nearly as complete as the spoken language and capable of interpreting even abstract ideas. Some of these *mudras* are as descriptive as any picture could be and some as suggestive as any symbol. They are based on a profound understanding of life and nature, and when you consider that the whole of the *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata* can be interpreted successfully by this gesture-language, its achievement becomes almost incredible. And yet that is what has been attempted in Kathakali.

Gods, Goddesses and Devas; Siva, Vishnu and Brahma; Parvati, Lakshmi and Saraswati; Indra, Varuna and Kubera; Rudra, Narasinha and Durga; Gandharvas, Kinnaras and Kimpurushas; Vyasa, Narada and Agastya; sun, moon and stars; clouds, thunder and lightning; rain, storm and wind; earth, sky and ocean; fire, water and air; man, woman and child; friend, foe and lover; king, queen and

prince; saint, sinner and sage; teacher, warrior and workman; trees, flowers and buds; animals, birds and bees; peaks, valleys and mountains; moods, passions and thoughts; hatred, anger and jealousy; love, lust and affection; aspiration, devotion and worship; subtlety, cunning and greed; birth, death and growth; speculation, imagination and introspection; concentration,



Kerala Kalamandalam

(Staff and Students) Seated: Mukunda Raja, Hony. Secy.; Ragini Devi, Dancer; Poet Vallathol, Founder and President; G. Venkatachalam, writer of this article

meditation and contemplation; description of scenes, incidents and events; portrayal of persons, character and conduct; dialogue, soliloquy and conversation—all these have their appropriate *mudras*. Their description is, at times true to life. Deer, fish, peacock, elephant, lotus buds, creepers, etc. are picturesquely illustrated. Verbs, nouns, prepositions and even exclamations have their apt *mudras*.

Being a descriptive language it is naturally much more elaborate and intricate than spoken language and takes time to learn. The memorizing of the twenty-four root-*mudras* and their endless permutations and combinations would itself take a long time, but to be efficient in their exposition and to master simultaneously the nine movements of the head, eight glances of the eye, six movements of the eyebrows, four postures of the neck and other sixty-four movements of the feet, heels, toes, ankles, knees, thighs, waist, sides, back, arms, elbows, shoulders, wrists, palms, lips, nose, chin, cheeks and eyelids, as practised in Kathakali, is indeed a matter of strict and careful training for several years. That is why a

pupil takes six years the least to get some proficiency in the art, and no one is allowed to teach another, unless one has learnt it for over twelve years. The discipline and regular practices these pupils have to undergo are very rigorous and exacting, and the course of physical exercises and massage of the body are exceedingly interesting, albeit a little crude and primitive.

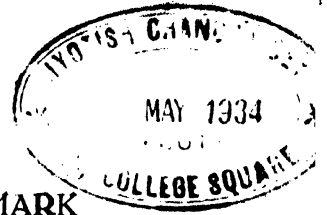
What a mockery then it is that after an easy and indifferent training for six months or so, young dancers come forward most brazenly to interpret the classical dance art of India before the public and expect patronage, appreciation and applause! Art is a jealous mistress and the aspirant must pay her price. In the whole of Kerala there are now only two masters of this art, who have been practising it for over forty years, and who now teach at the Kalamandalam, Kunja Kurup of Thakazhi and Narayana Nayar of Kavalapura, both great artists and good men. In any other country their genius would have been proclaimed from the house-tops, but here they live and teach in an insignificant village for no fame or money but for the love of the art and its traditions. All honour to them.

*Make-up* and *Mask* play a great part in Kathakali. This art is an elaborate process needing years of practice, and there are men who specialize in them. The Kathakali *make-up* ordinarily consists of a white *chutti*, (outline) made of rice paste and cleverly done in relief on the sides of the face from ear to ear, and the face within is painted green, red or black, according to the character, on which one can observe the display of emotions and expressions of the actors. As a *mask* and a work of art this is much more interesting than the artificial paper or pulp *masks* used in dances all over the world. Women characters do not have this *make-up* or *mask*. Personally I should prefer all characters, except the *rakshasas* and demons, to appear without these *make-ups*. To a certain extent they mar the aesthetic effects of the dance; and if any *make-up* needed at all, a little paint of the flesh colour for the face with attenuated eye-brows and slightly emphasized mouth will equally serve the purpose.

This change in the *make-up* will necessarily

affect the present costumes and ornaments the actors wear, which are, to tell the truth, barbaric, heavy and cumbersome. The dancers' well-developed bodies and their graceful movements all get lost within the folds of the present long-sleeved blouses and pleated skirts. These dancers, with practically no dress, save a piece of loin-cloth, create a far more beautiful impression and reveal more fully their supple form and sinuous lines than in their conventional costumes. The jewelleries too, though picturesque, are not elegant and refined. They are mostly copied from the ornaments of the temple images, and even the crowns (*mukutas*) are heavy and can easily be replaced by a more elegant form of head-dress, like the Javanese dancers.

A bold and courageous reform need to be introduced in this direction; and much of the present misunderstanding about this art, in its own homeland, is due to this barbaric dress worn by the actors and the frightful *raksha* characters presented in their plays. In representing *Bhayanaka* and *Bibhatsa* rasas (fear and grotesque elements) on the stage, the Kathakali actors cannot be excelled by any in the world, and their characterization of *rakshas* is too realistic and terrible. The *make-up*, costume, gesture, music and the tense atmosphere are all awe-inspiring. This is only one feature of Kathakali, and most unfortunately, it is this aspect that is most emphasized, and hence the misunderstanding that it is inartistic, crude and primitive. This, however, is a mistake. The Kathakali actors are equally experts in presenting *Sringara* and *Soka* rasas (love and grief) or *Vira* and *Karuna* rasas (heroic and compassion), and few actors on the stage can excel them in these. But much of them is really lost in their traditional way of presentation, and it is here the authorities of the Kalamandalam can do much to make this art acceptable by the world. The poet Vallathol and his fellow-workers are eager to accept suggestions and criticisms, and it is for talented dancers and artists like Sri Ragini Devi, Menaka, Shrimati Huthreesingh, Uday Shankar and others to learn the art first and then suggest ways and means of modernizing this ancient and glorious art.



## THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL OF DENMARK

By Mrs. KIRON BOSE

**T**HE agricultural population of Denmark has developed certain qualities of mind and character which have won the admiration of the whole world. These have enabled the people to adapt themselves to economic changes, and, with their intellectual and moral power, they have achieved success in many-sided co-operation.

They have developed these qualities within the last few years. Only recently they were incapable of co-operation, but today they are resourceful, progressive and capable of associated enterprise. This remarkable change is attributed to a group of patriots who moved their countrymen by their teaching and example. Their teaching was sympathetic and their precepts entered into corporate life.

The idea of the Folk High School did not originate in the mind of a college professor; it was conceived by a spiritual genius who understood thoroughly the life and mind of his people and who had a vision of the especial enlightenment that was needed to promote the well-being of his people. The aims and method of the school are in every way determined by the life of the common people which it is intended to serve. The hymns that he heard sung at home had a vital influence over his later life; and the memory of that good Home became a sort of inspiration. He wrote—

"Forward to help in the hour of need  
With the treasure you have on store.  
With the peoples' stumbling strength and wits  
On! peasant! on!"

The great personality of Grundtvig, the pastor, poet, and educational reformer, influenced first a group of disciples and ultimately the peasantry of Denmark. His great idea was to open a Danish High School to which the young people from all parts of the land could have access in order to become better acquainted with themselves and where they could receive guidance in all civic duties and

relationship, getting to know all their country's needs; the idea being to rouse the love of the country through the mother-tongue, their national history and by Danish songs.

The High School started by Grundtvig gave the essence of a liberal education to farmers' sons and daughters. The school worked a miracle, and the peasantry was transformed. Danish agriculture was hard hit by foreign competition in the grain market. Corn was the chief product of Denmark. But the Danish peasantry instead of asking for protection turned to technical improvements. They turned their attention from the export of wheat to butter and bacon. But for the people of the High School, the agricultural people could not have shown such great adaptability and intelligence. A liberal education had given the peasantry a practical culture. Co-operative dairies sprung up in numbers. Butter and bacon saved Danish agriculture. Behind the swift and new organizations of the most conservative industries were brains, leadership, and unselfish public spirit.

The Folk High School inspired pupils with fresh energy and a new attitude towards labour, and gave them a wide outlook on life. The school awakened in them a yearning for knowledge and a desire for learning. With this culture young men and women of Denmark saved the Danish farming. The aim of the Danish High School has been to become an educational institution for all, for rich and poor, for town and country and especially for the members of the farming community.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Danish farmers had carried through some radical land reform legislation. The farmer who was formerly the tenant of the Manor became a freeholder; and the personal dependence of the peasant on the squire ceased. This brought about a great social development. All the soil which had been cultivated by the village peasants in

common now came into their personal possession. Through this arrangement the danger was avoided of getting on the one hand a numerous and powerful Association of land proprietors and on the other hand a poor country proletariat. This change has been due to an increase in the number of medium-sized farms and the rapid growth of a number of small holders who were of no importance before. The advent of the small holdings has partly been possible by reclamation of heath and moors and partly because individual holdings have been reduced in size.

It is especially from the homes of these

farmers that the students of the High Schools have been recruited. In the development of Danish life this condition of land-ownership has been of great importance.

The sense of fellowship and the recognition of common interests are still the strongest bonds that unite the Danish farmers.

The distinction between the two groups, the large and small land proprietors, is so small that there is no place for caste feeling and caste struggle. The democratic distribution of property and the spiritual movement among Danish peasants have created a fellowship which, irrespective of class and profession, family and income, unites all.

## A COIN OF DASARATHA MAURYA

By K. P. JAYASWAL

IN the Pataliputra excavations a huge quantity of coins were discovered. I have recently examined a thousand of these found at the Maurya level. The main symbol of the coins from the Maurya level is the *Moon-on-hill* device which occurs invariably on the thousand cast coins I have examined. On a numerous issue the *Moon-on-hill* monogram stands as the solitary figure on the face of the coin, and either the letter *Mu* (sometimes *Mo*, *Ma*), or an elephant stands on the reverse.

The symbol does not occur on any coin of the pre-Mauryan level found at Patna. And this is the only symbol of the Maurya-level coins which stands by itself on smaller coins of that level. It also occurs on the Kumbrar pillar at its bottom, that is, it is definitely the Maurya imperial symbol. While the initial *Mu* or *Mo* denoted the dynasty *Muriya* or *Moriya*, the moon denoted the name of the king (Chandragupta Maurya). Similarly later the moon on the coin of Chandra Gupta I of the Gupta was marked as the name symbol, and 'fire' (*Agni*) on the coin of *Agnimitra*.

The symbol in later generations of Chandragupta Maurya was retained as the dynastic symbol. This is evident from a number of finds which will be published shortly. In tracing the symbol on coins before 190 B. C., the beginning of the Indo-Greek rule and its coins at Taxila, I found a coin with this Maurya symbol (on the obverse) which on the reverse has a distinct name in Kharoshthi characters. It is coin No. 5 on plate III of Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient*

*India* (opposite p. 60). This coin has been copied by the Indo-Greeks, and therefore its age is before 190 B. C.

I am reproducing the coin here, as Cunningham's book has become very rare (only 200 copies having been printed originally).



The legend begins opposite the face of the horse

(Line 1) दशर [य faint] (*Dasara[tha]*)

(Line 2) मय (sign).

The lettering is bold and clear, except for the third letter which has become faint.

Dasaratha was the grandson of Asoka, and his cave-buildings with inscriptions are well known (at Barabar Hills, Gaya).

The dynasty which followed shortly after Dasaratha Maurya did issue signed coins. I hope to recover another signed coin of the Mauryas.

The early Mauryas had name-symbols and initials which have been traced for three generations on Patna finds.

# MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA KAMALKRISHNA SMRITITIRTHA

By PROF. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M. A.

**F**ROM very olden times down to a time not long past, Pandits (Indian scholars of the old type) held important positions in and exercised immense influence on Indian Society. Though their position and influence have considerably suffered with the introduction of the present system of education and modern civilization, they are still held in deep regard by not an insignificant section of the people. They are still holding the torch of ancient tradition burning—often unnoticed and with very little publicity. Owing to the comparative neglect of the people at large this type of scholars is unfortunately fast dying out and accounts of them require to be preserved for the benefit of the future generation, if not for the satisfaction of the present. It is for this reason that the account of a well-known Pandit of Bengal is given here for what it is worth.

Born in March 1870 in a family of Pandits at Bhatpara, not far away from Calcutta, a place which is still well known as a centre of Sanskrit learning—Pandit Kamalkrishna peacefully passed away after a short illness on January 25, 1934. He had all the characteristics of the old-type Pandit of India—unbounded humour and wit, an extremely jolly temperament, immense love for old culture, plain living and high thinking. Like so many others of this type, the Pandit was satisfied with the plainest national dress of Bengal, that is gradually being discarded even by Pandits, not to speak of others. No coat, shirt or shoes but two pieces of cloth—one for wearing and the other to cover the upper part of the body with and a pair of slippers—this was all that made up his formal and society dress.

Plain living and high thinking was the motto of his life. But unlike quite a good number of Pandits of the present day, he all along led a busy literary life. Besides teaching students in the orthodox style without charging any fee and sometimes providing them with free board and lodging, he devoted his

time and energy to the publication of old Sanskrit texts. He seems to have received his first training in and initiative for this work from the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, whom he accompanied in his Nepal tour of 1897.

It will not be out of place here to give a brief outline of the activities of Pandit Kamal-



M. M. Kamalkrishna Smrititirtha

krishna in this line. He mainly busied himself with the work of editing and translating old Sanskrit texts—specially those belonging to modern *Smriti* (ancient Indian law as codified by later scholars in comprehensive digests) in which he had specialized. He was a quick versifier as well like many others of this type of Pandits and took delight in composing Sanskrit poems mostly of panegyric and topical character. Many of these were full of humour though very few of them have unfortunately been published. He also took a keen interest in old Sanskrit dramas, in the presentation of which on modern stages he sometimes had an active part.



He seems to have made his literary debut by taking part in the translation of some of the Puranas that were published together with Bengali translations under the editorship of Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna from the Bangabasi Press of Calcutta. He was also responsible for the translation of the second half of the *Rajatarangini*, an historical work in Sanskrit, and for editing and translating the *Agastya-samhita*, both of which were published from the Hitavadi office of Calcutta.

For the last thirty-four years, with occasional small breaks, his principal literary preoccupation was that of editing and revising various old texts published in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as also the edition of a few works in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of Baroda.\* He

\*Altogether ten works—all digest on *Smṛiti* belonging to Bengal or Bihar composed between the 12th and the 16th centuries of the Christian era—edited by the late Pandit were published in this series. Of these *Haralata* of Aniruddha Bhatta is the earliest. All these works are highly important for the reconstruction of the social history of the people of Eastern India, as they deal with topics like rites and rituals, jurisprudence, criminology, etc.

"The ancient practice, derived from the Orient, of eating meals in a recumbent posture. Among the Greeks at the time of the Homeric poems this practice had not yet been adopted; but in historical times it obtained in general among both Greeks and Romans, and it is illustrated in



Eating meals in a recumbent posture

early vase-paintings. It was customary to eat reclining diagonally toward the table, resting on couches, either flat on the breast or supported on the left elbow in a semi-sitting position. Cushions were provided to relieve the strain upon the elbow and the back. The table was usually a little lower than the couches, for convenience in reaching the food."

"The royal cook humbly feeding a native King of Uganda. To touch the teeth of this African monarch would mean punishment by death for the cook."

was engaged in the work of editing texts for both of these series when the cruel hand of Death took him away from this world. His continued service to the Asiatic Society was partially recognized by his election as an Associate Member of the Society in 1924 and his re-election in 1929.

Besides being the editor of old texts Pandit Kamalkrishna was the author of a number of papers embodying the fruits of his lifelong study, some of which were published in different Bengali monthly journals. One of these—quite a big and comprehensive one—called *Prachin Bharatiya Sakshyavidhi* (Law of evidence in Ancient India) won for him the Jogendra Chandra Ghosh Research Prize for Hindu Law. It was published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* of the University of Calcutta.

In recognition of his lifelong literary activities the Government of India conferred on him the title of Mahamahopadhyaya in 1926. By his death Sanskrit scholarship has suffered the loss of a devoted worker and Bengal has been deprived of a scholar of the old type that is hard to be replaced.



The royal cook feeding a native King of Uganda in Africa

# RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK AT SRINIKETAN

By SUKUMAR CHATTERJEE, M.A.

## THE POET'S DREAM

A poet lives in the dreamland of his own creation. That is the proper sphere of his existence. This does not mean that the idealism of the poet is of no practical importance to human life and civilization. The God-gifted genius of the poet sees unity in apparent diversity. He can sift the permanent from the transitory. With a clarity of vision and a fineness of perception, not possessed by ordinary mortals, the poet gives expression to our highest aspirations and ideals.

But this gift itself removes him from the mass of ordinary human beings. He seems to belong to a separate species. When he does come into contact with every-day life, he is apt to get out of his bearings and to fail to appreciate the practical side of things. He is therefore not quite the fittest person to think about and solve the problems of the field, the factory and the changing mart.

Dr. Tagore is one of the few exceptions which perhaps prove this general rule. Early in life he realized the risk of being completely wafted into dreamland on the wings of fancy, and sounded a note of warning to himself. Of the many characteristic poems in which this mood of the poet found expression, the most striking is the one entitled *Ebar phirao more*—now let me take a turning. The wail of the down-trodden and the destitute masses as well as the stern call of duty has seldom been expressed in nobler and more forceful language.

His mind was particularly well-equipped for the task. In his early youth, when he was employed in the work of managing his paternal estate, when to all outward appearances he was weaving into verse of exquisite beauty the play of moonshine on the water, the murmur of the southern breeze and the fragrance of the mango blossoms, the other side of his nature did not remain idle. He was gathering experience of Rural Bengal and making a first-hand study of its problems, and the poet's mind was dreaming dreams of a prosperous "happy peasantry."

## THE SRINIKETAN

When the time came for him to take up practical and constructive work, he had to turn his attention to the school which had been growing up at Santiniketan, which later on developed into the Visva-Bharati or the Institute

of International Culture. This is not the place to dilate on the distinctive features of this Institute and its message to the world, torn asunder by the conflict of self-interest, particularly the post-War world. The earnestness, devotion and sacrifice with which the Poet applied himself to the task of building up the Institute in the face of tremendous difficulties, are well known. Any man might be reasonably proud of this splendid achievement and feel a satisfaction that his time in God's vineyard has not been spent in vain.

No such sense of satisfaction and complacency came to Dr. Tagore's mind. He knew no peace so long as the dreams of his early youth were not realized, and at a time of life when most



Typical Scenery of village Islampur in  
Birbhum District

men would lay down their tools and seek the comfort of the armchair "to husband out life's taper at the close," he found it necessary to turn to "fresh fields and pastures new." He founded the Sriniketan, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction.

A site was selected for this purpose at Surul, a village about two miles to the south of Santiniketan. Raipur, the seat of Lord Sinha, is about four miles away. Surul itself was a centre of industrial activity in the early days of British administration and Babu Bholanath Chandra, visiting the place in 1854, found "the deserted and desolate premises used for the silk filature of the East India Company."

### THE WORKING OF THE INSTITUTE. (a) MEDICAL RELIEF

Whenever deterioration sets in in any part of our social organism, things move like a whirlpool, in a vicious circle. Such is the case with the question of medical relief. Because the people are poor, they cannot afford the cost of medical treatment, and because they cannot afford the cost, they suffer from Malaria and other diseases and cannot make a sufficient income. Therefore, ever since the establishment of the Institute attention has been focussed on the question of medical relief.

The problem is not quite easy of solution, because the people are so poor. Free medicine and medical relief can be given to one village for a specified period of time, but it would *prima facie* be impossible to give free treatment and



The workers of Sriniketan collecting information from the farmers and peasants of Islampur, Birbhum District

medicine to all the village and for all time. The difficulty has been solved by the application of the principles of co-operation.

### THE CO-OPERATIVE DISPENSARY

The area of this organization is three or four adjacent villages where a sufficient number of men are available. The minimum number of members with which an organization of this type can work without extraneous aid, is 200.

Contributions are realized mainly in kind and each member is required to pay, at the time of the annual harvest, one-and-a-half maund of paddy, the price of which, on the basis of the present market rate, is about Rs. 2. He has to pay in addition a monthly subscription of anna one only.

With the money thus collected, the society is able to maintain a Sub-assistant Surgeon. Medicine is supplied to the members at cost price. A small fee is payable when the doctor is required to visit the members at their homes. Any amount

paid on this account goes to the funds of the society.

In addition to the services of the Sub-assistant Surgeon maintained by the Dispensary Society, the members have the benefit of consulting the Medical Officer of the Sriniketan in all serious cases and of having their blood, sputum, etc., examined at the clinical laboratory of the Institute.

Three organizations of this type have been formed and are working at their centres, namely, Ballabhpur Bandgora and Goalpara.

### (b) RURAL EDUCATION

In respect of primary education, work has been started among the Santals and the depressed class Hindus, and ten schools have been established with a total of 235 boys.

More attention is directed to the development and training of Braj Balaka. This organization is being built up on the model of Boy Scouts, but it has some distinctive features. In addition to physical development and drill, the boys receive regular training in social service. They are expected to help in village sanitation, to nurse the neighbour in sickness and to make *musti* collections (bushels of rice). Their training includes first-aid, gardening, and observation of plants and soils and an attempt is also made to train them in weaving, carpentry and other suitable handicrafts which might help them to earn a livelihood in later days.

The total number of boys at present enlisted is about 100. There can be no doubt that the organization is suitable for rural Bengal and provides excellent means for early training in the requisites for citizenship.

A start has also been made with a Circulating Library for the villages lying in the sphere of the Institute's activities. The central library consists at present of 519 volumes. There are also four branch libraries. The total number of volumes issued during the year 1932-33 was about 1500, which were taken by about 600 individuals in 32 different villages.

During the year about eighty lantern lectures were delivered embracing a variety of subjects of popular interest.

### (c) ECONOMIC UPLIFT

The activities of the Institute in the sphere of economic uplift of the rural population have followed the lines along which improvement is mainly required. A farm has been run for experiment and demonstration, from which the cultivators in the neighbourhood are supplied with improved seeds, seedlings and cuttings. There is also a poultry farm in charge of an expert in which experiments are being made with different breeds. The industrial department of the Institute, maintained with the help of a substantial annual subsidy from the Bengal Government, has been trying to improve and resuscitate local

## RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK AT SRINIKETAN

industries like weaving and lac and to introduce suitable new industries like *durrie* making and leather works. The villagers are taking a keen interest in *durrie* making and already frames have been established in families.

### CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION

No scheme of rural welfare is complete without arrangements for the introduction of co-operative organizations. A reference has been made to the co-operative solution of the problem of medical relief by the establishment of Dispensary Societies. In order to promote credit facilities to the rural people, a co-operative Central Bank was established at Sriniketan in the year 1927. There are 271 primary societies affiliated to it, most of them are of the rural credit type.

There are some co-operative irrigation societies. These societies are a special feature of Western Bengal where the undulating nature of the country renders the conservation of water a matter of primary importance for agriculture. The workers of Sriniketan recognize this necessity and have included the organization of co-operative irrigation societies in the programme of their work.

There has also been an attempt to organize associations among women. Some such associations (Mahila Samiti) have been formed at Surul, Ballabhpur, Bandgora village and Bandgora bazaar. They are regularly visited by the lady worker of the Institute, who gives practical lessons in cutting, sewing and embroidery and also imparts instructions in hygiene, maternity and child-welfare.

### RURAL SURVEY.

The work of the Institute has so long been mainly centralized at the Sriniketan Institute. Those engaged in rural welfare work recognize the practical difficulties in respect of expansion caused on one hand by the inherent and deep-rooted conservatism of the people and on the other by the distrust of all philanthropic activities from outside. In respect of the latter, the rural people of Bengal are hardly to be blamed. Whenever they have come in contact with the educated *bhadraloks* of the town, whether in the shape of landholders, money-lenders or lawyers, they have often been victimized. It was, therefore, necessary in the beginning to proceed cautiously and to confine the activities to some adjacent villages where the first experiments might be conducted under most favourable auspices in an atmosphere of confidence and goodwill.

In the meanwhile, the workers of the Institute have not remained inactive. They have been conducting a careful, exhaustive and scientific study of the conditions prevailing in the adjacent villages. The survey of two villages has been completed by Babu Kalimohan Ghosh, Superintendent of the Institute, and the information has been published in the form of booklets. They are

full of interesting information and well worth a perusal.

### A SURVEY CAMP

The writer had the good fortune of witnessing the survey of four villages in another centre which was made in the first fortnight of March, 1934. The party consisted of several workers from the Institute; a batch of boys from the Visva-Bharati and a group of Brati-Balaka boys from the Sriniketan school. The party pitched three tents on the bank of a tank on a plot of high land, bare of any vegetation, except for a couple of banyan trees, which marked the plot of the tank.



The workers of Sriniketan collecting information from the farmers and peasants of Islampur, Birbhum District.

The day began with prayers, drill and breakfast. The party then proceeded to an adjacent village where the workers of the Institute began to collect information according to a questionnaire previously decided upon. In the meanwhile, the boys under the leadership of the Superintendent proceeded to clear the jungles and clean the roads and lanes of the village.

The party returned to the camp at midday, when, after bath, meal and rest, they met in the afternoon and discussed the information collected in course of the morning. The special feature of these discussions was the keen interest taken in the practical problems of rural uplift by the educated students of the Visva-Bharati, some of whom hailed from the farthest corners of Bengal.

The information collected in the course of the survey is of great importance, especially as it goes deep into the most pressing problems of rural Bengal. It is hoped that the data thus obtained will enable a practical reconstruction programme to be prepared. The present proposal is to put a whole-time trained worker at this centre to guide the villagers on proper lines under the supervision of the experts of the

Institute, and it can be confidently expected that if the work is carried on in the manner in which it has been started, a great step forward will have been taken in rural welfare.

The Poet takes a keen and personal interest in all the details of the work. He is naturally impatient of the difficulties which make it impossible

to accelerate the progress as much as his enthusiasm and eagerness would require.

It is a great thing for him to feel in the evening of his life that close at hand a band of sincere workers are employed in the task of translating the dream of his youth from the realm of fancy to the sphere of solid practical work.

## RAJNARAIN BOSE ON THE MIDNAPUR PUBLIC LIBRARY

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

THE name of the celebrated Rajnarain Bose is associated very closely with Midnapur. No less than fifteen years of his life were spent there as Head Master of the Zilla School. His activities were not, however, confined to the seminary he was in charge of, but were spread in many other directions as well. While there, he acted also as the Secretary of the Midnapur Public Library and rendered important services to the institution. I have recently had access to a Memorandum drawn up by him, giving a short history of the Midnapur Public Library. This document is now in the possession of S. Rathindra Nath Samaddar and, with his kind permission, is reproduced here, probably for the first time.

### MEMORANDUM

#### HISTORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LIBRARY

The Midnapore Public Library owes its origin to the cordial wish of Mr. H. V. Bayley for the improvement of the inhabitants of this Town which he expressed in various ways while Collector of this District. Through his zealous exertions, subscriptions were raised from the Zemindars and other influential persons of this District to the amount of 2400 Rs.; the sum of 1658 Rs. 15 Ans. 7 Pies was expended in the erection of the Library building and the remainder devoted to the purchase of Books, Maps, and furniture of the Library and the printing of its Catalogue and Rules. The piece of land on which the Reading Room stands was presented by the Zemindars of the Town, Nuzurully Khan, whose agent of the time, Mr. W. Terry, exerted himself highly in procuring

the gift. Baboo Kartickram Ghose, the Meer Moonshee of the Collector, who is now Hony. Treasurer of the Library, was entrusted by Mr. Bayley with the superintendence of the building work, and Mr. Bayley, in his MSS. Memorandum on the Midnapore collectorate, speaks favourably of the manner in which he discharged that task. Before the building was completed, Mr. Bayley was transferred from this District to Hooghly. The inaugural meeting of the Friends of the Library held after the completion of the building in September 1852 for starting the Institution was numerous and respectfully attended, almost all the covenanted and uncovenanted officers of the station, Agents to the Zemindars, Vakeels, and Amlahs of the Courts were present on the occasion. In this meeting, a Committee was appointed consisting of three Hindoo and three Mahommedan gentlemen with the Collector, Mr. G. F. Cockburn as President for the management of the Library. At the next meeting of subscribers held in October of the same year, a Librarian was appointed on a salary of 10 Rs. per month, rules were framed for the management of the Library, and a speech delivered in English by a native resident of the Town on behalf of the native community of Midnapore speaking in highly eulogistic terms of the exertions of Mr. Bayley for the establishment of the Institution, and evincing a warm appreciation of the services thereby done by him to them. The Library is also deeply indebted to Mr. G. F. Cockburn, the present Collector, the successor of Mr. Bayley. He, by procuring gifts of books from the Bengal and Agra Governments and the Calcutta Public Library and pecuniary assistance in the shape of monthly contributions from different parties, by personal exertions manifesting a tender solicitude for the welfare of the Institution, has largely contributed to its present prosperity and usefulness.

## BY WHAT FUNDS IT IS SUPPORTED

The funds by which the Library is supported are the monthly subscriptions and a small sum is also received on account of the rent of the tank adjoining it which belongs to the Jail but the right to the fishery was made over to the Library by Mr. Schaleh, the then Magistrate of the District, in consideration of the Committee having it kept clean and repairing it and reserving to the Jail Darogah, the right of taking an occasional fish in order to preserve the Government right in the tank

## THE RULES

A copy of the Rules is herewith enclosed. The meetings of the Committee are held on the first Monday of every month, besides which there are half-yearly General meetings of the subscribers.

## THE PRESENT SUBSCRIBERS

The present subscribers are all the Civil and some of the Military officers of the station and other European residents not connected with Government, the uncovenanted officers of the District, and the principal vakeels and ministerial officers attached to the Courts and other Residents of the Town. There are two classes of subscribers, the first paying one rupee per mensem, and the second eight annas. The first class enjoy the privilege of keeping four sets of books at a time and the second only two. The present number of European subscribers is 14 and that of native subscribers 31. The following statement will shew the amounts raised from

subscriptions for 12 months from Oct. 1852 to Oct. 1853.

	Rs.	Ans.	Pies		Rs.	Ans.	Pies
1852 Oct.	15	12	0	1853 April	14	8	0
" Nov.	25	0	0	" May	19	8	0
" Dec.	22	1	3	" June	18	8	0
1853 Jan.	29	8	0	" July	28	8	0
" Feb.	24	7	3	" Aug.	24	0	0
" March	17	0	0	" Sept.	17	0	0
				" Oct.	29	8	0

THE SOURCES FROM WHICH ARE DERIVED  
THE BOOKS NOW CONSTITUTING  
THE LIBRARY

The majority of the Books in the Library were presented by Mr. Bayley, some of the rest were presented by the Bengal and Agra Governments, the Calcutta Public Library, Mr. G. L. Young, the Agent of Mr. Abbott in this Town, Mr. G. F. Cockburn, His Highness Takajee Row Holkar, Baboo Radhanath Gangooly, the Deputy Collector, and Baboo Rajnarain Bose, the Hd. Master of the School and the others were purchased from the Government Book Agency, the Vernacular Literature Committee, and other sources with the original funds of the Library. Four months ago, the Book Club of the station lent a good collection of Magazines and Reviews for circulation to the subscribers of the Library. Newspapers are given to the Library by the President and some native gentlemen connected with the Institution. The total number of volumes in the Library is 1870.

Midnapore,  
15th Dec. 1853.

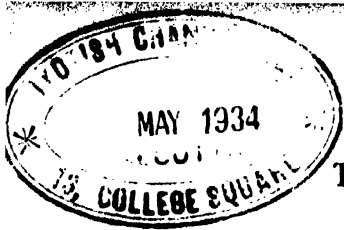
RAJNARAIN BOSE  
Secretary  
M. P. Library.

## A CLOUD THAT'S DRAGONISH

By VERRIER ELWIN

The swift flame, swift as panther's stroke,  
Struck at its victim silently;  
Till all that little world awoke  
To cries of agony.  
The baby's tiny arm was charred;  
His tiny face with torment marred;  
And I must stand all helplessly  
To gaze upon that misery.

O heart of mine, alive to heal,  
Why didst thou stand, abashed, afraid?  
Cloud of my sin arose to steal  
The love that pity made.  
And to my heart a whisper came:  
'Alas, the sorrow and the shame,  
The torment that has never end,  
Only the pure of heart can mend.'



## THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

### I

**T**HE small village Jamral stands on the bank of the Bhairabi, the ruthless. This river is regarded with awe by the people who live on either side of it, on account of the havoc caused by it every year. Villages on both sides are inundated, causing alarming loss in life and property.

One evening, a palanquin, gaily decorated with leaves and flowers, was seen being carried to the riverside, through the village lanes. Behind it came one phaeton and two hackney carriages. The villagers stared at the party in surprise. An old woman came forward and asked one of the palanquin-bearers, "For whom is the palanquin? And why are you taking so many carriages to the river ghat? Are you going to fetch a bridegroom? For whom?"

The leader of the party replied in a deep voice, "You shall know, when we bring him back with us."

The higher castes lived in the interior of the village. The riverside was peopled chiefly by some of the lower castes, mainly boatmen and fishermen. It was difficult to enter or to leave the village, except with the aid of boats. So some boats were always present at the ghat. These were small ferry boats, very simple in construction. When much show or pomp was desired, large boats were requisitioned from other villages.

A small crowd soon collected behind the palanquin and the carriages. The people of the party did not try to turn these folk back, but neither did they reply to any of their questions.

The party came to a halt at the ghat. Then an old gentleman came out of one of the carriages and looked at the broad expanse of the river. "You see the lights on those boats," he said to the attendants. "That is the bridegroom's party arriving. Bring out the torches from inside the carriage and light them."

The torches were lighted, serving to make the darkness all around darker still. The people came out from the huts on the bank of the river and surrounded the party, pelting them with questions. "For whom is the bridegroom?" everybody cried. "It is strange that we do not know—we who live in the same village." The crowd was composed of men, women and children, almost in equal numbers.

"Here they come," cried out the old gentleman, who seemed to be the man in charge. "Now then, ask the band to come out and play with all their might."

The door of the other carriage opened at once, and four or five people came out, carrying musical instruments, and set to, with a will. The horses reared and plunged and neighed at this sudden noise. The coachmen were able to pacify them with a good deal of difficulty.

A large house-boat was seen gradually approaching the ferry station. It was full of people, and decorated with festoons of light. The nearer it came the louder and louder did the band play, and more and more loudly did the people bearing the torches shout.

The boat at last came to a stop and about twelve people got down on the bank. The old gentleman hastened forward to welcome them. The leader of the bridegroom's party was a fat, bald-headed man, who led a boy of sixteen or seventeen by the hand. This boy was the bridegroom. The remaining ten persons, who formed the party, were of various ages and appearances. The young groom was gaily dressed. He wore a long tunic of pink silk, a *dhoti* of very fine texture, and garlands of flowers. His forehead was besmeared with white sindal paste, and he wore a "topor" (bridegroom's crown) on his head. He was smiling shyly.

The old gentleman received them with a great show of courtesy, crying, "Welcome, Jadab Babu, welcome. Many thanks for your punctuality. Here, my dear boy, get into this palanquin."

Jadab Babu was the bridegroom's uncle, and leader of their party. "Why should we be unpunctual?" he said with an air of importance. "We are only a few in number, merely those whose presence is indispensable. It is only a large crowd which is usually unpunctual."

The old gentleman, too, was not the bride's father. He was a sort of maternal uncle. He was all politeness and sweetness to the guests. "Yes, this is a flaw, no doubt, but it could not be helped, under the circumstances. Let the marriage pass off quietly, then we can celebrate the occasion with all the pomp we want to. We can invite as large a number then, as we please. Now then, please, get into the carriages. This way, sir, this way. What are you gaping at, you fools? You there, hold the torches a bit straight, and you, play your loudest. Isn't there any strength in your arms? How much rice do you eat? Drive on now, it is all right."

The party started forward. This time it was quite a large crowd, as the whole village followed in their wake. Village folks are simple, and can seldom conceal their thoughts. So the

bride's party came in for plenty of caustic remarks from them.

"How strange!" cried an old woman, "Our Subarna is getting married, and they never told us! What a miser the woman is. That is her only child, and look how she is treating her. For whom is she keeping her money?"

Madhu, the boatman, was following the party with his *hookah* in hand. "Don't talk of these gentlefolks, aunt," he said. "They don't recognize us as human beings at all, because we are poor."

"But they have not invited the gentlefolks either," said his younger brother Sadhu. "Don't you see, how everybody is staring at them?"

It was true. All the village people were staring at the marriage party with wide open mouths. The menfolk were hurrying out to have a better look, the women remained mostly in their houses, giving vent to their resentment from there.

The name of the bride's father was Pratul Chandra Mitra. A string band was already playing before his house. Pratul Babu's wife, Narayani, was an invalid. But as it was her only daughter's marriage, she was working hard. For some private reasons, they had not been able to issue invitations before. Now she and her old mother-in-law were offering their excuses to the neighbours and asking them to come and grace the occasion with their presence. There can be no wedding without proper witnesses, and there must be some ladies for the women's ceremonials. From Narayani's family had come two persons;—one, her widowed sister, and another, her cousin, the old gentleman, whom we had seen as the leader of the reception party.

There was much talk and excitement in the inner apartments. The bride, Subarnaprabha, was only a child of eight. She had been out playing, and had been captured and brought back to the house, by main force. She was very glad at first, seeing so many people, the lights and the music. But when one of the old ladies present told her to sit down quietly and not to jump about like a tomboy, as she was going to be married, Subarna became furious.

She made a face at the old lady and said: "Marriage indeed! I am not going to marry. Father has said that marriage is a rotten thing."

The old lady laughed aloud and called out to Narayani, "Do you hear what your daughter says? Her father has told her that marriage is a rotten thing and she is not going to marry! But did not your father, too, marry, my clever little miss?"

"Certainly not," said Subarna. "Why should he marry? He knows so much—he has read heaps of books." Saying this, she ran away, her anklets tinkling musically.

Narayani sighed deeply. "She is a madcap," she said. "I wonder how I am going to manage

it all. I hope God will not put me to shame before so many people." Please, you, sister, and coax her back here. We have not got much time left. We must dress Subarna up quickly and keep her ready. Please see that she does not run straight amidst the bridegroom's people in that guise. I must go and see to the cooking. The keys of my boxes are with my elder sister. Please ask anything you want, of her."

Narayani hurried to the kitchen, and the old lady went in search of Subarna. She was easily found. She was standing in the courtyard, gazing at the people who were making some preparations for the wedding. The lady knew how to get round the wayward child. "I say, Subarna dear," she said, "why are you going about in that dirty dress? Don't you see, how all the people have dressed up? Let's go, and I shall deck you out properly."

Subarna loved dressing up; so she followed the lady very quietly this time. They entered the large room where Narayani used to sleep and where she kept all her things.

Subarna's aunt made over the keys at once to the lady and said: "The wedding dress and the ornaments are in that big box. You know I am an unfortunate one (a widow) and should not look at auspicious things. So I am going away to the kitchen. Call me, if you want anything."

A number of girls and young women crowded into the room, to help in dressing the bride. Some did her hair, some began to prepare sandal paste, and some began to put the bridal dress and ornaments on the small person of the bride.

The bridegroom's party had arrived. There was not much pomp, but the bride's party made up for everything with an excess of politeness. The whole village had gathered there by that time. Some had been invited, some had come uninvited. The latter were determined to avenge the insult at the time of the wedding feast and were biding their time.

The women's ceremonials began, as it is the first part of a Bengali wedding. Narayani looked at the boy bridegroom and thought, "The boy looks nice, he will never ill-treat my child. He will make up for all the troubles I had to undergo on account of this marriage."

"What a pity that Subarna's father is not here," said one of the women present. "She is an only child." She looked at Narayani and said, "I don't think you did well in keeping everything from him. You should have informed him after you had settled everything finally. He would not have objected then to the marriage. After all, there is such a thing as social custom. Besides, the bridegroom is quite a nice boy. Why should your husband object to him?"

Narayani wiped her eyes. "You don't know him, sister" she said; "he is hard like a stone,



you would call him scarcely human. If he knew about it even now, he would not hesitate to carry away Subarna by force from before the bridegroom. Why else should I behave like this? I have to think of my caste and my religion. It was only because my mother-in-law approves of the marriage that I dared to do this. You will see, how he punishes me, when he comes to know of it."

"May your child be happy," said the woman. "She is all that you have. If your husband behaves very badly, you can take shelter with your daughter and son-in-law."

"Don't say that," said Narayani. "I have no happiness in this world. As my husband does not want me, I do not want to be a burden on anybody else. I have decided on going away to Benares with my old mother-in-law, after the winter."

The women's ceremonials were over. Loud blasts on the conchshell rang up to the evening sky. The bridegroom was led out to the outer courtyard, where the real and formal wedding was to take place. Narayani looked at Subarna with tearful eyes. She was dressed in red silk and gold ornaments and was smiling. She silently invoked Heaven's blessings on the innocent child.

Suddenly a hackney carriage rolled up to the front door. Narayani's blood ran cold in fear. Who was the unwelcome and belated guest? Were all her plans going to be frustrated at the last moment? She ran to her bedroom, and peeped out through the half open window. No, it was not her husband. But she was not pleased on recognizing the new-comer. It was a cousin of her husband's, named Shibchandra. He was devoted to Pratul Chandra and Narayani was sure that he would look on this secret wedding with extreme disfavour.

Shibchandra walked straight in, without looking at anything or anybody and came to a stop before Narayani's door. "What are you doing, sister?" he asked. "If I could have arrived an hour earlier, I would have prevented this marriage somehow. Are you mad? You know my brother hates child-marriages with all his heart, and yet you are bringing about that very thing behind his back?"

Narayani remained silent for sometime. Then she said, "What else can I do, brother? You have all become *Sahibs*, since you went to the city; but we have not changed in the same way. We must observe our social laws. Else, nobody would even touch our dead bodies."

"So you are giving away a child of eight in marriage?" cried Shibchandra hotly, "and securing a passport for Heaven? Could you not have waited a bit longer? Was it already too late?"

"I shall give my explanations to the man who can demand it of me, but not to you," said Narayani bitterly. "Since you have come, try to help in the ceremony. If you stand here the

whole day and abuse me, that won't prevent the wedding now."

"Even to look at such a marriage is a sin," cried Shibchandra, and walked out as quickly as he had come in. Narayani stood there for a long time, as if petrified; then she wiped the inauspicious tears from her eyes and went back to the store-room.

Her old mother-in-law sat there guarding the sweetmeats. "Is the wedding finished?" she asked, as Narayani came in.

"Yes, mother," said Narayani. "Brother Shibchandra came and took me to task very severely."

"They are a family of 'good-for-nothings'," said the old lady. "Has he gone away?"

Narayani nodded in affirmation.

But she had no time to spare, as the wedding ceremony was over, and the guests had to be fed. So she hurried off at once to make preparations, as she knew that the bridegroom's party might be easily offended.

The ladies led the bride and the groom to the largest room of the house. They indulged in all kinds of witticisms, and peals of laughter rang through the house, reaching Narayani's ears now and then. But her heart was gradually filling with misgivings. She had done this deed hastily, without proper thought of the consequences. Would she be able to weather the storm that was sure to break? True, her mother-in-law would back her, but Narayani would be the chief culprit in her husband's eyes. In trying to give a husband to her daughter, she might have lost her own husband for ever. She could not suppress the tears that welled up in her eyes, even though it was considered inauspicious.

But Subarna, who was the centre of this ceremony and all these heartaches, remained absolutely free from fear or care. She was talking and laughing and making counter-attacks on the playful ladies, who surrounded the couple. The bridegroom was sitting silent and shy, and rather amazed at the behaviour of the bride. The ladies humorously proposed now and then to dress up the bride as the groom and the groom as the bride. This made the boy blush and feel still more shy.

The feast was over and the turmoil was gradually subsiding. The ladies began to leave the room one by one and the few who remained sank into sleep on the carpeted floor. The bridegroom looked around him. His newly-wedded wife was sleeping quietly, clasping one of her friends round the neck. He sighed and moved off to the bed prepared for the pair and laid himself down.

Next day, the bride had to start for her new home. But Subarna refused to go and cried and shrieked with all her might. The bridegroom's uncle began to frown ominously at these pranks of the bride. Narayani felt ready to sink into the ground through sheer nervousness. She tried

to reason with Subarna, but the girl would hardly listen to her. When Narayani tried to use force, Subarna broke the auspicious knot that tied her *sari* to the *chaddar* of the bridegroom and fled away.

She was caught and brought back. She was lifted into the palanquin by main force, as if she were a captive maiden. "I won't go, I won't go," shrieked Subarna. But nobody listened to her. Narayani ran into her room and, lying prostrate on the floor, went on crying in anguish.

As the palanquin approached the riverside, Shribilas, the bridegroom, took Subarnaprabha's small hand in his own and asked, "Don't you love me, Subarna?"

Subarna snatched away her hand and said angrily, "I will never love you. You are a wretch; why are you taking me away from my mother?"

## II

Pratul Chandra Mitra was the scion of an orthodox Hindu family in a village. Before him no member of his family had ever entered the gates of a college. Most of them had looked after their landed property and had stayed in their ancestral village content with its simple life. A few, more ambitious, had gone out in search of money, and had entered the railway or the postal services. Most of them had become well-to-do. They were all devotees of Lakshmi, the Goddess of Wealth, but very few had any reverence for Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning.

So it was a matter of wonder, how Pratul came to be such a lover of learning and so modern in his ways of thinking. His relatives paid homage to social laws, the orthodox religion, the Brahmins, the police inspector, etc., but Pratul had a way of his own which was quite different. After passing the Entrance examination, he refused a post in the railway service and went away to Calcutta to continue his studies, depending on a small scholarship. While he was still a student, he married Narayani. His parents pressed him to do it, and he, too, must have been carried away a bit, by the sight of the girl's pretty face. That was the only thing he ever did against his principles. Himself having married a child-wife, he began to understand the defects of child-marriage more than ever, and tried his best to expiate his error, though rather late. But in a Hindu family, a young husband's authority is very much limited. His parents, if alive, are always the heads of the household. So Pratul was not listened to, specially as Narayani too was not of his way of thinking. She loved and respected her husband of course and never contradicted him. But in her heart of hearts, she thought him wrong and her parents-in-law, right. Pratul wanted to give Narayani a good education and for that purpose he wanted to place her in a boarding school. He was

averse to taking her to live with him as his wife, before she had completed the age of sixteen at least. But his parents refused stoutly to allow such an heterodox course, and Narayani, too, refused to go with her husband to Calcutta against the wishes of the old people. Pratul next asked them to let Narayani remain in her father's house for a few more years. But this, too, could not be, as the girl was thirteen, and could not, it was thought, be left in her father's house any more. So she was brought over. Pratul was so much annoyed that he left off coming to his village home for a few years. When he had finished his studies, and had accepted service as a professor, he came back to the village for the first time in many years.

Narayani was already twenty years old then. She thought herself a forsaken wife and was very sad and depressed in consequence. Still she could never make up her mind to follow her husband, renouncing her orthodox way of thinking. Seeing her husband after such a long interval, she began lavishing all the treasures of her heart on him, but she could not prevent his feeling her inmost thoughts. He, too, could not help loving his charming young wife, but he understood that he could never have her as a partner or a helpmate. After this he went back to his work and came to the village but rarely, just like a guest. His connection with the family all but ceased and he became more and more alienated from Narayani.

When Subarnaprabha, their only child, was born, he made one more attempt to bring Narayani over with him and lead the life of a family man. But this time, too, Narayani refused. Pratul's widowed mother, too, protested stoutly against the proposed arrangement. Pratul went back alone. He carried the determination in his heart to give his new-born daughter the best of educations.

He had decided to bring away the child to Calcutta, when she became older. Narayani never opposed him in words, but she knew she would never be able to live away from her daughter. She was the only child, Narayani had, and if she too went off to Pratul Chandra, for whom would she live in this world? She talked to her mother-in-law frequently about this. Both were of the opinion that Subarna must be married off pretty early, in order to foil all Pratulchandra's efforts.

When Subarna was five years of age, another attempt was made by her father to take her away. But the child, never having lived away from her mother and grandmother, shouted so lustily at this cruel proposal that her father went back alone once more. A few more attempts were made afterwards year after year, but all in vain.

Narayani's health was breaking down and her mother-in-law, too, was growing old and infirm. So both of them were becoming increasingly anxious to settle the matter once for all. But as everything must be done in secret, it was

a difficult thing to do. They could not arrange a match for Subarna in the village, for it would become speedily known to Pratul. If they arranged it in some other village, the chances of being caught were very much less. But how were two Hindu village women to do it? They could not even go out of the village unescorted.

But luck favoured them. A lady whose birth-place was Jamral had been married into a village situated on the other bank of the Bhairabi. She could not come over to her father's house very often, but her son Shribilas came to Jamral every now and then as a guest in his uncle's house. Narayani had seen him several times. Shribilas was not bad to look at and he was about to finish his school course. His family, too, was known to her to be a good one. But Shribilas's mother Nistarini was a notorious shrew. This was the only flaw. But where could Narayani get a flawless match? Nearly every girl had to suffer a bit in her early married life from this sort of trouble, but they became happy, too, in after life. On the whole, Narayani liked the boy. She told her mother-in-law that she wanted to marry Subarna to Shribilas. She, too, consented, as her anxiety to get her grand-daughter settled in life had become acute. She regarded her son as a heretic who was intent on bringing the family's name into disgrace. As long as she was alive, Narayani had a sort of protection. She could even venture to marry Subarna off, secretly, secure in the knowledge that her mother-in-law was backing her. But once the old lady was dead, Narayani would be totally helpless. Considering everything, Shribilas was not a bad match.

Negotiations and correspondence went on in secret. The other party liked Subarnaprabha for various reasons. The girl was very pretty and came of a good family. She was the only child of her parents. Pratul Chandra might be very angry, if the girl was married off without his knowledge; but ultimately he was sure to relent. Subarna would inherit everything he had. Shribilas's father was dead and had not left much behind. Some paddy fields and a homestead were all they had. So a patron like Pratul Chandra was not to be slighted. He might be of immense service. So the match was finally settled.

Narayani kept the matter a close secret from everyone. If anybody came to know about it, he or she would at once inform Pratul Chandra. The only other person who knew about it, was her old mother-in-law. She sent word to her own father's house, asking her sister and cousin to come and help her. She could not manage a wedding single-handed, no matter how simply and unostentatiously she celebrated it. There was no man in the house to help her. So, as soon as the day for the ceremony was fixed, she sent a messenger for her sister and cousin. They came and arrangements for the wedding commenced in secret.

The bride's dresses and ornaments were purchased from the city. Narayani had kept by some money in case of contingencies, like this, arising. But she saw now that it would not be sufficient. She wrote to her husband, asking him to send her some money on the pretext that she was ill. Pratul never had any money to spare, as he spent all his salary during the first week of the month, buying books, paying subscriptions to various associations and institutions and helping needy people. But fearing that his wife might really be in difficulties, he raised some money somehow and sent it to her.

But as the fateful day drew nearer and nearer Narayani became increasingly nervous. If something untoward happened and the match were broken off, it would spell disaster. But luck again favoured her and the secret remained a secret to the day of the wedding. The marriage ceremony passed off smoothly. Shishchandra's unexpected and unwelcome arrival gave her a score, but he too did not try to prevent the marriage. And it was too late then to prevent it, even had he wanted to.

So Subarna was married, and next day went away to her new home with her husband. She cried and made a scene, which upset Narayani very much. She felt totally exhausted and did not rise from her bed for twenty-four hours. The child's wails resounded in her ears continually. The poor girl had clung to her mother's bosom so confidently, but cruel hands tore her off and sent her away. Narayani wondered what she would do, how she would behave in that strange place amongst strangers. If they looked at the child with the stern eyes of judges, they would discover countless flaws in her. She prayed to God that Subarna might find favour with her new relatives. She had sacrificed her own life's happiness, hoping to make the child happy. She prayed to God that her sacrifice might not be in vain. Her heart palpitated with fear, whenever she thought of the unenviable reputation of Shribilas's mother.

Though her mind was full of Subarna's thoughts, yet she was intently listening for something, perhaps half unconsciously. She hoped for someone's arrival, yet she feared it. The person for a sight of whom she was ready to give the world away, was strangely also the man whose presence she feared like that of the King of death. What punishment awaited her at his hand, she did not know.

Pratul arrived next day in the morning. Narayani had just finished her bath and was preparing to enter the kitchen. She had gone without food the last twenty-four hours. Her mother-in-law had gone out on some business. Hearing footsteps near the door, Narayani looked up and saw her husband standing.

Husband and wife gazed at each other silently for a minute. Narayani had nothing to say, she was praying for strength in her mind to bear

calmly whatever befell her. Pratul did not know how to begin.

After a while, he said, "You did this knowing full well that I had the strongest of objections to marrying our daughter in her childhood."

"I could not help it, I had to do it," whispered Narayani.

"Why, may I ask?" said Pratul bitterly; "was there no one to look after the girl, or was I dead?"

Narayani's body shivered in horror at the very thought of widowhood. "Say what you will," she said, "I am ready to bear any abuse."

"What would I gain by abusing you now?" asked her husband. "But how did you dare do this? Did you think of the consequences? If the girl becomes unhappy, will you take the responsibility?"

"That does not lie in human hands," said Narayani. "Happiness and unhappiness are ordained by fate."

"Certainly not," said her husband. "In this case, you will be responsible and not fate. If you had tried your best to make the girl happy and still she had become unhappy, then you might have laid the blame at the door of fate. But you have sacrificed the girl knowingly. The bridegroom is a mere boy, he has no culture, no education, worth speaking of. His mother is a reputed shrew and a skinflint. If you have sincerely believed that your daughter can be happy in such a home, then you are either mad or a fool. Besides, who asked you to decide the girl's fate for her? What do you know of the world? Your whole life is passed, circumscribed by four walls. You cannot walk a single step alone, you cannot shoulder your own burden for a single day, and yet you dared to seal that girl's fate! Why?"

Narayani stood weeping and made no answer. Pratul's mother now spoke from behind. She had returned quietly by this time. "Don't be so angry, my dear boy," she said, "your wife did this with my approval. Now-a-days you think you are free to do anything, but that is not the custom of the land. In our days the old people decided everything and the young ones obeyed. That is right."

"And the result is what you see in the wretched plight of society," said Pratul. "But since you think you are right, you must try to bear up against the consequences. Though the girl had a father, you have treated her like an orphan. Let her not harbour any grievances against me. Your daughter-in-law has acted according to her will, proud of her superior knowledge. Let that knowledge bear her up through life. The duty that was mine had been denied to me. So I tell you that I am free from this day, I have no duty towards anyone."

Seeing that he was advancing towards the front door, his mother rushed to him. "Where are you going away?" she cried, "Sit down and

be calm. Let the newly-married pair come back. See them and bless them. Your anger won't dissolve the marriage now."

"I have not come for sitting down and chatting," said Pratul, "and I shall never come again. Whom do you ask me to bless? You have tied the noose round the girl's neck and to my utter shame I could not do anything to prevent it. I won't mock her with any blessings now."

He went out with rapid strides. The women cried out aloud. Narayani sank down in a faint on the floor of the kitchen.

### III

It was a gloomy evening of July. The only sound that reached the ear was the roar of the river Bhairabi. The villagers cowered in fright. They feared to be swallowed up every moment by the hungry waters of the ruthless river in flood. Everybody sat within closed doors; they did not dare to look at Nature in her fearsome mood. They had finished their work as early as they could. Their fragile shelters, built of a few pieces of bamboo and some straw, guarded them against all the perils that awaited them outside.

But even on such a day, a man had come out of his house and was standing on the banks of that very river whose furious roar was striking terror into the hearts of the other people. His face could not be clearly seen in the gloaming, but sometimes flashes of lightning lit up his features. He looked haggard and careworn.

The river had already overflowed its banks. The place where the fishermen and the boatmen used to live had long been swallowed up. The ferry station, too, had disappeared under the fast advancing waters. The earth shook and trembled against the terrific impact of the furious flood, as if in mortal terror. Now and then huge masses of earth were torn out and disappeared under the muddy stream with deafening crashes.

The man was Pratul Chandra. Nearly five years had passed after that fateful marriage--and he had not been here once. After he had left in anger, his mother too left the village for ever and settled in Benares. She had passed away in that holy city nearly two years ago. Narayani lived with her part of the time and part she spent in her own father's house. But every year she came to Jamral and stayed there for two or three months; for it was only from here that she could obtain any news of Subarna. It was difficult for a woman to live alone in a house. Still she did it for the love of her child. Sometimes she persuaded her widowed sister to accompany her, sometimes she stayed alone.

Her health was growing worse steadily. Her husband's anger stuck to her heart like a poisoned arrow. Her home, too, broke up after her daughter's marriage. Pratul left his home for ever and his mother went off to Benares. Subarna, too, never returned to her mother's arms after

she had gone back to her husband's house for the second time. Narayani had hoped to get Shribilas as a son, by marrying Subarna to him; but that hope, too, proved futile. Shribilas's mother wanted her daughter-in-law to stay with her and look after the household. When Narayani raised a timid objection, saying the girl was too young, she met with a scornful rejoinder from the lady, who said, "Do you call her young? Do you want to send the girl here when she is fifty? And how will she learn discipline then? I am not for these things. We, too, were married early and came to our husband's homes when quite young and we are alive yet." So Subarna and her mother had to part company for ever.

And these two or three years, Narayani had sent repeated messages and entreaties asking her to let Subarna come once to her, but all had been in vain. She never even got any reply. If she sent a messenger, he came back almost at once and reported that he had seen Subarna, but had not been permitted to speak to her, as her mother-in-law and sister-in-law had stood guard over the girl all the while. Subarna was not looking well. Narayani could only weep. She was now alone in the world and helpless. Pratul Chandra had cut off all connection with his home. He only remitted some money to her regularly. His ominous words had come too true. Narayani's pride had fallen to the dust, she knew that she had consigned her own child to lifelong suffering through sheer folly. This knowledge tormented her all the time. She could not even tell her sufferings to anyone, least of all to her husband.

She knew that her death was drawing nigh apace. So she wrote to her sister and made her come over to her. These two women passed lonely and monotonous days in their village home. Messages were sent to Subarna about her mother's illness, but there was no response. Narayani knew she was dying, but she could not bear the thought of passing away without seeing the face of her child once more. But there was no one to whom she could unburden herself.

At last she became totally bed-ridden. The rains aggravated her illness. Her sister did not dare any longer to bear this burden alone. Narayani might die any day and then she would be held responsible. It was better that her lawful guardian should come and take charge of her. She wrote to Pratul Chandra, informing him about his wife's serious condition, and asked him to come down, forgetting and forgiving all her previous faults.

A few days passed off. Then suddenly Pratul arrived without any notice. Narayani's sister was preparing some milk in the kitchen. She burst into sobs, as soon as she caught sight of him.

"Am I too late?" he asked, taken aback at this.

"She is waiting just for a sight of you," she

replied, still weeping, "else she would have passed off long ago."

Pratul sat down on a wooden seat and asked, "Has Subarna come?"

"No, they did not send her," said his sister-in-law. "You are an intelligent man and you knew better than we. She has not been married into a gentleman's family; they are nothing but butchers."

Pratul got up with a sigh, then picking up his suitcase, he advanced to the bedroom. Narayani had heard them talking and was waiting. Her eyes, full of eagerness, were fixed on the door. As she caught sight of him, blood rushed into her pale face. But next moment she lay back on her pillows, totally exhausted.

Pratul Chandra sat down by her, stroking her hair and asked, "How are you now?"

Narayani clasped one of his hands in both her own and murmured, "Say once that you have forgiven me, and then I can die content. I want nothing more."

"You must not die," said her husband with tears in his eyes. "You are too young yet. We shall cure you."

"It is beyond any man's power," said Narayani, "my heart is pierced through and through. I am not afraid of death, but I cannot forget that I have sacrificed my innocent child. Try to help her, don't be cruel to her for my sins."

Pratul saw that Narayani was panting. He tried to place her more comfortably on the bed, and said, "Don't speak of those things now. First get well, then we shall see to that. Don't be so anxious about Subarna. I shall write at once to them, asking her to come." Narayani was about to say something, when Pratul silenced her with a gesture and went out.

He informed Shribilas's mother in a letter about his wife's condition and asked her with many entreaties to let Subarna come once to see her mother. If Shribilas, too, could come, it would be still better. He despatched the letter at once through a trusted servant.

As the boat carrying the man left the shore, he came back and sat down by his wife's side. His sister-in-law made him bathe and take some food, but he did everything mechanically. He was feeling very much upset. Narayani was growing more and more restless. She was mourning constantly, calling on her daughter. Pratul did not know how to comfort her. He sat silent by her side, holding her by the hand.

Night was fast approaching. The last ray of light disappeared from the cloud-laden sky. The wind shrieked more dismally and the roar of the mighty river grew louder. "They won't let the child come," sobbed out Narayani suddenly, "I shall die without seeing my darling."

Pratul got up. He called his sister-in-law in and said, "Sit by her for a bit. I am going to the riverside."

She sat down there and Pratul went out. He stood for a long time by the side of the dark river. There was no sign of a boat anywhere, only the mighty river rushed along, before his eyes, with thunderous roar. Scenes of destruction met his eyes in all directions. It seemed as if Rudra, the great destroyer, had begun his cataclysmal dance, and the universe was crumbling into ruin under the tread of his mighty feet. He wanted to go back to his dying wife, but how could he do so, without any news of the messenger he had sent? How would he answer the eager strained look in her eyes? He retraced his steps twice, but came back again to the riverside.

At last a white speck appeared on the dark waters. It was gradually approaching the spot where he stood. Pratul strained his eyes—it was really a boat. His heart trembled within his breast; perhaps he would see his child once again after so many years!

But as the boat touched the bank, all hopes died within him, like a candle blown out by a cruel blast. Haran, the man he had sent, was sitting alone in the boat. He had a letter in his hand, and was looking very gloomy.

As he got down, Pratul asked in a voice full of despair, "They would not let her come, Haran?"

Haran held out the letter to him, saying, "Here, take your letter, Sir. You have got strange relatives, you must pardon my saying so. I don't call them gentlefolks. They did not even ask me to sit down and did not offer me even a glass of water. I was not permitted to speak to your child. I saw her standing at a distance, and weeping. Her mother-in-law is more like a tigress than a woman, you must pardon my saying so, Sir. I have never heard a voice like hers, not even amongst the fisherwomen. I told her about our mother's illness, but she did not seem to believe it. 'Oh, we have heard of such illnesses before,' she said with a sneer, 'that is nothing but a ruse for taking the girl away.'"

Pratul was not paying much attention to the man, he was busy reading the letter from his highly esteemed relative. It ran thus:

"My most kind sir,

Your daughter is now a member of the Guha family of Bhatgram. She must behave in a way suited to her new position. She is not a servant of Pratul Chandra Mitra of Jamral, and cannot rush away at his behest. If you want to take your daughter home, you must come for her yourself. I can consider your request then. But I cannot give you my word that I shall certainly send her. My son has come home after his examination for a few days only. This is the first time he has met his wife, after a long interval.

I hope your wife's illness is nothing more serious than an ardent desire to see her daughter.

With due respect,  
Shribilas's mother."

Pratul stood with the letter in his hand, like one stunned. Then he advanced slowly towards his home. His legs refused to move, he went on by sheer force of will. What could he say to his dying wife? She was living only on the hope of seeing her child once more. Her only child! And this was her fate! Pratul Chandra himself had cherished great hopes about Subarna, and all had been reduced to dust and ashes. Subarna was nothing more now, than an animal to be sacrificed to the Moloch of social cruelty. He felt intense bitterness against Narayani for a while. But she was dying. What was the use of being angry with her? She had passed beyond the range of human love and hatred long ago.

Pratul entered his house. Narayani's sister came out anxiously and asked, "Won't they send the girl?"

"No," said Pratul shortly. A moan of intense agony was heard from inside. Pratul ran in at once to his wife and stood by her bed. Narayani was sitting up, supporting herself on her pillows and panting heavily. Her eyes were starting out and her ribs rose and fell with her breathing.

"Please go yourself," she cried out. "They won't be able to say 'no' to you. Go and bring home my darling."

"I won't go," said her husband.

"This is my last prayer to you," wept Narayani. "I won't live to make another."

"How can I leave you in this state?" he asked. "I won't see you alive when I come back."

"Yes, you will," she moaned in a hoarse voice. "I won't die before I see her sweet face once more."

"All right," said Pratul. "I shall go. But do you notice what sort of a night this is? And do you hear the roar of the river? How can I cross over in such weather, in that small boat?"

"Go early in the morning," said Narayani.

"I shall try," said Pratul. The air of the sick room seemed to stifle him and he went out.

The night advanced apace. A light was burning in the bedroom, and another in the kitchen. Unfathomable darkness enveloped the village, not a streak of light could be seen anywhere. The roar of the current sounded like that of a furious monster. Pratul sat in another room like an image of stone. Narayani's sister moved about restlessly. She could not sit by her sister. The very sight of her face made her nervous.

Suddenly somebody knocked at the outer door, very loudly. Pratul got up with a start and cried out to his sister-in-law, "Please, bring

that light here, let me see who has come in such weather."

She hurried out with the light. As Pratul Chandra opened the door, a small slight figure, flung itself at his feet and cried out, "Is mother still alive?"

Pratul looked at his daughter with a keen piercing glance. Was this Subarna? Was this his darling child? But the girl was looking at him with wide open and fearful eyes, awaiting his reply. "Yes, she is alive. Come in," he said.

The boatman stood outside the door, holding aloft a hurricane lantern. "Will you pay me my fare, Sir?" he asked in a beseeching voice.

Pratul took out a rupee from his pocket and flung it at the man. He left, satisfied.

Subarna followed her father into the sickroom.

Narayani sat up in great excitement and stretched out her arms, crying, "Come, my darling, come."

Subarna rushed into her mother's arms. Narayani trembled violently, then fell back on her bed, quite senseless. Pratul Chandra dragged back the girl hastily. Narayani's sister ran forward anxiously, holding the lamp aloft and cried out, "What is the matter, brother? Has she fainted?"

Pratul Chandra bent down over her face, felt her pulse and her heart. Then he moved back from the bed silently.

Subarna shrieked out aloud in fear.

Narayani never woke up again.

*(To be continued)*

## PRINCESS KAMALA RAJA OF GWALIOR

BY PROF. HIRALAL CHATTERJEE, M.A.

### I

**T**HE Royal Wedding at Gwalior made everyone agog to participate in the festal arrangements.

There had been no such event to stir the hearts of the people for over a quarter of a century. A thousand workers were busy to keep the streets gay—a thousand artists began devising scenic effects to capture the imagination of the royal guests. The palace grounds were a feast of wonder. The decorator's skill was shown to the greatest advantage. It was poetry to the vision. Thousands flocked into the spacious compound to gaze upon a paradise of lights. Prometheus had put forth his highest efforts to illumine the royal seat, "where the air sweetly recommends itself and the heaven's breath smells woefully" all around. The precincts are as clean as the courts of a temple. There are no avenues where abhorred deeds have been done, no bowers with unsavoury legends clinging to them. There are no subterranean cells stifling the groans of unjustly condemned prisoners, nor halls haunted by Banquo's ghost. There are no secret cupboards hiding uncanny skeletons—no dark chambers

holding weeping maidens in duress—no corridors stained with the blood of rival claimants.

Everything is healthy and wholesome. There is romance and art—and culture—and courtesy—and lavish hospitality—and all the glowing ideals of youth.

As one wandered in the well-laid-out park with the artistically arranged bulbs along the palace walls and on the tree tops, memory seemed to catch the glamour of Bagdad in the golden prime of Harun Al Raschid.

The fourscore windows all alight  
As with the quintessence of flame,  
A million tapers flaring bright  
From twisted silvers look'd to shame  
The hollow-vaulted dark and stream'd  
Upon the mooned domes aloof  
In inmost Bagdad, till there seem'd  
Hundreds of crescents on the roof  
Of night new-risen.

But the fates all the while were weaving an ultra-sombre pattern—within a brief month the suppers and serenades were tumbled into irrevocable ruin. It seemed as if the fairy scene had only been laid upon the frowning edge of a volcano which burst forth in all its violence when joy was at its height. And, to adopt Stevenson's language, when the

universal music had led the lovers into the paths of dalliance, confident of nature's sympathy, suddenly the air shifted into a minor and death made a clutch from his ambuscade below the bed of marriage.

The late Princess Kamala Raja Sahiba Scindia was born in November, 1914. His Highness the Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia began to train her on certain well-thought-out lines so that she might not adorn a doll's house but infuse her spirit and stamp her personality wherever she moved. He perhaps took his inspiration from the Rani of Jhansi, whose sanctified ashes seventy-five years ago were flung into the air within a stone's throw from the Palace, and made the Princess undergo a course of military training. She and her brother, the present Maharaja, who was born two years later, were both enrolled on Rupee one per month as ordinary sepoy in the State regiment to acquire the necessary momentum—to run the exalted race set before them.

Next, Prospero-like, the late Maharaja took care that she should spend most of her impressionable days amidst scenes of natural beauty, that she should ride along sea-coasts and over hills and through dense forests and escape from the cobwebs which Court-life is so apt to weave to befog the brain. The Princess became a fearless rider and a keen hunter.

Nor was the cultural side neglected. She began to grind at the set books and passed with credit the Matriculation Examination of the Women's University and won many prizes and medals for her excellent painting, embroidery and needle-work.

Thus she became the idol of the populace and when the special train steamed out at 11 a. m. on Sunday the 11th March, conveying the Princess and her royal spouse to Akalkot, everyone from the highest to the least memorable felt the pang of separation.

Before a fortnight had passed the terrible news was flashed on the 19th March last that all was over. She who had been so nobly trained, she who could so marvellously wield the sword, so accurately handle the gun, so skilfully use the brush, so delicately sweep the strings—she had been snatched away in the bloom of life. Everyone was

stunned and that day there was dole at Gwalior.

Her popularity could be measured by the presents offered by the humbler folk. When two royal families are linked in matrimonial alliance, only barbaric silver and gold flow into the bridal bower in unending streams, only the costliest articles of jewellery are heaped upon the bride—gems with all the concentrated lustre of the mines—pearls with all the shade and the shine of the sea—but among the richest offerings, it was noticed that on the table properly arranged were ordinary things :

- (i) a riding saddle complete with accessories,
- (ii) a finely wrought scarf,
- (iii) a decent tray with tea-cups and saucers washed with gold,
- (iv) a neatly made cash-box,
- (v) a handsome dressing-case,
- (vi) an artistically designed boat with ink-wells and pen-stands,
- (vii) several albums of pictures by European and Indian painters,
- (viii) a tennis racket.

But the Princess took a special interest in the paintings of the Bengal School and so Chatterjee's albums and a selection of the pictures by Tagore, Bose, Haldar, Ganguli and Sen with the following lines

"May Hymen, God of marriage, and Ceres, Goddess of Agriculture, bend their double aureole over the royal houses of Gwalior and Akalkot"

were also there.

A souvenir volume in Marathi entitled *Madhu Milan* was presented to the Princess on the wedding day. It opens with a letter addressed by His Highness to his august sister. It will now be read with a melancholy interest. Translated into English it runs thus :

"We have lived together in loving companionship for eighteen years under the same roof and have been nursed upon the self-same hill. We have quarrelled many times. We often left each other in a huff. But all these differences were due to excess of love. And now the moment of parting has arrived and I cannot keep back my tears. May you live melodiously and long !

Your affectionate brother."



The Princess dashinglly spent her life and cheerfully hazarded it and 'has now shot up and become a constellation !

May God grant strength to the stricken Maharani Sahiba and to the bereaved brother to bear the loss.

## II

Such then was the Princess who has been so cruelly removed from the earthly scene where she would have played a memorable part, comforting those in affliction and bringing a ray of light into many a darkened home. Her form had been so moulded that she was vibrant with energy and athrill with the noblest impulses, and her august parents had nurtured her into a fine flower of culture and courtesy. Then Nature said :

Myself will to my darling be  
Both law and impulse : and with me  
The Girl, in rock and plain,  
In earth and heaven, in glade and bower,  
Shall feel an overseeing power  
To kindle or restrain.

When the routine of life so rudely disturbed is resumed, when normal conditions are ruthlessly breached by the blind furies are again restored, when sorrow clothed in black from head to foot recedes from the forefront of the stage and time pours balm into the sorest places of the bruised and bleeding hearts, steps are likely to be devised to perpetuate the memory of the illustrious Princess. Perhaps it will not be utopian to suggest that a University named after her should be established. The late Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia, with that fine vision of

the new generation which would come forward to rear the structure of society blown to smithereens by the great war, appointed a committee to go into the question thoroughly so that the aftermath of the fateful years might not obstruct the growth and development of the State, whose interests have recently become so closely interwoven with the rest of the country. But before the committee could bring its labours to a satisfactory conclusion His Highness fell ill and passed away in Paris in 1925. Since then the scheme has been in abeyance. The time is now ripe for its revival. In two years the Kamala Raja University can be an accomplished fact ploughing up the old traditions, obliterating the ancient unprofitable landmarks, eliminating the monstrous outgrowths on the body-politic, arresting all digressions of the national genius which eventually lead to disintegration, decadence and defeatism, making the young men and women have new faces flushed with high hopes, and enabling them to speak a language with an emphasis never heard before. And just at the psychological moment His Highness, the present Maharaja, will step on to the scene, eager for all progress, exulting in strength, action, achievement—in all heroic enterprises his heart like thrice-tempered steel, his blood an incandescent flame.

The present writer has not the shadow of a doubt that His Excellency the Viceroy, who is so keenly interested in the welfare of the State, would facilitate the grant of a charter.





**The Late Princess Kamala Raja and Her Brother  
H. H. the Present Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior**



# THE MENACE TO THE HARDINGE BRIDGE AND ITS LESSONS

By G. C. MUKERJI

THE public is now aware that the Hardinge Bridge over the Ganges which was opened in 1915 with great gusto and was hailed as one of the greatest engineering feats of the world is very severely threatened by a change in the course of the river. A huge sum of four crores of rupees was spent in its construction. The magnitude of the disaster is probably not fully appreciated by the public. It not only means that the capricious river has refused to be tamed and threatens to break the iron chain and the guide banks which were designed to keep it permanently within its channel, but it may also seriously interrupt the traffic with North Bengal thus disorganizing the whole transport system. It is reported that a band of engineers under the guidance of Sir Robert Gales who was responsible for the construction of the bridge are trying their best to fight with the river and we have nothing but sincerest sympathies with the engineers in their heroic efforts. But at the same time it will not be out of place to dwell a little on the history of this undertaking which illustrates the point of view put forward by Prof. M. N. Saha in his pamphlet *On the Need of a Hydraulic Research Laboratory in Bengal* published in Sir P. C. Ray Commemoration volume, and further in his Presidential Address to the Indian Science Congress of 1934. The two points emphasized are :

1. That in all engineering undertakings which deal with the river system of India, the problem of the country as a whole should be borne in mind. Commercial interest alone should not be allowed to get the better of agricultural and sanitary considerations.

2. Before a gigantic project of this type is undertaken the problem should be discussed thoroughly in a Hydraulic Research Laboratory with the aid of models and sufficient data.

## RESPONSIBILITY LIES WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND NOT WITH THE ENGINEERS

To do justice to the engineers who are responsible for the design of the bridge and carrying out of the project, it must be said that they made a very honest and thorough-going attempt for studying the problem in all its aspects. If in spite of their attempts, however, the disaster, apprehended by them, has actually come to pass, it is entirely due, to quote Prof. M. N. Saha, "to lack of imagination on the part of those who have taken upon themselves the task of Government and their failure to devise a proper scheme of co-ordinated work in which scientific study in suitable laboratories should form an essential part of the organization." Nothing illustrates the wisdom of these words better than the impending tragedy of the Sara Bridge.

## SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRIDGE

A short history of the Sara Bridge which I have gathered together from the official records will illustrate the point. The idea of the bridge dates as far back as 1889 when it was first felt necessary to construct a bridge over the lower Ganges in order to open the North Bengal and Assam valley to better trading facilities. For the Ganges was not crossed by any bridge below Benares, and the need of some bridge at Mokameh Ghat and another further down somewhere in Bengal which would stimulate quick transport between regions lying north and south of the Ganges had long been felt. In response to the feeling, a number of engineers including Sir F. Spring were asked to make a preliminary survey, and report upon a suitable site for the lower Ganges bridge. Sir F. Spring has recorded his investigations in several technical papers, and was the first to realize the immensity of the task.

"The conclusion to which I have come is that the task of bridging the lower Ganges is an exceptionally formidable one. Of this class of work, nothing approaching it in difficulty has been attempted in India, or indeed so far as I know, anywhere else. The difficulty to which I refer, is not in the building of the bridge which is the usual straight-ahead bridge work, but in the training of the river so that it may not desert the bridge when built."

He was also the first to emphasize the necessity of studying the problem in a River Physics Laboratory before actual construction was decided upon.

In spite of these discouraging circumstances Spring proceeded with his task with great courage. He studied the discharge (the volume of water flowing per second) of the Ganges and found that the discharge varies from 80,000 cusecs in March to about thirty times as much in August when the river is in full flood. The public may not be knowing that, though the Ganges is a much shorter river compared to the Nile or the Mississippi, its total discharge of water is only second to that of the Amazon, and seven times that of the Nile, exceeding that of the Mississippi by a small amount. Such a large volume of water flowing through a country which is built up by its mud deposit is liable to cause dangerous erosion, and wash out whole villages and even districts. The problem of bridging such a river is therefore extremely difficult. Spring surveyed the river-banks from the celebrated pass of Sakrigali where the Ganges enters Bengal, right up to Saraghat in search of some tract of hard soil which could be expected to resist erosion by the river during floods. Altogether three types of sites were found. The Ganges at Sakrigali flowed between banks which consisted of hard rock on the south side and hard clay on the north side. Therefore, both the banks were permanent. This site was discarded because the main consideration was to provide a short-cut to the jute districts of North and East Bengal, and this site was too far to the West. Lower down Spring found a place where the north bank was of hard red clay called Barind while the other bank consisted of sandy soil which was liable to erosion. This site (Mirgunj-Isabpur) was also discarded because the railway line had to be taken too far to the west. Then came the site near about Sara where an examination showed that the river

was wandering in a most erratic fashion within a bed about seven miles in breadth. The banks on both the sides were non-permanent though there was some hard clay deposit on the south side. Spring was not very enthusiastic about this site for two reasons. First because the banks were very *kuchcha* and he found that they must be protected by linings of stones and concrete (technically known as the guide banks) so that the river may flow permanently through the channel over which the bridge is built. But he was afraid that all these precautions might prove useless because the river here flows in the shape of an inverted S and takes two sharp bends. Due to these bends powerful eddies and dangerous scours are produced in the river specially during the floods and these may injure the guide banks.

Besides, the river might change its course and make a short-cut through the peninsula leaving the bridge on dry land, or it may revert to one of its old channels taking the guide bank on the flank or the rear. Time has shown that Spring's fears were almost prophetic. It is to be seen whether the efforts of the engineers can now save the bridge. When the actual construction was begun Spring had retired and the construction was put in the hands of Sir Robert Gales. It appears that Spring's fears about safety were brushed aside for consideration of commercial advantage, and it was said that engineers could build the guide banks and the bridge so strongly that they could prove the futility of the oft-quoted proverb of building on sand. Man proposed, but the River-goddess disposed—she refused to be tamed and frustrated in its attempts to wash the banks on the surface, worked on the deeper lying sand and undermined the whole structure from the bottom. It is reported that of the millions of stone boulders piled round the piers to protect them, nothing has been left behind, and all carried away. Nature has refused to accept defeat and it is very doubtful even if the engineers succeed in temporarily averting the disaster, whether the remedy would be of a permanent nature. For, the catastrophe which now threatens the bridge is attributed to the great flood due to abnormal rainfall near about Delhi last year, but past experience has shown that

such catastrophic floods are by no means a very infrequent phenomena.

#### NEED FOR A RIVER PHYSICS LABORATORY

The disaster which now threatens the Sara Bridge emphasizes very strongly what has long been felt by some thoughtful persons who have the welfare of the country in their heart. The Central and Provincial Governments of India and other public bodies spend millions annually in various engineering projects dealing with the river system of the country; such as construction of the bridges, canals and embankments, etc. In point of size and expense these works are perhaps nowhere rivalled in the world except in the United States of America, and in no other civilized country have the engineers to deal with such mighty rivers, treacherous soil and catastrophic floods on the scale as they occur in India. In U. S. A., the responsibility of managing the Mississippi previously rested in the hands of Provincial Governments and Army Engineers who tried to control its floods by building huge embankments along the banks. But when during the last great flood the river burst through these embankments and caused a terrible disaster, there was a great hue and cry and a very strong public opinion grew demanding a more scientific control of the river. Since then much work is going on in America to study the problem of river physics in suitably equipped laboratories under able directors. In India, however, the study of river physics has so far been completely neglected in spite of the severe disasters that have befallen the country due to the mishandling of her river system. In our country the engineers are required to tame the mighty forces of nature without the requisite knowledge and the necessary data to which they are fully entitled. It is not surprising therefore that many such public works do not quite come up to the expectations; a few have proved absolutely futile and have gained notoriety to the public for the enormous sums of public money wasted on them. The Bengal public perhaps well remembers the Grand Trunk Canal project in this connection. Similar scandalous projects in other parts of India need not be mentioned here.

As far as river problems are concerned, the position of Bengal is unique among all the provinces of India. Firstly because its health and prosperity are closely connected with its river system and secondly because the head-water of the two mightiest rivers of India flow through this province. As mentioned before the Ganges, though it is a much shorter river than the Mississippi, discharges more water at Sara than the latter at its head. The discharge of the Brahmaputra is estimated on good grounds to be about one and a half times as much as that of the Ganges. The Damodar system stands by itself. The discharge of all these rivers, their periodic variations, the amount of silt brought by them, the distribution of water in the country, study of the precipitation data for each basin, the mechanism and nature of erosion and scour formation, and numerous other allied problems should be accurately studied before any great engineering work (*e. g.*, river training, railway bridges and *bunds*, excavation of old channels, flood control, canal construction for either irrigation or navigation) is undertaken.

Due to the short-sighted fashion in which the Government and the Railway authorities have so far handled the river system of Bengal the masses have terribly suffered both from Malaria and other epidemics and from the ruin of agricultural prosperity. Hitherto Central and Western Bengal have been the worst victims but if the present policy or *laissez faire* is allowed to continue, one cannot be very hopeful about the future of East Bengal. If the rivers are not controlled and the people are not taught how to live in such areas, and keep their pools clear, Eastern Bengal may be subjected to the same devastating epidemics which have ruined Western Bengal. The need for scientific study of the physics of rivers is an all-Bengal and integral problem which cannot be undertaken piecemeal.

In conclusion, we cannot do better than to quote the suggestions of Prof. Saha given in the pamphlet mentioned above:

"My final suggestions are:—

(a) *Establishment of a Hydraulic Research Laboratory* for the study of the problems of River Training, Flood Irrigation, Navigation and Water-power development in Bengal. This should be a purely Research Institute ~~after the model~~ of the Wasserbau Laboratory of or Vienna. The object should

be the study of the physics of Great Rivers, preparation of plans in combination with department (b) and testing of the plan by means of laboratory models.

As the problems require expert knowledge of physics and mathematics, and demand much originality for their solutions, the laboratory should have a research atmosphere. It should be placed under a distinguished physicist who is also well up in mathematics. He should be provided with a good staff consisting of experts in allied lines, and a good laboratory.

Such a laboratory should be attached to the Universities, as Engineering Colleges in our country have not yet developed any research atmosphere. The initial expenses of a laboratory

should not exceed Rs. 10 lakhs and the recurring expenditure Rs. 2 lakhs.

(b) *Department for Field Service.*

This will undertake a hydrographic survey of the rivers of Bengal, including relevant topics in Topography, Collection of Precipitation Data (such work is being done on a small scale by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis in the Presidency College), and other geophysical factors likely to be of use in the preparation of great constructive projects.

The department may be easily financed if my proposal of imposing a small thoroughfare tax on the passengers and trading parties utilizing the E. I. Railway and E. B. Railway lines are accepted.



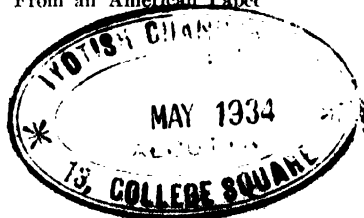
"To Utopia"

The smaller nations have long displayed a spirit of impatience at the attitude of the Big Powers towards momentous international problems. *e.g.*, Japanese aggression in Chinese territory. The latest example of this impatience is to be found in the following telegram :

GENEVA, April 11.

The impatience of smaller nations at the delay in calling a disarmament conference was revealed in a movement led by Sweden which has communicated to the League the text of the proposals for hastening a substantial convention. Holland, Norway, Spain and Switzerland have approved the proposals which will be considered at the next meeting of the Bureau. The Swedish memorandum suggests that the convention should be limited to certain branches of armaments, leaving a comprehensive solution until a later date and postponing naval consideration until 1935.

From an American Paper



# Book Reviews

**BOOKS** in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

## ENGLISH

**HISTORY OF THE RASHTRAKUTAS (RATHODAS):** *By Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu (1933). Published by the Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.*

The title of this book is somewhat misleading as it is not a systematic history of the Rashtrakutas as it professes to be.

The book is divided into two parts.

In the first part the author has attempted to establish the following theses, among others:

(1) That in the days of Asoka and in early period, the Rashtrakutas lived in the north and not in the Deccan.

(2) That they ruled over Kanauj even before the Guptas.

(3) That the Gahadavalas of Kanauj were Rashtrakutas, and they ultimately founded the Rathoda principality of Jodhpur.

(4) The Gahadavalas were so called because of their association with Gadhipura (Kanauj).

(5) The Rashtrakutas were Surya-Vansis.

In discussing these problems the author has brought together a mass of facts, which does credit to his learning but we regret to note that he has neither displayed a critical spirit nor a thoroughness of knowledge which marks a true scholar.

(1) While discussing the location of the Rattas he has altogether ignored the occurrence of the name in the Hathigumpha Inscription, the inscriptions of the Satavahanas and various minor inscriptions of the Deccan. These records when properly considered would, we believe, induce him to change his views.

(2) The proof on which the author relies in support of his second thesis is a characteristic example of the lack of critical spirit. In an inscription dated A. D. 1051, Chalukya, the eponymous founder of the clan, is said to have married the daughter of the Rashtrakuta King of Kanauj. "From this it is quite evident," says the author, that the Rashtrakutas also ruled over Kanauj in the early period, i.e., early centuries of the Christian era, as he says later. Comment on this is superfluous.

(3) As regards the third, the problem was dealt with in a scholarly way by Pandit Ram Karan in Sir Asutosh Jubilee Volume (Vol. III, Part II, pp. 255 ff) and the hypothesis he laid down seems to me to be a very sound one although it cannot be regarded as a proved fact. The author of the book maintains the same view though he does not refer to this excellent article, but he has not made any advance over Pandit Ram Karan in proving the thesis.

(4) The fourth thesis seems to be absolutely untenable.

(5) The line of argument (pp. 10-14) in support of this point is equally uncritical. He has himself admitted, later, on p. 26, how unreliable our data are in regard to the classification of historical dynasties as solar or lunar.

Two small chapters are devoted to the Religion, Science and Arts in the time of the Rashtrakutas. It is characteristic of the real spirit of the book that while only six lines are devoted to the art of the Rashtrakutas, almost as many pages have been devoted to the determination of their Gotra and Vansha.

The penultimate chapter of the first part entitled 'The glory of the Early Rashtrakutas' betrays the real motive of the author which is not so much to write a sober history of the Rashtrakutas as to make the present Rathods of Jodhpur shine in the reflected glory of the ancient Rashtrakutas. Unfortunately, the author's very limited acquaintance with literature on the Rashtrakutas, written in English language, and an absence of critical spirit and proper historical outlook, have considerably taken away the value of this chapter. He does not seem to have realized the full significance of the glorious military exploits of Dhruva and Goyinda III up to the slopes of Himalayas in Northern India. In this connection he refers to Dharmapala as Dharmayudha and mentions Banga and Magadha as two separate kingdoms.

The second part of the work deals with the inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas. The author has brought together a mass of information very useful for the study of the history of the Rashtrakutas. But his treatment of the subject is neither critical nor exhaustive and he has not made any serious



attempt to digest this information in order to bring out, in an intelligible manner, the salient features of the Rashtrakuta history. The author's attention may be drawn to the excellent outline of the History of the Rashtrakutas in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 382-425, which is no doubt out of date, and requires revision, but which should always serve as the model for a critical and scholarly work on the history of the Rashtrakutas. The author makes one or two references to this article but does not appear to have fully realized, or at least acknowledged, the great value either of this chapter or the writings of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on the same subject in the same volume.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

**HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA**  
*from the foundation of the Gupta Empire to the rise of the Pala dynasty of Bengal (C. 320-760 A. D.)* By Radha Govinda Basak, M. A., Ph. D. The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta 1931.

Dr. Radha Govinda Basak's name is well known to Indologists as that of an able and devoted worker in the field of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy. His learned papers on the Dhanaidaha and Damodar-pur plates, on the Tipperah plate of Lokanatha and on Sasanka have qualified him to write with high authority on the Gupta and post-Gupta periods of Indian History. In the present work which had the distinction of being approved as a thesis for the Doctorate Degree of the Calcutta University, the author has given the mature fruit of his studies in so far as the region of North-Eastern India is concerned. The result is a scholarly and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of the country during the period with which it deals. The author has shown equal mastery in marshalling the vast array of his facts and in critically appraising their worth.

The book consists of twelve chapters. Leaving aside the introductory chapter, we find that the history of North-Eastern India under the Imperial Gupta dynasty (the author's expression "Imperial Gupta Emperors" strikes us anything but happy) is made the subject of three chapters (Chaps. II-IV). Here the author treads familiar ground, but still he finds it possible to offer some striking suggestions. Thus he ably refutes (p. 13ff) the view of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri (supported by the late Dr. Vincent Smith) namely that the Emperor Chandra of the Mehrauli pillar should be identified with Chandravarman of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. We, however, think that his own identification of this mysterious king with the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta I is not free from difficulties. For how can we reconcile the reference in the Mehrauli inscription to the long reign of Chandra as the paramount Emperor (p. 15) with the known short duration of Chandragupta I's reign? Why, again, should the first Gupta Emperor choose to set up his costly column in the as yet unsubdued, or at any rate imperfectly conquered, upper valley of the Jumna? We have only to make a few more remarks on these preliminary chapters dealing with the reign of the Imperial Guptas. The author describes (pp. 43-46) the internal condition of the country in Chandragupta II's time after Fa-Hien's sketch. But this description, quite apart from its applicability as a whole to Madhyadesa alone, is hardly in conformity with

the high standard of scholarship reached in other parts of the work. Nor again can we conceal our disappointment at the slight notice which the author bestows (in his Preface) upon the vexed Kacha and Ramagupta questions. The fourth chapter is chiefly remarkable for the author's vindication of his earlier view, namely, that the Gupta Empire after Kumaragupta I's time broke up into a main and a branch line, the former consisting of Skandagupta, Kumaragupta II, Budhagupta, and Bhanugupta, and the latter of Puragupta, Narasimhagupta, and Kumaragupta III. In view of the scantiness of the material the author has done well in leaving the question open. Another notable statement of the author, which is supported by other scholars, is that the Gupta Empire was not destroyed by the Hunas, but was probably subverted later on by the ambitious Yasovarman. It may be added that the author throws new light on the relations between Visnuvardhana and Yasovarman.

The following chapters (Chaps. V-VI) deal with the two rival dynasties that rose to power after the downfall of the Gupta Empire, namely, the Maukharis and the Later Guptas. Though much of the material is already known, the connected account of these dynasties is very welcome. It may, however, be doubted whether the Maukharis of the Saketa-Kanauj branch, that is mainly dealt with by the author in chapter V, are quite in place in a history of North-Eastern India.

The chapter on Sasanka, King of Gauda, is one of the most admirable portions of the present work. The way in which the author pieces together the facts of this king's reign with the help of covert allusions in the Harshacharita, the biased statements of Hsien Tsang, and the obscure references in the Manjusrimulakalpa, may well serve as a model to our young learners. Admirable also is the author's discussion of the questions whether Sasanka was guilty of assassinating Rajyavardhana and whether he was a persecutor of Buddhism.

In the chapter dealing with the kingdom of Orissa (Chap. VIII) the author has tried to tackle the vexed question of chronology of the Sailodbhavas. Here his sound knowledge of palaeography has enabled him to modify in some respects the conclusions of earlier scholars like Kielhorn and R. D. Banerjee.

The chapter on the kingdom of Eastern Bengal (Chap. IX) presents for the first time a connected history of this outlying region. Here the author with his usual thoroughness, and critical insight deals successively with the data relating to Maharaja Vainyagupta, the Maharajadhirajas Dharmaditya, Gopachandra, and Samacharadeva, the Samantaraja Lokanatha and the Khadga chiefs. We, however, notice a slight inconsistency; for while the author in one place (p. 202) assigns the Khadga dynasty to "the period approximately between 660 A. D. to (read between) 750 A. D.", he elsewhere thinks that the last two Khadga kings "flourished towards the end of the 7th century A. D." and that the very last of them "may have lived sometime in the first quarter of the 8th century A. D."

In the following chapter which deals with the kingdom of Kamarupa, the author had the advantage of profiting by Mr. Padmanath Bhattacharya's Bengali Monograph on the *Inscriptions of Kamarupa*. But he throws fresh light upon the relations between Bhaskaravarman and his powerful ally Harshavardhana.

The eleventh and the longest chapter of the whole

work is concerned with the kingdom of Nepal. Here we have (pp. 241-273) a valuable *corpus* of the ancient inscriptions of Nepal from 329 to 759 A. D. arranged in chronological sequence with an analysis of their contents. This is followed (pp. 274-280) by a very valuable adjustment of the chronology of the Nepal kings, in course of which the author gives good reasons for rejecting the opinions of Drs. Fleet and Sylvan Lévi. His own view is that three different eras—the Vikrama, the Gupta, and the Harsha eras—were in vogue in the country. He concludes the chapter (pp. 283-302) with a chronological table of the early Nepal kings and a detailed analysis of each reign.

The twelfth and last chapter contains the author's "concluding remarks" on some of the special administrative, economic, social and religious features of the period with which he deals. Considering the range of topics included by the author within his purview, his treatment might have been much fuller. Thus on the subject of religious development we might have been told what special forms of the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina cults were in vogue and in particular how far Tantric ritualism had made headway in North-Eastern India at this time. In connection with the development of the fine arts we should have expected to be enlightened about the different types of temple architecture that belong to this time, while the importance of this period as the dividing-line between the North-Indian and the Eastern School of culture might have been stressed. On the important question of the progress of Sanskrit learning under the Guptas, the author's views might have been more up-to-date. It is a well-known fact that so far from the Sanskrit language "suffering" from the cultivation of Prakrits under the patronage of the Kushan Kings' (p. 305), it was employed during or before this time not only in the Brahminical Smritis and Epics but also in the dramas and epics of Asvaghosha and even in the canon of the Mulasarvastivadins, not to speak of the use of mixed Sanskrit in the Mahavastu, the Lalitavistara and the Divyavadana. And when we are told that even the kings possessing paramount power did not care to celebrate the Asvamedha sacrifice (p. 309), we may remind the author of the instances of Pushyamitra Sunga, Satakarni of the Satavahana dynasty, Pravarsena I of the Vakataka line and above all the Bharasivas, all of whom flourished before the rise of the Guptas.

The slight blemishes we have noticed above do not detract from the high scholarly value of the present work. In our opinion it will be indispensable to every student of the history of North-Eastern India during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Its value is enhanced by a map at the beginning as well as a complete synchronistic table and a good index at the end.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**THE WORK OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE MYSORE STATE AND BRITISH INDIA:** By G. Rudrappa. The Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, Bangalore City.

This is a speech delivered by the author at the Annual General Meeting of the Civil Service Association at Bangalore. It does not contain a scheme of rural reconstruction; but is an enumeration of the advantages—nay the necessity of the work, and lays stress on the various aspects of the problem which is now being discussed all over India. The author rightly attaches great importance to the psychological factor. He says: "The

mentality of the masses as well as those living in cities is just the same as it was some thousand years ago. A reorientation in their mentality and outlook seems to be immediately necessary if their notion is to be raised to the level of other progressive countries. New desires, new ideas and new hopes and aspirations have to be aroused and created in the masses. The Gospel of freedom and the right to demand and obtain better conditions of life should be preached to these simple people as Sir Frederic Sykes says. The country's concentrated attention to the villages and villager is 'urgently required'. But the question is—how to do it and do it properly?"

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSH

**CASTE AND DEMOCRACY:** By K. M. Panikkar, *Day to Day Pamphlets, No. 17, The Hogarth Press, Price One shilling and Six pence net, Pp. 39.*

This pamphlet tries to give us a description of the origin and essential features of the caste system, and then puts it in contrast with the democratic political organizations of the West. The fight between the two is yet unequal in India, and our author hopes that, in the interest of human welfare, the former should at least give place to the latter. In this, we find ourselves in full sympathy with the author; but we find ourselves in fundamental disagreement with him when he discusses the historical and sociological aspects of the system.

An example will suffice. According to the author, the Brahmins devised the theory of *karma* and transmigration of souls in order to support the existing order and maintain their privileged position in society. That theory formed the philosophical backbone of the Caste System. But he seems to forget that one of the most powerful advocates of *karma*, after the Brahmins was Buddha himself, who in the words of this book "attacked the roots of the (caste) problem." Is it not strange that the same philosophy should lie behind the two movements which were antithetical in character?

The theoretical aspects of the present question have evidently been thoroughly prejudiced by the author's personal sympathies. And this should not have taken place in a scientific description of any social phenomenon.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**WORLD DEPRESSION:** By K. T. Shah. Published by the National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd., Madras. Price Re. 1-8. Pp. 272.

The present volume is a reprint from the author's lectures under the auspices of the Madan Mohan Memorial Fund, Bombay. Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics, Poona and similar other organizations. It comprises five chapters dealing with (i) the nature of the present depression; (ii) its causes; (iii) its remedies; (iv) Economic crisis of the U. S. A. and (v) World Economic Conference: issues, remedies and result.

The author is a well-known Professor of Economics and his contribution to the different branches of Indian Economics is considerable as well as valuable. In spite of tons of literature on the subject, there are still much confused thinking and vague ideas about this baffling, all-pervading phenomenon. The Professor has done well in bringing out a comparatively small volume dealing with all phases of the present depression in a clear, scientific and systematic manner. We are sure it will help to clarify much of the mist pervading our minds, and will be very useful as a handy compendium on the subject.

The technical or economic causes affecting the organization and operation of industry, the financial causes relating to credit and currency, the historical reasons and political complications, such as War debts and reparations, tariff walls and treaty realignment have all received due and separate treatment in the hands of the author, and I need not mention them here. I would, however, quote a few passages which need stressing:

"The cause of depression lies not in an excess of production, as the orthodox economists often suggest, but in the inadequacy of the means to liquidate the productivity..." "It lies in our present socio-economic system which lays a disproportionate emphasis on *Exchange*..." "We are suffering not from superabundance but from maladjustment. Large tracts of the world and great blocks of its population, still live very much below the margin of the merest subsistence, let alone any claim to any standard of culture, comfort or even decency."

In support of his statement the author has cited the case of Soviet Russia which has cut herself off from the moorings of Exchange (through money) in favour of the old barter and "is reorganizing herself on the basis of production primarily *for use* rather than for exchange." While all other countries of the world are suffering from sharp fall in production and accumulation of stock, Russia has doubled her agricultural production and more than trebled her industrial outturn, within these recent years of depression! And there is neither the "curse of unemployment, nor the problem of how to dispose of this huge increase of output!"

We may or may not accept Soviet model. But this much is probably certain that economic nationalism and warfare must cease and make room for international or universal planning and tinkering remedies adopted by individual States will not do. Says the author, "The problem is not simply one of readjusting the cogs and wheels of a machine which may temporarily be thrown out of gear; but the machine itself must be scrapped."

Re: Indian Currency Policy: "India's trade has undergone a depression more severe than that of any other country in the world—largely because, in her own selfish interest, Britain made India, in the crisis of 1931, to keep her currency linked with sterling."

We must, however, join issue with the author where he characterizes America's unwillingness to forgo her War debt claims against Europe as "Shylokian." We consider this as rather unjust and one-sided. What is the attitude of Europe towards her own debtor-countries? What about India's debt? Can we blame America if she thinks that with the money obtained from remission they will proceed with greater zeal to prepare themselves to cut her and each other's throat?

The remark of the author that "no one would put forth his best efforts, so long as there is a feeling that the fruits of his labour may be enjoyed by another, as happens inevitably in capitalistic economy," and his advocacy "to give the full benefit of the mental or physical powers that each may possess for the *common service*," (which is nothing but socialism) are liable to be contested. The author must know that this is exactly the contention in favour of the present system and against socialism.

The chapter on American crisis gives us a glimpse of what relentless fight President Roosevelt and his colleagues are giving to the demon of depression and how much a national State can do for its people in

their distress. The book is replete with very useful relevant statistics which have considerably enhanced its utility.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

**THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: A SURVEY.**  
By S. K. Lakiri, formerly Editor of "The Panjabee," and B. N. Banerjee, Professor of Economics and Politics, Vidyasagar College, and Lecturer, University of Calcutta. Published by the Politics Club, Calcutta. Selling Agents, The Modern Book Agency, 10, College Square, Calcutta. Rs. 2-1.

This carefully written and neatly printed book by Messrs. S. K. Lakiri and B. N. Banerjee is as good a piece of work as their "Introduction to the Principle of Civics." It contains a critical outline of the present Indian constitution along with a brief story of its evolution, in an historical setting. The concluding section of the work furnishes to the reader a succinct and up-to-date *resume* of the events leading to the formulation of the Constitutional Proposals, embodied in the White Paper, followed by a short review of the work of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The first chapter, dealing with the historical background, briefly sums up the evidence for the conclusion that "in the early periods of history there existed in Indian states with oligarchic or republican forms of government."

C.

**THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF ALL RELIGIONS:**  
Bhagwan Das. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1932.

This interesting essay, written on the occasion of the first All-Asia Education Conference held at Benares in December 1930, has already received enthusiastic approval of audience and readers alike. It was at first designed to be a discussion on the unity of Asiatic Thought, but Asiatic thought is pre-eminently religious, while European thought is scientific, the author has taken up for his subject 'the essential unity of all religions.' The three aspects of a scientific religion are knowledge, devotion and works; Dr. Das has finely shown the unity of all religions in the essentials, in these three aspects as well as their varieties—priestcraft and prayer, revelation and houses of god, even on the point of mystic practices—and all this he has done with a largeness of heart and a copious fund of illustrations which do not tire but charm and soothe. The one way to peace on earth, he declares, is goodwill among men. If the essential unity of all religions were once admitted, there would be no more internecine war between sect and sect, and he exhorts educationists all over the world to come forward and help the fellowship of men by showing examples of goodwill and love, which is the greatest educator.

The value of the book lies more, however, in the numerous suggestions, hints, statements thrown out occasionally by the author and in the numerous citations and parallel passages thrown into the book to show how the Quran and the Bible, the Upanishads and the Sufis, are agreed on the most vital points, and in the passionately loving appeal to unity, which the author makes, to prevent future wars by training the minds of the youth in a proper way.

The healthy tone of the book and the enthusiasm and sincerity of the author's motive make its reading an exhilarating experience; the decision of the

T. P. H. to release its copyright after 1935 will therefore be hailed with delight.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S WAY TO PREVENT WAR.**—*Edited by Leonard Woolf. Published by Gollancz. Price 5s.*

An extremely disappointing book. It is not as its title suggests a way to prevent war, it is a suggestion rather how peace may be preserved—a very different matter. The writers, however, are competent and know their subject but with the exception of Professor Laski their essays are not very convincing. Sir Norman Angell argues that the anarchy prevailing between separate Sovereign States must be brought to an end; Professor Gilbert Murray argues that the Peace Treaties must be revised; Mr. Lloyd discusses the problem of the U. S. S. R. and Mr. Buxton deals with the result of Europe's connection with other continents. How utterly different from all these is Professor Laski! Professor Laski deals with the economic factors which bring about war, and at once one feels that here is something real and substantial. His arguments are clearly put though in certain places he may be accused of exaggeration, in his attack on "economic Imperialism," as for example, when he says:

"No one now denies that the British occupation of Egypt was undertaken in order to secure the investments of British bondholders; and that the South African War was simply a sordid struggle for the domination of its gold-mines."

In the first place one has also to remember the Suez Canal, and India; in the second, certain factors had been causing trouble before 1880 when the gold-mines had not been thought of. The usual counter-attack to this form of argument is that, all governments must find work and food for their people, and therefore such things have to be. That such an argument should be seriously considered is a sad commentary on the present civilization. However as has been said before, the book is disappointing, and the further one reads in it the more will one feel the uselessness of discussing Peace Treaties, and Arbitration, until the economic system has been improved.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

### MARATHI

**SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR:** Nos. 22 & 23: *Edited by Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B.A.: Government Central Press, Bombay.*

Selection No. 22. *Extracts from the Peshwa's Diaries* contains (1) Cash accounts of daily receipts and disbursements, (2) Money transactions other than cash and (3) Miscellaneous orders of the Peshwas on various matters referred to them. These apparently disconnected items of information may at first appear dull and uninteresting to the general reader. But the trained eye of a historian will not fail to discover the salient features of the Maratha administration as well as the under-currents of Maratha social life beneath this unattractive mass of dry entries. To refer only to a few:

(a) The Peshwa as the head of the community and guardian of religion

i. One Sankaraji Kadam became a Musalman; an

order was passed to take him back into the community after the performance of a penance (*prayachhit*) (No. 22, p. 41.)

ii. The Peshwa issues a letter to the Brahmins of a particular place to admit to social dinners one Baba Yesaji Prabhu, who had been boycotted for having taken food in every place but who had now expressed his desire to perform a *prayachhit* (*ibid.*, p. 80.)

iii. Daud Shah, faqir, is fined Rs. 60 for having slaughtered a cow (*ibid.*, p. 131.)

iv. The Peshwa writes a letter to Baguji Yadav excommunicating certain Brahmins who had performed certain special rites [*pishla-pashu*] contravening the injunction of the *Shastras* (Selection No. 23, p. 9.)

v. Shripatrao Bapuji explains to the Peshwa why he allowed the continuation of the allowance to Shah Musalman in lieu of Santava Gosavi when both claimed to be disciples of the late Kabir of Poona. The writer further says that claims of Shah Musalman were also supported by the widow of the late Kabir (*ibid.*, p. 3.)

(b) Offerings made at the *mosques*.

At the time of cutting the tusks of the Peshwa's elephant, Fathe-lashkar, *sherini* (sweetmeats) was vowed to a mosque. Rs. 10 given to the elephant driver Fatu on this account (p. 46.)

(c) High rate of interest.

i. The Peshwa writes a letter to Shridhar Govind that he agrees to pay interest on Rs. 10,000 borrowed from him at the rate of 3 p.c. per month (p. 34.)

ii. Rs. 40,000 borrowed from Krishnaji Naik at the rate of 1½ p.c. per month.

iii. The Peshwa receives a loan of one lakh of rupees from Kondo Jivaji at the rate of one per cent per mensem.

(d) *Shikar-khana* establishment.

i. Birds (1) 81 Bengal Mainas (2) Jurrah hawks 1112 (?)

Cloves -20 tolas

Jaiphal -22 tolas

Saffron -12 tolas

Musk (*unch*) -12 tolas. (No 22, p. 142).

ii. Daily meat ration for hawks.

Half a seer for every (?) hawk (*Ba:*)

*Bahiri*

9 "*chafaks*" " " Bussora " (No. 22, p. 119.)

(e) Servants in the *Shikar-khana* establishment and the rate for their pay:

Deer-keeper -12

\* Pigeon-keeper -3

*Mir-shikar* (Chief huntsmen)—4

Tiger-keeper (*Baghban*)—5

Pay for a month and a half (*Der-mahi*) Rs. 3 to Rs. 7 (No. 22, p. 99.)

\* We may incidentally quote here an entry in No. 25 (pp. 36-37) which shows the Peshwa's love for pigeons. Sayyid Lashkar Khan sends 33 pairs of pigeons to him in response to the Peshwa's request for them in charge of an expert in pigeon-flying.

*Species*

*Colour*

1. Shiraji—*Kasni*, Zard, Lal, Shaha. Sabz,

2. Jogiya—Shaha, Zard, Lal

3. Lala—

4. Kala Tir—

5. Gaudedar—

6. Mukhi—

7. Sistru—Sabz, Ambari, Shaha

8. Potya—Badal, Lal.

## (e) Crime against women.

i. Balam Maniram was fined Rs. 1000 for violating the modesty of a Brahmin woman (*badar-jar thebile*). His house was sold away and his property confiscated for realizing the fine (No. 22, p. 128).

ii. Ananda Rao Goswain was fined Rs. 1500 for forcibly taking into his house a dancing-girl (*kalanantim*) (No. 22, p. 118.)

## (f) Religious services.

i. Ganapati festival—Rs. 2680, mainly spent on rewards to panegyrist (Haddas), musicians and dancing-girls.

ii. Rewards on the Nava-ratra—Rs. 178.

iii. *Dakshina* (remuneration) for Japs (repetition of *mantra*) at the rate of 4 annas per thousand.

Japs of the Mangal planet—120,000 times Rs. 30

" Sun-god --12,000 " Rs. 3

" Ketu --12,000 " Rs. 3

Rs. 36.

(No. 22, p. 73).

Mr. Sardesai has done his duty to Maharashtra; now it remains for the younger generation of Maratha scholars to make these selections available in English translation to students of Indian history. We have no doubt the English translation of these two Nos. 22 and 23 will eminently repay labour.

K. R. QANUNGO

## SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

ARCHITECTURE OF MANASARA. *Five volumes, with an Encyclopaedia, Introduction, Text, Translation, and 157 Plates in line and in colours, on Hindu Architecture. Vol. I—A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture; Vol. II—Indian Architecture according to Manasara Silpasastra; Volume III—Manasara, Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes; Vol. IV—Architecture of Manasara, translation into English; Vol. V—Architecture of Manasara, Plates I to CXXXV (Architectural), CXXXVI to CLVII (Sculptural). By Prasanna Kumar Acharya, I.E.S., M.A. (Calcutta), Ph. D. (Leyden), D. Litt. (London), Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Head of the Oriental Departments, Professor of Sanskrit, Allahabad University. Published by the Oxford University Press: London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, China, Japan.*

The first two volumes of this monumental work were published in 1927 and were highly appreciated by savants and artists in India and abroad. They were reviewed in our Bengali magazine *Prabasi* and in *The Modern Review*.

Manasara is universally recognized as the standard Hindu treatise on Hindu architecture. But it has not hitherto been completely published after critical editing, nor comprehensively treated otherwise. A complete translation into English was also wanting. Its technical terms and 'barbarous' Sanskrit presented difficulties even to professional Indologists. Dr. Acharya has, after years of devoted labour, succeeded in overcoming these difficulties to a sufficient extent to be able to finish his work and thus to open up a new line of research. Scholars and the general public will be thankful to him for this service. There has been for some time a disposition on the part of a section at least of the Indian public to favour Indian architecture. But there has not been much definite and scientific knowledge of what that archi-

ture stood for. Dr. Acharya's work will enlighten architects, engineers and craftsmen.

Though the plates number 157, the figures are in reality more numerous, as many of the plates contain more figures than one.

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THE BHAMATI OF VACASPATI on Sankara's *Brahmasutrabhasya* (*Catussutri*), edited with an English translation by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Reader in Philosophy and C. Kuhan Raja, Reader in Sanskrit Madras University, with a foreword by Sir Radhakrishnan, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1933, pp. lxvii+318.

The Sanskrit word *Catussutri* or *Catussutri* means a collection of four *Sutras* 'aphorisms' and in connection with the *Brahmasutras* of Badarayana we know by it the first four *Sutras* of that work. In explaining these four *sutras* in his great commentary, *Sariraka-bhasya*, Sankara has said all about his profound philosophy in a concise form. Such being the case, this portion of the commentary has its special importance and immense value.

Vacaspatimishra, an author of most important works on all the orthodox branches of Indian philosophy excepting only the Vaisesika system has explained Sankara's commentary on the *Brahmasutras* in his *Bhamati* which is the best of all the sub-commentaries now available. But this *Bhamati*, too, is not very easy in all places, and consequently it prompted some subsequent teachers to write explanations also of that work. One who is desirous of studying through the original what Sankara's philosophy is, but somehow or other unable to go through all that he has written, is best advised to study with the help of *Bhamati* his commentary on the *Catussutri*.

The commentary in English was already available, but not the *Bhamati* in that garb. But now it has for the first time appeared in the volume under notice.

It is not a very easy task to attempt a translation of such difficult works. Perhaps Dr. Ganganath Jha is the pioneer in this field. We must congratulate the learned authors on the success they have achieved by the present endeavour. Only the other day we received from them an edition and translation of an elementary treatise on Mimamsa called *manameyodaya*, both of them being well done.

So far as the present reviewer can judge, the translation before him is faithful and literal as far as possible; and the notes ably explain many knotty points. The detailed table of contents, too, is very useful. Scholars must remain thankful to the authors for what they have got from their work. We may reasonably hope that the remaining portion of the *Bhamati* will not be allowed to remain untranslated.

It may be noted in passing that Vacaspatimishra's another work, *Nyayakamika*, is being translated into English by Prof. Th. Stecherbalsky and will come out in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*.

As regards the identification of the author of the three verses quoted by Sankara (I. 1. 4, p. 240, *gauramithyatra*), according to Mm. S. Kuppaswami Sastri, he is Acarya Sundara Pandya. In 1897 Lala Baij Nath writes (*Actes du Onzieme Congress International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1879, Premiere Section, p. 119) to the effect that one Dirvadacarya (evidently for Dravidacarya) is referred to by Sankara and he is the author of the verses alluded to. But he does not mention the ground on which his state-

ment is based. Then he goes on to say that he tried to get Dirvadacarya's Varitika from the library of the then Sankaracarya of Dwaraka where it existed but, as he was told, no complete manuscript was available. It appears from the paper of Pandit Kuppaswami Shastri that Lala Baij Nath's Dirvadacarya or Dravidacarya is no other than Acarya Sundara Pandya and the Varttika is the Varttika of this Sundara Pandya.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

### BENGALI

**SIRANI** (*Darajir Sastar*): *Compiled by Professor Muhammad Mansuruddin, M.A., Published by M. C. Sarker and Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Twelve annas.*

The book under review gives the text of an Islamic folk-tale of Bengal which broadly agrees with the well-known romantic story of Vidyasundara. It is stories of this kind that seem to have made considerable contributions to the growth and development of the extensive Vidyasundara literature in Bengal. The work is, therefore, of sufficient interest from this point. Its linguistic interest is also not little. The learned compiler has commendably resisted the temptation of narrating the story in a chaste and elegant language as is generally used in modern Bengali literature but has allowed the peasant to relate the story in his own rustic way. This style of narration, though so common among the people at large, has unfortunately found scant regard in literature, while its special appeal to lovers of literature is undeniable. It is reminiscent of the exquisite style of old Buddhist narrative literature and has a long, hoary tradition behind it. The story is described in the dialect of the district of Pabna which (though expected to be highly appreciated by students of Philology) may be a bit difficult for the ordinary reader to follow. But this difficulty will not be as much as it appears to be at first sight and it will be removed considerably by the vocabulary of dialectic words with their meanings as given in the introduction of the work. It is, however, apprehended that the work will lose much of its general interest on account of the right to left style of writing followed in it as in a number of what are called Muhammadan Bengali books, in imitation of Persian and Arabic works. The book is fortunate in having two forewords from the pens of Messrs. Abanindranath Tagore and Muhammad Sahidullah. We join with them in wishing Professor Mansuruddin every success in the collection of folklore of Bengal, the importance of a thorough study of which cannot be overestimated.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### GUJARATI

**GOVIND GIRI**: *By the late Govindji Kanji of Santa Cruz (Bombay). Printed at the Yogesh Printery, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 350. (1933)*

Govindji who died early at the age of thirty belonged to a wealthy family of Bombay. He early took to literature and was a follower of Mahatma Gandhi. He had literary men as his friends, one of them being the able editor of this collection, Mr. Ramprasad Bakshi, M. A. The collection consists of short stories and a few poems from the pen of the deceased.

They are very well written in themselves, but what is more important is the fact that they contain in themselves the promise of still better work, which had but Providence spared his life, would surely have come to fruition.

**GUJARATI SAHITYA PARICHAYA**: *By Manjalar R. Majumdar, M.A., LL.B., of Baroda. Printed at the Jasrat Sinha Printing Press, Limbells. Thick Card-board. Pp. 319. Price Rs. 11. (1933).*

The publisher has planned "An Introduction to Gujarati Literature Series" and this is the second volume. Mr. Majumdar who is entrusted with the work is well fitted for the task because of his wide reading and study of Gujarati literature, old and new. The present volume contains selections from the prose and poetical writing of almost every known writer: it also gives short biographical notices of the writers with appropriate observations and explanatory notes: so that all that a reader or student wants is here. The work should prove popular.

**MANJARI** *Published by Ramu Thakkar, and printed at the Seadhin Printing Press, Ranpur, cloth cover, pp. 211. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1933).*

This is a collection of fifteen short stories, bearing on various domestic and social subjects published at different times in the weekly "Phul Chhab." They are very interesting to read, and many of them are torn in a very affecting way. We specially commend the story, sarcastically called, "The Happy Prostitute," narrating the life-history of a Hindu girl, widowed at the age of fourteen, and her trials and her fate, till ultimately when she became a convert to Islam and a concubine of Musalman traders: all this because of the rigour of Society, which would not allow remarriage, the result being her being driven on the streets. It is a scathing commentary on our ways.

**KHUSHKI AND TARI**: *By Vijayrai Kalthankari Vaidya, B. A. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. Paper Cover: Pp. 152. Price Re. 1-0-0. (1933).*

Mr. Vijayrai has vowed to devote his life to the uplift of Gujarati Literature. To accomplish it money is required, and he had to start in search of it. He therefore had to travel both on land (Khushki) and by sea (Tari). He travelled with open eyes and noted incidents, both grave and gay, important and trifling. Having the faculty of wielding a happy pen, he has been able to sit down his experiences and observations in a delightful vein. Karachi, Rangoon, Jubbulpore, Calcutta, and other places have been so well described that they actually seem to be living before our eyes. We are glad that Mr. Vijayrai has not kept his diary to himself but published it.

K. M. J.

### ASSAMESE-ENGLISH

**CHANDRAKANTA ABHIDHAN**: *A Comprehensive Dictionary of the Assamese Language with etymology and illustrations of words with their meanings both in Assamese and English. Compiled and Edited by the Assam Sahitya Sabha. Chandrakanta Sandikoi (Hondikoi) Hall, Jorhat, Assam. First Edition, 1854 Saka 1932. Size 10 ins. by 7 ins., pp. xxxii and 1044, cloth bound. Price Rupees Seven only.*

We welcome this publication as one of first-rate importance in the study of a New Indo-Aryan speech. This is the most recent dictionary of the Assamese language, and by far the biggest, and arranged in the most up-to-date manner. In the Preface the General Secretary of the Assam Sahitya Sabha, Mr. Deveswar Chaliha (Solihā), has given an account of the previous work in the field of Assamese lexicography. The English Missionary, W. Bronson, compiled the first dictionary of the language with the help of Jaduram Deka Barua over sixty-six years ago (Dictionary in Assamese and English, Baptist Mission Press, Sibsagar, Assam, 1867). After this pioneer endeavour, the late Hem Chandra Barua published in 1900 his *Hem Kosh*, which remained up till now the standard dictionary of Assamese. The number of words in the *Hem Kosh* is 22,346, and considerable learning has been displayed in this compilation, where English equivalents also feature.

The present dictionary, the *Chandrakanta Abhidhan*, is the third one of Assamese. This has been published exactly thirty-two years after the second: we have in Assamese a registering of the progress of the language by means of dictionaries after each third of a century from 1867. The number of words in this dictionary amounts to 38,819. It represents a labour by a band of scholars extending over eight years.

The circumstances which made this dictionary possible have been narrated to Mr. Chaliha's preface, and they are quite touching, bearing testimony of a bereaved father's love for two young sons, the most promising of young men in their land. Of Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Sandikāi's four sons, Krishnakanta, Chandrakanta, Lakshmikanta and Indrakanta, the second and fourth Chandrakanta and Indrakanta died within three weeks of each, both through an attack of typhoid, in August-September, 1923, when the eldest and the third of the four brothers were away in England for study. Chandrakanta was a graduate, and only 22 when he died. The parents, Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Sandikāi and his wife Srijuṭta Narayani Devi, to perpetuate the memory of their sons created a trust with Rs. 30,000, half of which sum was spent on an institution called "Chandrakanta Institute," and the other half was to be kept as a permanent fund, the interest being utilized in compiling a dictionary of Assamese to be called the *Chandrakanta Abhidhan*, and after that a standard history of Assam to be called the *Indrakanta Buranjī*, and when these works were published, the proceeds from them as well as the permanent fund of Rs. 15,000 were to be used for the furtherance of the Assamese language and Assamese literature under the direction of the Assam Sahitya Sabha. The Chandrakanta Institute has been completed, and opened formally by the Governor of Assam in December 1926. The dictionary is also complete and is now before the public. No more fitting memorial could be devised for these young men of promise, cut off by a cruel and untimely death: their names will remain for a long "time household words among their people, and will become familiar in other parts of India, and outside India, wherever modern Indian languages and Indian history are studied.

Both Rai Bahadur Radhakanta and Mrs. Narayani Devi Sandikāi took part in the actual labour of com-

piling the dictionary. Not only the standard words of the language find a place in it, but also a considerable number of dialectal words, and early Assamese words from old literature, printed and in MS. A mass of miscellaneous information on topics of various kinds find a place in explaining the words collected. New terms for new objects and ideas which are being coined have found a place, as well as old words and expressions which are being revived, or are thought worthy of being given fresh currency.

The etymological portion relating to words other than Sanskrit and foreign is not a very strong point in this dictionary, but we need not carp at it for this. The derivation of the Prakritic formations has not been properly paid attention to in India, and the *Desi* or aboriginal words present the greatest, often insurmountable, difficulty, which the best philological acumen of Europe and India is seeking to tackle. We are extremely grateful for what we have got, and that is quite a lot. Here we have a whole host of words, some of them of great value for comparative purposes, to elucidate the history of sister and cousin speeches like Bengali, Oriya, Hindustani, etc., made easily accessible for scientific workers. Assamese is remarkable as a New Indian speech which has resisted largely the imposition of learned words from Sanskrit. It has preserved intact a large native vocabulary, and in this matter it presents a refreshing contrast with Bengali.

Quotations from literature showing the use of words are frequently given, and this largely enhances the value of the work. Being an Assamese-Assamese-English dictionary—its utility has spread beyond the limits of Assam, and scholars abroad will find it particularly helpful.

There is an introduction by Devananda Bharati on the origin and character of the Assamese language, which includes a note on the pronunciation of Assamese.

So far as the present-day resources of scholarship in Assam are concerned, the dictionary is a very creditable performance, and will long remain the standard lexicon of Assamese, which will also find a place in the library of all interested in Indian Philology. We only wish the section on the Assamese language were written by a scholar like Professor Banikanta Kakati of Cotton College, Gauhati, who has taken in hand a history of his mother-tongue. The etymological section would have considerably improved in his hands.

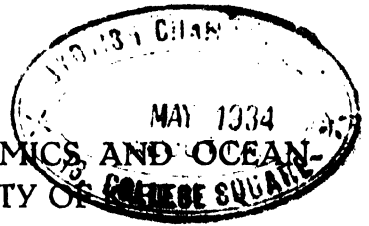
There is one grave omission, which has, I understand, been rightly resented in Assam. Those who were actually engaged in the preparation of the dictionary deserved to have at least their names recorded in the Preface, along with the names of Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Sandikāi and his wife who also helped in the work of compilation. I understand that two gentlemen were conspicuous for their labours in this connection—Mr. Kahiram Das, B.A., and Pandit Sarat Chandra Goswami. At least a slip bearing names of the persons whose learning and scholarly industry made the dictionary the fine piece of work that it is, should be attached to remedy what we should consider the first duty of the management of the Assam Sahitya Sabha and the Sandikāi Trust Board in connection with the *Chandrakanta Abhidhan*.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI



# THE INSTITUTE OF WORLD-WIDE ECONOMICS AND OCEAN-TRANSPORT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF KIEL

By ZOHADUR RAHIM



**T**HE Institute of World-wide Economics and Ocean-transport in the University of Kiel is situated on the outskirts of the city, far from its din and tumult, but is connected with the university by a tramway line. Its situation is simply idyllic, having the beautiful Kieler Forde (sea) in front and "Krassenkoppel", the woods, on the background. Attached to the Institute is the Scientific Club, which was formerly the Imperial Yacht Club. It was in spacious hall of this club that the ex-Kaiser of Germany used to meet all the personalities of Kiel at a dinner party. The same hall is used now for "Vorträge" (lectures but not university lectures, which are called "Vorlesungen") and the writer had the honour of hearing many distinguished men of Germany as well as of foreign countries during his stay there. One of the most impressive speeches he had ever heard was that delivered by Dr. Hans Luther, the then Reichsbank President (Reichs Kanzler 1925-26) in the summer semester of 1931, just after the reparation problem was settled to the satisfaction of the German people. Being an Indian and a Bengali too, I am proud of mentioning here that among the distinguished guests, who were invited to deliver lectures from time to time in this famous club hall, was also my countryman, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. That the lecture of Prof. Sarkar was attended by a large audience was a clear proof of Germany's great interest in the affairs of India.

Now I shall pass over to the history of the Institute itself. The Institute has a unique history of its own. The present building was formerly "Hotel zur See-Badeanstalt" and was a meeting-place of all the Royalties of Europe during "Kieler Regatta Woche," when the Kaiser used to come down to Kiel. All the neighbouring states of Germany, such as, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland as well as England, used to take part in the sailing boat competition of Kiel. It was a sight to see all the boats entering the

Kieler Harbour with their different flags fluttering in the breeze. During Regatta week Kiel was all life and sensation. It was a happy time for Kiel, because much of the outsiders' money used to flow into the pockets of its citizens. Although "Kieler Regatta Woche" is still observed in Kiel, it has lost all the grandeur and pomp of the Kaiser's time. No princes, no foreign boats come now but the boats from all parts of Germany.

The Institute of Kiel is the most outstanding proof of Germany's insatiable thirst for knowledge and for research work. It might rightly be called the child born of the travail of the Great War. It was in November 1918 that the revolution first broke out in the mine station of Kiel. It spread like wild fire throughout the whole country and made an end of monarchism in Germany. In the national congress of Weimar



Glance at the University

on the 11th August, 1919, Germany was declared a republic. The war ended, peace was established in the country, but the people were still suffering from untold miseries. The effects of the Great War could not be effaced by mere change of constitution. They were all the more terrible upon Germany because it was she who fought almost single-handed, so valiantly against the whole world for a period of four years, and it was she,



who had to bear the full brunt of defeat, although the moral victory was on her side. The people once so opulent, a nation once held in so great esteem in the eyes of the world, now lay prostrate and humiliated, bereft of all its powers and with its resources completely exhausted. The whole country was in a state of confusion and chaos—her foreign trade totally ruined, her agriculture neglected, and her nation-building industry converted into a war-industry. After the declaration of the republic, Germany was confronted with very many problems. She had to re-establish her foreign trade relations, she had to take up in right earnest her long-neglected agriculture, she had to revive her nation-building industries. The work of rebuilding and reconstructing was to be carried on everywhere.

Even at this most critical juncture of her life Germany did not forget her duty towards the cause of science and culture. It was in 1919 that an association called "Gesellschaft zur Forderung der Wissenschaft" (Association for the furtherance of science) was founded. It



General View of the Institute

counts among its members all the rich and influential men of Germany. From the contribution of its members, the association bought the "Hotel zur See-Badeanstalt" for one and one-fourth million marks and spent another million to renovate it. The intrepid and untiring Director of the Institute, Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Bernhard Harms was successful in collecting a substantial amount from the American millionaires by paying a visit to that country and this helped a great deal in the up-to-date equipment of the Institute. The Rockefeller Foundation still contributes regularly to the library fund.

It is a magnificent four-storied building, lavishly furnished, its staircases thickly carpeted. In the cellar is the library consisting of about two lacs of books in different languages of the world, a large percentage being in English. Eight

thousand books a year are added to the contents of the library. Besides that, the Institute subscribes to more than 3300 year-books, statistics, periodicals and newspapers of all different countries of the world. The number of dailies is fifty. On the ground-floor are the big "Arbeitsaal" (working hall) facing the sea with accommodation for 150 students each student having his own table and chair, its wall studded with shelves full of reference books, "Zeitschriftensaal" i. e., a room containing only periodicals such as weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies and so on, the "Ausleihe" or the room where the library books are to be ordered, the Kanzelei or the office of the Institute and the rooms of the librarian and his assistants. The first and second floors contain numerous rooms for professors, their assistants, tutorial classes and also the central telephone office of the Institute. On the fourth floor is situated the "Wirtschaftliches Archiv" where cuttings of newspapers bearing on important economical problems are preserved. Moreover one can find here materials regarding economies of all the countries of the world, materials on goods of international trade as well as informations regarding the important enterprises and economical societies of the world. Dr. Losh who is in charge of the Archive, spares no pain to be helpful to the student.

The Institute is the most ideal place for the students to work in. Pin-drop silence prevails in the working hall. None is allowed to carry on any sort of conversation inside it. The student can bury himself in his work in absolute quiet undisturbed even by any external agency, such as, noise of the traffic. The lady supervisor of the hall is always ready to help him in finding out books and in supplying him with any information he requires for the furtherance of his work. The professors, too, are always at his disposal to assist him with their advice regarding his study. The Scientific Club, having a wonderful view of the sea, offers him an ideal place of retreat and recreation from his strenuous work. He can spend some time there in chat with his fellow-students, taking tea, coffee or any refreshment he would like to take. The eatables and drinks available here are very cheap in comparison with the prices he has to pay outside for the same things. Each member of the club has a key and he or she alone has access to it.

One of the special features of the Institute is its "Seminaruebungen" (tutorial classes). They are all held in the Institute unlike the lectures on economics, which are all delivered in the

university. The "Übungen" are divided into three classes, *viz.*, one for the beginner, the second for the advanced students and the third for those preparing for the doctorate. They are meant to create in students the habit of critical study, to develop in him the power of oration and the power of discussion. They are held under the guidance of a professor once a week lasting generally for two hours (6 to 8 p. m.). Each student has to express himself on the subject already assigned to him in a clean neat speech within twenty to thirty minutes' time. The rest of the time is devoted to the free discussion of the subject among the professor and students. The number of students being limited (not to exceed twentyfive), every student is given the opportunity of taking active part in the discussion. During the writer's stay, the "Übungen" sometimes lasted for four hours. Of course, an interval of half an hour was allowed, during which we were served with sumptuous supper, naturally at the cost of the professor and sat down again for discussion for another two hours. These "Übungen" are great factors in bringing the students in close personal touch with their professors. It is not infrequent that the students are invited to a dinner or tea party by the professors in their houses. The writer can never forget many beautiful evenings he spent in these parties.

The other social functions organized either by the University or the Institute go further to strengthen the cordial relation between the professors and the students. I would like to mention here only some of those arranged by the Institute with which I was so intimately connected for a considerable period of time and the activities of the German and Foreign Students Association in the University of Kiel founded in 1929 by the then Rector of the University, Prof. Dr. Hoeber. The Institute used to organize two big festivals, one in the summer, another in the winter semester. The summer ball used to take place in a café either on the sea-shore or on the side of a lake, the winter festival or fancy dress ball in a café of good reputation in the city. The participants were the professors and students of Economics and their invited friends and acquaintances. The whole night used to be spent in music and dancing interrupted by nice performances by the students themselves. The writer cannot resist the temptation of giving at least some idea to his readers regarding the summer festival of 1932 which coincided with the farewell party to Prof. Dr. Loewe, who had to leave Kiel in response to the call of the University of Frankfurt am Main.

The festival was celebrated in a café situated on a beautiful lake. It opened with music and dance. Then there appeared a paraphernalia of judge and jurors, public prosecutor and barristers, expert and witnesses and at last Prof. Dr. Loewe was ushered in, handcuffed as a

criminal. The charge of having grievously hurt the body of the University was framed against him. The University of Kiel is a Corporate Body having two hundred and fifty professors as its members. Now if any of its members desires to leave it, *i.e.*, tries to dismember it, without reasonable ground, he is naturally liable to prosecution. The question arose whether that member was actually a valuable member or only a protuberance on the Body Corporate. The opinion of the expert was sought for. It was proved to the satisfaction of the judge and the jurors that the member in question was really a very useful member and as such cannot help injuring the Body Corporate by his removal. Now the question was raised whether the accused was justified in his action, *i.e.*, in leaving Kiel University. The defence counsel argued that because Prof. Dr. Loewe was following a higher call, because he was actuated by a higher motive of being more useful to another corporate body, because he had a brighter and happier future before him, his decision to leave Kiel was perfectly justified. The accused was declared not guilty and discharged. The band of musicians began again and we lost ourselves in dancing. At 1 A. M. there was a pause. We, thirty in number of both sexes, and Prof. Loewe repaired to the ghāt of the lake, got into some six boats with musical instruments and gay-coloured paper lanterns and rowed in accompaniment of the music, for an hour. It was a charmingly beautiful moon-lit summer night in Germany. I still hear that sweet melody of various instruments rising from the silent bosom of the lake and vanishing in the stillness of the boundless sky. When we returned to the hall, the dancing was going on in full swing. Refreshed and reinvigorated by the lake breeze, we gave ourselves up again to the goddess of mirth and jollity. It was early in the morning that a special tram-car (not a special train) carried us back to the heart of the city.

The winter festival or fancy dress balls are saturated with the ideas of Epicurus from beginning to end. All the formalities and etiquettes of the society balls are abandoned. The evening suits give way to fantastic as well as variegated national costumes of the world, even the dress of an Indian Maharaja is not wanting. The ladies look forward with great delight to the day when they can bid good-bye to their formal ball dresses and show themselves to their best advantage appearing like so many butterflies fluttering in the breeze. The polite form of address among strangers and the less intimate, "Sie," is replaced by a most familiar form of address "Du." Unfortunately, it is very difficult to explain to my readers the real significance and the charm the word "Du" possesses in German language. The English word "thou" is not the equivalent, because it is not the word

used by intimate friends, a word not used even by husband and wife. They all begin with "you" and remain with "you." It is the proud privilege of the German-speaking people to address their relatives and intimate friends with "Du." The very use of the word "Du" breaks all the barriers of reservation and conventionalities and make the conversation among friends most easy, most natural, hence most enjoyable. It is the key which opens one's heart before that of another. A little incident will substantiate this view. While dancing with a young lady in a fancy dress ball, the writer was told by her that she did not very much like to go to society balls but she was exceedingly fond of going to a fancy dress ball. Being asked why she liked fancy dress ball so much, she said, "Well, because I can say 'Du' to each and everyone." It may be mentioned here that the dancing halls are very tastefully and artistically decorated to suit the occasion.

Another most important social function of the Institute is the "Weihnachtsfeier" (Christmas celebration) which is celebrated exclusively among professors and students of Economics and contributes no little to cementing the friendly relation between the former and the latter. The place of celebration is the glass verandah of the club. According to German custom a fir tree decorated with silver thread and Japanese balls and with wax candles burning on all its branches was installed in the centre. At each covered table round about, there used to sit one professor with five or six students. At first the Christmas songs were sung in chorus by students and professors. Then there used to appear the old white-bearded "Weihnachts man" (Christmas-man), none but a student in disguise, with a bag full of X'mas gifts. The gifts were nothing but joke articles and the announcement of the recipient of each article was hailed with an outburst of laughter. Some entertainments in the form of a "Kasperle Theater" or acting a small drama or of a comical performance all managed by students themselves were also provided. It is needless to mention here that we were also treated with cakes, sweets, nuts and drinks, all at the cost of our beloved director, Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Bernhard Harms.

Now I shall pass over to the activities of German and Foreign Students Association in the University of Kiel, meant to create better understanding and cultivate friendly feelings among German students and students of all different countries residing in Germany. The writer was taking active part in it from its very inception and later had the honour of being elected its president, which office he held to the day he left Kiel. In summer semester 1932, we counted, among our members, students of twenty-three different countries of the world, all speaking different languages but united together by the common language—German. We used to meet

every Wednesday evening in the "Studentenheim" (students' home) "Seeburg", commanding a view of the harbour. We arranged either for a lecture to be delivered by a professor on a burning topic of the day or we spent the evening in friendly discussion among ourselves or we passed the evening in dancing and playing some indoor games. Apart from two big social gatherings (one in each semester) to which all the professors of the University, high Government officials and leading men of Kiel were invited, we arranged for excursion on foot, motor boat excursion, inspection of interesting places, such as printing press, factories, breweries, Konsum-verein (chain stores) as well as going to theatre in company.

It may be mentioned here that while visiting the above places we received the utmost consideration at the hand of the authorities concerned. To mention only one instance, when we went to visit the head office of the "Konsum-verein fuer Kiel und Umgegend", one of its officers served as our guide. He took us from one department to another, giving every explanation and information we required. It was a pleasure to see the absolute neatness and cleanliness, discipline and orderliness observed throughout this big establishment. We were taken at last to the bakery, where everything is done by machinery from kneading to the wrapping of the bread with paper. Here we were shown a special machinery for cleaning the flour from sack fibres and other dirt which creep in during the transport, before it (flour) goes for kneading. When we saw the refuse, we could not help thinking how much dirt we swallow everyday with our bread brought from an ordinary bakery. Even in the machine-made bread of our country such dirt is not wanting. Before we left the bakery we were served with cakes and tarts to our heart's content. The utmost hygienic conditions under which they are prepared and to which we were eye-witnesses, gave us a special relish. The city of Kiel used to issue free theatre tickets to our members and also defray all the expenses of our whole day motor boat excursion. A motor boat excursion on a summer day in Germany is the most charming thing one can think of, specially when that boat is meant exclusively for a group of people known to one another. A large motor boat was placed at our disposal. We were leaving Kiel early in the morning, after three to four hours' drive reaching a charmingly beautiful solitary sea-beach extending over a mile. The water there was as transparent as crystal. Several hours were spent in bathing, swimming and other sports on the beach. Towards the afternoon we used to make our way to "Schilksee", a popular bathing resort where the rest of the day passed away in music and dancing. It was late in the evening that we used to reach Kiel.

I have given here only a few instances as to how the social life is cultivated in the Univer-

THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ARTS EXHIBITION, MADRAS

1

Soothsayer  
By Syed Hamed



Left, below  
Avisikarika  
By P. V. Kuppa Rao



Right, below  
Woodcut  
By P. V. Kuppa Rao





Evening Glow  
By S. V. S. Rama Rao



Flight of Prithviraj  
By M. Venkatarathan



Rasalila  
By Venkatanarayana Rao

sity of Kiel and in the Institute attached to it. The contribution of the Institute to the cause of World-economy is invaluable. It is the biggest Institute of its kind in the world and as such keeps itself in steady communication and exchange of views not only with the leading economists but also in constant communication with the authorities, firms, associations and personalities of the whole world, with the result that it is of inestimable service to the research workers. No institute of the world possesses such a wide range of materials as the Institute of Kiel.

If there is any country at all in this world, where Indians are not only treated on equal

footing but also regarded and respected, as being the descendants of a great nation possessing the oldest civilization, highest philosophy and finest culture, then it is Germany. A deep feeling of sympathy for the descendants of a nation once so great is to be found in each and every heart of Germany. "Men are we and must grieve when even the shade of that which once was great, is passed away". Wordsworth has found more followers among Germans than among his own countrymen.

Any student proceeding to Europe for scientific study of economics cannot do better than select the Institute of World-wide Economics and Ocean-transport in the University of Kiel.

## THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ARTS EXHIBITION, MADRAS

By ALICE E. ADAIR

**T**HE Madras Government School of Arts and Crafts held its annual Exhibition in March—the third under the Principalship of Sjt. Deviprasad Roy Choudhury, at the School Buildings. This Exhibition is becoming of increasing value in the cultural life of Madras. There were 224 exhibits in the Studio—paintings, drawings, modellings, etc.

The illustrations reproduced here are sufficient evidence of the quality of the work being done in and by the School. The fact that each year the students take a prominent place in the awards of the Fine Arts Society is in itself noteworthy.

The more remarkable of the works of the students are shown in the illustrations given here. They include a vital work in colour and design, "The Flight of Prithviraj," by M. Venkatarathan. The Exhibition also included a line-drawing of the same subject by the same student, showing his mastery in this method. "Rasulila," a really fine composition in clay by M. Venkatanarayana combines skilful design and honest craftsmanship with a rhythmic grace that is lyrical in its charm.

Original also in design and attractive in colour and feeling is the lovely little "Avisikarika" by P. V. Kuppa Rao, who is also responsible for a fine woodcut, a boldly treated, characteristic head.

Muhammadan feeling and skill has an exponent in the finely executed portraiture of the "Soothsayer" by Syed Hamid. Of an altogether

different type is the work of S. V. S. Rama Rao, showing how widely catholic is the training of the School. This impressionistic landscape is interesting on account of its combination of good composition and poetic feeling. "Evening Glow" is also pleasing in colour.

Mention must be made of a beautiful head in clay by the Principal of the School, Sjt. Roy Choudhury's portraits are well known. Unfortunately, opportunities of seeing any "subject" sculptural works from his hands are rare. Fine aesthetic qualities and sound technique always characterize his work, but it is not always possible to express in portraiture the deep emotional content of really great art. Hence we welcome this expressive work, the head of a Blind Girl.

In the crafts Section, Sjt. V. R. Chitra continues to make new experiments, and to design objects which are both useful and beautiful. Furniture was the best represented craft. The cut-out design in chairs is novel, and the dark wood is skilfully used both in the design of the chairs and of the Chest which goes with them.

The enamel and stamped leather Sections also showed some good work. In the ornaments both wired and unwired methods were used in the enamelling.

One can look forward with confidence to the results of the coming year of work in the Madras School of Arts.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. AMENA KHATUN has been elected Commissioner of Jessore Municipality this year from a joint-electorate constituency of Hindus and Mussalmans. She is the first Muhammadan lady ever elected a municipal commissioner in Bengal.



Mrs. Amena Khatun

MRS. RAMA BOSE'S paintings have been praised in various exhibitions in Calcutta.

MRS. CHANDRAWATI TAKHANPAL, M. A., B. T., wife of Professor Satyavrata of Gurukula University, Hardwar, has been awarded a prize of Rs. 500 by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, for her book *Striyon ki Shikhi* which has been declared to be the best book of the year in Hindi by a woman writer.



Mrs. Rama Bose



Mrs. Chandrawati Takhapal

## ANSWERS OF RAMMOHUN ROY TO QUERIES ON THE SALT MONOPOLY

The following answers by Rammohun Roy to questions put to him on the salt supply of Bengal will be found interesting. These have been obtained from England from the Parliamentary Papers of 1831-32 (vol. xi, pp. 685-86, App. No. 140) by Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji for the complete edition of the works of Raja Rammohun Roy to be published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. It will be noticed that no question was put to the Raja as to the practicability of manufacturing pure salt in Bengal at such cost as to enable it to hold its own against imported British salt. Had such a question been put, we could have known his considered opinion.—*Ed., M. R.*

*Question 1.* Are you acquainted with the retail price of salt in Calcutta and the neighbouring districts ?

*Answer.* The price of adulterated salt in Calcutta, at the time of my departure, was at the rate of between seven and eight seers for a rupee, or about 2s. for 15 lbs., if my memory be correct ; and of pure salt, like the English, between four and five seers for a rupee, or about 2s. for nine lbs. It was of course proportionably higher in districts such as Nuddea, Burdwan, Beerbhoom, etc. more remote from the place of production and sale.

*Q. 2.* Have the poorer classes of natives in the places you have mentioned been prevented at any time from procuring a sufficiency of salt by its high price ?

*A.* As salt has by long habit become an absolute necessary of life, the poorest peasants are ready to surrender every thing else in order to procure a small proportion of this article ; though the dearth of the salt is felt by the whole community, and the people in general are therefore obliged to make use of a bad quality, and few comparatively are able to incur the expense of procuring it in a purer form.

*Q. 3.* Do you consider salt as necessary to the food of the natives, and that the want of it is a great deprivation of comfort to them ?

*A.* As the food of the people in Bengal consists chiefly of boiled rice, which is by itself, a most insipid kind of food, salt and

ingredients dressed with salt are used to season the rice and render it palatable. The



Portrait of Raja Rammohun Roy  
Ivory Miniature, Delhi School, 19th century. (Presented  
by the Executors in accordance with the wishes  
of Sir Robert Nathan, K. C. S. I., C. I. E.)  
*By the courtesy of the Director, Victoria and  
Albert Museum, London.*

rice is usually eaten with what the Hindoos call *hyanjun* or *turkaree*, and the Moossulmans *salun* ; that is, something such as a little fish or *dhac* (a kind of dressed peas), or vegetables, according to their ability to procure these articles. But as they have been long accustomed to the use of salt, the high cost of this ingredient sometimes obliges the poor people to give up their *hyanjun* or *salun* to procure it, and eat their rice with salt alone, as noticed in my reply to the "additional query" 4th.



*Q. 4.* Do you suppose that a reduction in the price and an improvement in the quality would tend to any very considerable increase of consumption?

*A.* Salt being, as I already observed, an absolute necessary of life, is now purchased even by the poorest individuals, at the sacrifice of every other kind of seasoning and eatable but rice, the stuff of life. If salt were rendered cheaper and better, it must greatly promote the common comforts of the people. I do not know that it would immediately cause a very considerable increase of consumption, but to a certain extent it would undoubtedly; and from its cheapness, its use may be again extended by the people in seasoning the food of cattle, for which purpose formerly large quantities were used. The poorer classes at any rate, would not in this case be compelled to sacrifice any other comfort in order to procure it.

*Q. 5.* Are you aware that the price of salt in England is much cheaper than in India; and such being the fact, do you conceive there would be any objection on the part of the natives of India, arising from religious scruples, to eat salt imported from England—the preparation of English salt being free from all impurity?

*A.* I understand that the price of salt is here about one-fourth of what it is in India; therefore there is no doubt that the natives of India would be very glad to purchase English salt if imported; excepting perhaps a very few professional Brahmuns. The bulk of the people would make no distinction between the salt which is home made, and that which is imported. One-fourth (if not one-third) of the soda-water manufactured in Calcutta by Europeans, is, I think, used by the natives residing in Calcutta and its suburbs; and also a considerable proportion of the liquors imported from Europe.

*Q. 6.* Supposing that salt from England could be imported cheaper than it is manufactured in Bengal, do you apprehend that much distress would fall upon the molungees from the want of employment?

*A.* The molungees would still be employed to a great extent in the khalarays by Government (if it be permitted to carry on the salt monopoly in future), or by those who

farm them from Government, and the rest could be beneficially employed in agriculture and other occupations, as gardeners, domestic servants and daily labourers. Since common labourers among the Bengalese, such as gardeners, etc. not being equal to the demand, the natives of Orissa are generally encouraged to come to Bengal in great numbers to fill up these occupations.

*Q. 7.* Is the manufacture of salt attended with any suffering to the persons engaged in it, from exposure to unwholesome situations and tigers; and do you consider them in a better or worse condition than the ryots employed in agriculture?

*A.* Since the sunderbuns have been partially cleared, the danger from tigers is not considerable. But the molungees suffer chiefly from the humidity of the soil and the dampness of the atmosphere where they are obliged to continue during the manufacturing season. The agriculturists are better situated than the molungees in respect both to health and to personal freedom, from not being, like the latter, liable to be detained during the working season, though the agriculturists are not equally sure of regular employment and wages.

*Q. 8.* Are you of opinion that the molungees are liable to ill-usage from the subordinate officers of the salt agencies?

*A.* In proportion as the head molungees suffer extortion from the salt officers, they indemnify themselves by defrauding the inferior molungees in respect to the wages allowed to them, and the work exacted from them.

*Q. 9.* Have not regulations been passed of late years to protect the molungees?

*A.* Regulations have been passed, but the combinations of officers, superior or inferior, render them almost inoperative; to say nothing of the insuperable difficulties under which a humble individual generally labours in endeavouring to get redress against those in power, or superior to himself in wealth and influence, as already explained in my answers to the "Judicial Queries."

*Q. 12.* To what extent is the salt of the Bengal monopoly adulterated before it reaches the consumers?

*A.* The adulteration of the salt is carried to an enormous extent, by mixing it with one-

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE "MIRAT-I-AHMADI"

third or even one-half of earth, until, instead of being like salt, it more resembles the earth of which it is composed. Persons in comfortable circumstances generally purify it by manufacturing it over again before they use it, or

purchase it already refined, often at double the common price; but the poorer classes cannot afford the expense of either.

London, March 19, 1832. RAMMOHUN ROY

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE "MIRAT-I-AHMADI"

BY DIWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B.

THE *Mirati-i-Ahmadi* is a remarkable work; it gives the political and statistical history of the province of Gujarat from the earliest times upto the battle of Panipat (A. D. 1761). It is considered very important from a historical point of view as the author narrates events of which not only was he an eye-witness, but in the happening of which either he, his father, or his friends took part, and thus made history. The author is at special pains to observe "that he has summarised events of which he was an eye-witness, free from doubt<sup>2</sup> and partiality, without favour or prejudice" (p. 13 Persian Text, Part I, Volume xxxiii, Gackwad's Oriental Series), and therein lies its great value.

Although till His Highness the Maharaja Gackwad's Government very generously undertook to bring out the whole work in its present shape (Volumes xxxiii, xxxiv, xliii, l, Gackwad's Oriental Series) and thus lay Oriental scholars under a deep debt of gratitude, very few copies<sup>3</sup>

Dr. James Bird, who has translated what the author calls the *Mukaddamah* (Preface) in his *History of Gujarat* (A. D. 1834) has not done so literally and has omitted certain passages and verses. If the same were translated in its entirety it would bring out the author's object in writing this history, which in fact is but a part of a larger work, much more plainly. Dr. Bird translates the words "*Bi shayaqah*" and what follows, as "With care and attention"; but the author meant something more than that as would be gathered from the translation given here. That it was so is borne out by what he states at the end of Part II, while finishing his labours; "May it not remain concealed that he has promised and (also) considered it proper and essential for his task that in narrating events he should abstain from showing favour to relatives and prejudice (—*Adulat*, ill-will) against strangers and (should) indite only that which had happened, truly and really," (he has done so). P. 613 Persian Text; Part II, Volume XXXIV, Gackwad's Oriental Series.

<sup>1</sup> See, as to some such copies, Dr. Bird's and Sir E. C. Bayley's Prefaces to their respective works and Sir J. Sarkar's Foreword to Volume  $\frac{1}{2}$  XXXIV of the Gackwad's Oriental Series.

of transcripts of the book were available,—the larger number being full of errors, copyists' mistakes and incomplete,—writers on the history of Gujarat have not failed to make extensive use of it. No translation however of the complete work exists. Dr. Bird has translated a small portion of Part I, Sir E. C. Bayley has also made use of that portion. There is a Gujarati translation made by Pathan Nizamkhan Nurkhan of Part I (1913) and the *Khatimah* (1919). Part II however, which is by far the most valuable section of the *Mirat* has not been translated into English,<sup>4</sup> though Mr. Seddon promises "to attend to it later on," (p. xii, Foreword; Supplement; Volume xliii, Gackwad's Oriental Series). All the same it has been extensively utilized, for the contents of the different Volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, (Volume I, Part I, and also those relating to Ahmedabad, Surat and Cambay), the basis being Col. Watson's translation of the larger part of it. William Irvine in *Later Mughals*, has also based a large portion of Chapter VIII, Vol II, *Mahrattas in Gujarat*, pp. 155-215, sections 17 to 68 (Ed. of 1922 edited by Sir J. Sarkar) on this part of the *Mirat*.<sup>5</sup> Sir J. Sarkar has also made

\* The writer of this paper has translated the whole of Part II into Gujarati and it is being published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad. The first two-hundred pages are already out.

<sup>2</sup> This excellent summary suffers in places on account of the inaccurate text from which it was made, and also from want of knowledge of the correct names of the places and men referred to in the original. For instance,

(i) on p. 175, Vol. II, the name of the Manager is more probably Navnidh Rai, and Bharnal is the Faujdar of Dholka and not Duraha. This mistake of calling Dholka Duraha is repeated all throughout. See pp. 197 and 210. Patia is the agent of the Zamindar (Thakor) of Jhabuwa as correctly surmised by Sir J. Sarkar and not Jhalod.

(ii) on p. 177 it is the Kankaria Talao (—Tala, a lake) that is meant by Tal which should

great use of it in his various works. The part containing the *Khatimah*—concluding portion—is translated into Gujarati by the same Mahomedan translator as of Part I and into English by Syed Nawab Ali and Mr. Seddon and published as Volume XLIII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

The Gujarati Translation of the *Khatimah* suffers from all the faults of an incorrect original text. The later English one is indeed of a very high order, but as "in parts the Original has been freely rendered, and in parts it has been condensed" (p. xiii Foreword), it does not offer as much help to the general public as a close or literal translation would.

A curious example of this drawback came to the notice of the writer of this paper a couple of years ago. Government wanted to acquire and declare by the help of the Civil Court the private property of a certain gentleman an ancient monument under the Ancient Monuments' Preservation Act (VII of 1904) in the city of Ahmedabad, and had issued a notification for that purpose, pointing out that the property was the same as that described on p. 31 of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, *Khatimah* (Karimi Press edition) viz., the tomb of Shah Ghazni near the Raikhad Gate. The party affected contended that the property he possessed was on Jamalpur Road and not a tomb but a Roza and therefore the notification would not apply to him. The present writer was asked to make a translation of the various relative passages bearing on the question; that is, those relating to Shah Bhikhan, Shah Ghazni and Shah Aliji. It was pointed out that two translations, one in Gujarati and the other in English, already existed and a fresh translation was not necessary. He was told in reply that the Gujarati translation was not reliable\* and that the English translation omitted certain things†

read Talab, the usual camping ground of armies approaching Ahmedabad.

(iii) on p. 181, Basu is the town of Vaso near Petlad.

(iv) on p. 183, the fine referred to as "*babura*" is the Gujarati word "*Vero*", which on account of the inter-change of the letters "b" and "v" is written Bero, misspelt *Bayorat*. It is *Bero*. *Vero*, a tax.

(v) on p. 192, Gangadin should be Ganga Das. Din, as a suffix, is used in North India, while Das is used in Gujarat.

(vi) on p. 198, Chandula is really Chandola.

(vii) on p. 207, Durgaikhan Gujarati is Darya Khan Gujarati.

\* The mistake pointed out was on p. 60, to the effect that while giving an account of Shah Aliji, in appreciating his *Diwan* (verses) it was really compared to that of Shaikh Maghreb, but the Gujarati translation gave the name of Shah Ghazni in its place.

† For instance, in giving the account of Shah Aliji (p. 57) the name of the locality where his tomb is situated which is definitely given as Raikhad in the Persian Text has been omitted. There is a

and moreover was very general. The passages required were those on pp. 39, 48, 65, of the Persian text Vol. I. corresponding to pp. 37, 43, 57 of the Supplement, Vol. XLIII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.\*

It is indeed very gratifying to see that the particulars so labouriously gathered by the author—who by instinct was a Chronicler—nearly two hundred years ago, bearing on this part of the subject-matter of his treatise should be utilized in a British Indian court of law in support of one's claim as reliable and authentic.

Neither in style nor in elegance of language could the *Mirat* be compared to the well-known standard historical works like the *Ruzat-us-Safa* or the *Habib-us-Siyar*. The language is not the language of a writer born and bred in Persia. It is that of one who though a scholar and a close student of Persian has still not been able to shake off the influence of the language spoken round about him, and has therefore got affected,—may be imperceptibly—by the Hindustani idiom, by the turn and phrases of that language. Indeed, to one who has read the above-mentioned standard works, it takes some time and study to make oneself familiar with the style and idiom of the author of the *Mirat*. This was, however, inevitable. Even Ferishta has not been able to steer clear of it.

In addition, the factor common to all such writers padding the text with verses, making the style stilted—what Dr. Bird calls "laboured"—† by a number of quotations from the Holy Book (Koran) is not absent from his work.

7. The same learned translator Dr. Bird in his estimate of Mahomedan Historians mentions the fact, that "they generally tire the patience of the reader by too minute a detail of sieges and battles, of murder and intrigue without relieving the fatiguing sameness of their narratives by the more pleasing and instructive accounts of the individual character, or the policy and domestic manners of a people." He, however, exempts and rightly exempts the author of the *Mirat* from this "general censure."‡ Though in some places his narrative reads like a page from the present-day Government *Gazette* announcing transfers of officers—Imperial and

printer's mistake in so far as Shah Ghazni is printed Shah Ghazi. There is a further mistake in reading *Gaondhani*, owner of a village as *Kanudhani*; really speaking the *Kaf* should be read as *Gaf*, it would then be *Gaon Gam*, a village.

\* Shah Bhikhan's burial place in the Persian Text is shown to be on the south of the city and not on the west as translated in the English version.

† "His style is more laboured and verbose than that of most Mahomedan Historians (p. 3 of the Preface, Dr. Bird's *History of Gujarat*.) As to the verbosity, it is rather less than what is found in others.

‡ Page 1, of the Preface, Dr. Bird's *History of Gujarat*.

Provincial—from one place to another or their appointments (e.g., pages 3 and 4 of Part II, Volume XXXIV, Persian Text, Gackwad's Oriental Series), on the whole the story is so well told that it presents a vivid picture of the events and incidents related. As an instance, take the two important events in the chronicle of the affairs of Surat, one being the ambitious schemes of the millionaire, the Merchant Prince, *Umdat-ul-Tujjar*, Mulla Mahommedali, for founding a fortified town of his own near Surat, and the ultimate sad end both of the schemes and him-self, and the other the ambition of Syed Achhan, its nominal Governor, and the part played by the members of the English factory at Surat. The narrative is detailed but not fatiguing. Indeed, it is so well told that it reads like an interesting story.\* Further it is authentic: the authenticity of the later incidents can very well be established by a comparison of the incidents as set out by the author with those set out in the correspondence now published of the Company's local officers at Surat with their chiefs at Bombay and in England.

Similarly, for those incidents which relate to the Marathas, the authenticity of each and every one of them can be tested, and its accuracy found out by what is found in the ample materials now available as to the history of those times, in the published Marathi Records, Bakhsars, etc., relating to those early days of their rule.

In numerous places the narrative is distinguished by the human touch: the author does not write from a stranger's detached point of view. He lived in Gujarat and felt for Gujaratis and suffered with them. In narrating the levy of unfair and oppressive taxes (*Uero*) at the hands of the Subas, Hindu and Mahommedan, he laments the fate of the inhabitants feelingly and distributes blame equally between the Hindu and the Mahommedan Hakems. Narrating the advent of the Marathas, he very feelingly sums up the situation in one sentence, *et c.*, that from that date onward they established themselves in Ahmedabad (Gujarat) and never quitted it.

The spirit of impartiality which he considers to be the keystone of the edifice of his work has been, on the whole, very well preserved by him in the narrative. Whereas in other histories one would find Hindus called, *Kafir* (infidels), *Jahhal* (ignorant people), etc., the author of the *Mirat* has been very restrained and considerate in his language, and never once loses sight of the principle laid down by him. Even when he talks, in describing the severe famine of A. D. 1732, of the Marwadis purchasing for a trifle, men and women belonging to the higher classes of Mahommedans, with a view to

remove them to Jodhpur and convert them to Hinduism, in retaliation of the Hindus having been captured and taken away from Jodhpur for being converted to Islam in the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb\*, he takes care to see that not even one harsh word escapes him.

Very few Mahommedan authors give such details as the author of the *Mirat* does, as to the why and wherefore of the composition of their books. Dr. Bird has translated the autobiographical part of the Preface giving the genesis of the writing of the book. Unfortunately, it is not a translation of the entire Preface and not even a close translation. For this reason the full force of the author's object is not brought out. It seems he had written a far more ambitious work containing not only the Rules and Regulations of the Finance and Revenue Departments of the Imperial and Provincial Governments, but also a treatise solving the riddle of the difference between the Faslî and the Hijrî eras; and in the elucidation of which he had passed long sleepless nights†, burnt the proverbial midnight oil; in addition he had narrated the political history of the province; it details also the difficulties he had to contend with in collecting the materials for his work, and specially makes mention of Mithalal Kayastha, whose valuable services were lost to him when most wanted. He narrates as to how he had to content himself with a restricted field of work, which did not give full play to his aspirations, resulting in the production of the present chronicle. Concluding the historical part of his work,†† he writes that he is conscious of the shortcomings of his work, and that he would have liked to proceed further after narrating the events relating to the movements of Surajmal Jat, and that if God granted him life and if he could procure peace of mind, he would write out a second volume commencing with the accession to the Gadi of the then auspicious Emperor of Delhi, but apparently that was not to be.

He was a poet himself and in the body of the book one comes across verses composed by him. He was a deep student of the *Koran*, and well-versed in Mathematics also. His zeal for learning was so keen that he never missed any source of information which would add to his stock of knowledge. Folklore he did not despise and the contents of the volume of *Khatimah* (Volume L of the Gackwad's Oriental Series) speak most eloquently as to how vast must have been his reading and how vast the number of the persons from whom he must have collected information embodied in that compilation.

\* Page 146, Volume XXXIV, Persian Text, Gackwad's Oriental Series.

† P. 10 Part I, Volume XXXIII, Persian Text, Gackwad's Oriental Series.

†† P. 612, Part II, Volume XXXIV, Persian Text, Gackwad's Oriental Series.

\* It was the writer's intention to give extracts in support of the statement from the text; but fearing that it would make the paper very long, he has refrained from doing so.

Though, out of modesty, he styles himself at the end of his work\* a "*Heech Madan*"—an ignoramus, the opinion of all those who have gone over the three sections of the work, would undoubtedly be that he is fit to stand in the

\* P. 612, Part II, Volume XXXIV, Persian Text, Gackwad's Oriental Series.

ranks of the best Indian historians of India, as their equal, and that his historical sense and ability were in no way inferior to any of them.

[Paper read before the Arabic and Persian Section of the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference, held at Baroda in December 1933, under the Presidency of Aga Pour-e-Daood.]

## KESHUB CHUNDER SEN TO MISS MANNING

[This letter has been communicated by Mr. Karunaketan Sen. He got it from Mrs. Lawrence, who is a grand-niece of Mrs. Manning.]

Colootola, Calcutta.  
10 May, 1871.

Dear Miss Manning,

I heartily sympathize with you in the heavy trial which has quite unexpectedly befallen you. I do not know how to express my sorrow for the loss we have all sustained in the death of your excellent mother. Not only as a kind personal friend but as a sincere well-wisher of our country she won my affection and esteem, although my acquaintance with her extended over a very short period. I always deemed it a great pleasure to be in her company and to listen to all that she had to say on religious and social subjects. Her work entitled *Ancient and Medival India* is a standing monument of her love for this country and its people; while her zealous efforts in behalf of the London Branch of the National Indian Association gave her last days a peculiarly Indian interest, which we shall always gratefully remember. Personally I am under great obligations to her

for a copy of *Tree and Serpent Worship* lately presented to me, and also for the kind wish she is said to have expressed a few days before her death to meet the expenses of publishing my lecture on "Native Female Improvement" at the Bengal Social Science Association. I had calculated upon having the pleasure of seeing her again in this world in the event of my paying a second visit to England. But Providence would not have it so. She has been removed by the merciful hand of the Father to her true and ever-lasting home. Her soul is resting cheerfully on the lap of the All-merciful—away from the sorrows and trials of this world. The enclosed obituary paragraph appeared lately in the columns of our paper *The Indian Mirror*. *The Englishman*, the leading daily paper in Bengal, has reproduced this morning a short article from the "Athenaeum," giving an interesting biographical sketch of Mrs. Manning.

With kindest regards and best wishes for the success of your efforts in connection with the London Indian Association,

I remain  
Yours very sincerely,  
Keshub Chunder Sen



# NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FOOLISHNESS

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

## ECONOMIC SYSTEM INHERENTLY UNSOUND

**M**EMBERS of Parliament separated for the Easter recess with the subject of unemployment uppermost in their minds. It had occupied almost the whole of their time during their last week of the sitting.

It is safe to say now that a change has come over public thinking in the matter. For some weeks, as the unemployment figures have been falling, and the Depression has seemed at last to be lifting, it has been hoped in many quarters that things were righting themselves and that we were muddling through somehow. This flattering belief was encouraged by the fact that England had undoubtedly weathered the Depression more successfully than any other country.

But even the most superficial examination of the employment situation in our big industrial centres is enough to counteract any optimism. Just to visit them is to realize that the fall in the unemployment figures merely means that the Depression figures are falling off. But when the fringe has gone, the problem remains incapable of solution—it seems in the present ordering of our affairs.

The Labour Party of course has always maintained that the present economic system is inherently unsound. Sooner or later, it says, private enterprise is bound to choke up the channels of exchange and defeat itself. But today even the strongholds of conservatism and privilege are beginning to say the same thing. A most striking article appeared in this connection the other day in the *Morning Post*.

## NOBODY'S BUSINESS

It also has observed that the reduction in unemployment has not touched the real problem, and the fact remains that "nearly 2,000,000 people in this country are still without work, and that there are large areas and great industries which have so far enjoyed little share in the general progress."

"Is there any ground," it asked, "for hoping that the unemployment figures will fall below the million line, at which they stood in the best of post-war years, or that Lancashire, Durham and South Wales will somehow emerge from their chronic distress? Has anything occurred since the slump to substantiate such a hope?" And it answers that "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that nothing has occurred..."

Then comes the most significant part of the article:

"It is nobody's business to create openings for the unemployed, and the mechanism for creating such openings has yet to be provided. Unless, therefore, we take steps to establish the mechanism we are likely to be faced with a permanent problem of unemployment."

"The question is worthy of study whether with this end in view and with the object of securing the maximum national prosperity, it may not be necessary to undertake a thorough reorganization of our productive system, and seek in co-operation within and between industries the solution of problems with which free lance competition can never hope to cope."

This calls for comment. In the first place, if it is nobody's business now to create openings for the unemployed, that is entirely the fault of the National Government. The Labour Government set up the Unemployment Grants Committee, which stimulated employment by making grants for suitable productive undertakings. But the National Government abolished the Unemployment Grants Committee. Also it will be recalled how, at the World Economic Conference last summer, the National Government crabbed all proposals for remedying unemployment by instituting a programme of public works.

## NO PLAN

But it is not only in the select circles catered for by the *Morning Post* that there is an awakening in progress. Mr. J. B. Priestley, the author of *The Good Companions* and the solid embodiment of the middle classes, has been touring England. And he is telling the middle classes, in his new book, that some of the towns he visited in the North "looked much worse to him than some of the French towns he saw at the end of the War, towns that had been occupied by the enemy for four years."

And he asks indignantly:

"Why has there been no plan for these areas, these people? The *dele* is no part of a plan; it is a mere declaration of intellectual bankruptcy."

"The whole thing is unworthy of a great country that in its time has given the world some noble creative ideas. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves."

The National Government certainly has no plan for these areas. In the latest debate on unemployment in the House of Commons the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Runciman,

had absolutely nothing to suggest—except allotments and gardens as aids to securing the greatest degree of satisfaction and content! He seemed to go out of his way to communicate a spirit of hopelessness and helplessness.

#### WAGES HALVED WHERE PAID

Consider the case of Jarrow for instance. This was formerly a prosperous shipyard town of 32,000 inhabitants. But today, according to the *Times*, there are 75 men out of work for every 25 working. And all the comfort Mr. Runciman can give Jarrow is to suggest that Palmer's shipyard, which was one of the largest in the country but is now in the hands of the Receiver, should be put up for sale as a convenient site for other industries!

What comfort, one wonders, can the miners of South Wales expect from the National Government? In that same debate on unemployment, Mr. Dagger, the Member for Abertillery, pointed out that the miner's wages had exactly halved during the past years. In 1924, the total wages paid to them was £16,000,000. In 1932 these South Wales miners received only £23,000,000.

One of the troubles of our present system is of course its finance. Industry depends upon credit and credit is given by the Banks and as Mr. G. D. H. Cole pointed out in a recent broadcast debate the prosperity of the City is not unfortunately the same thing as the prosperity of the country. We have seen this all through the Depression, when Industry has languished but the Banks have been choked with deposits awaiting "safe investment." The Banks concern themselves solely with profits, though Industry may be panting for life.

#### MAKING MORE CHEAP COMPETITION

This worship of profits is playing havoc in our lives. Everyone knows that the loss of our Far Eastern markets is causing great unemployment and suffering in the cotton industry. Yet our patriotic capitalists have just supplied "complete equipment for two textile mills" to our future competitors in China! All this cargo left Birkenhead just before the Easter holiday and "for some time," we are informed, "Chinese mechanics have been in Lancashire familiarizing themselves with the machinery, so that they will be able to superintend its installation."

In the near future, then, we may expect Lancashire to suffer from still severer competition in the Far East—and this stab in the back she will woe to people at home, to capitalists who take no thought for anything but the profits to be grabbed at the moment.

#### "DAMNABLE WASTE"

Production for profit—instead of for use—leads to the most tragic absurdities. A little

while ago the City page of a London newspaper came out with the heading "Brighter Outlook for Coffee Growers." A closer examination of the text revealed that prices were rising sharply. To maintain this happy state of affairs, happy only for the industry which must make profits or perish, a "sacrifice quota" was in operation. That is, no less than 40 per cent of the crop was being deliberately and wantonly destroyed.

Listen to the Dean of Canterbury on the subject and then ask what sort of a mad world we put up with it:

"You must get hold of this horrible sinister fact and visualize it. Suppose you stood on London Bridge and saw a man raise aloft a sack of coffee, weighing roughly as much as you yourself and then fling it from the parapet into the dark waters of the Thames. If you were half a man you would say, 'That is a damnable waste'..."

"Supposing, however, that as quickly as your wrist-watch ticked off the seconds, he flung similar bags, one bag a second, on to the waters, and never ceased doing it day in day out, hour by hour through the whole of the 24; did it while the spring flowers bloomed, while the summer suns glowed, while the autumn leaves fell; threw away the bags as the days and weeks and months passed, *one bag a second for nine solid months on end*, that is the destruction deemed necessary to 'save' the coffee trade of Brazil..."

And of course, as the Dean points out, it has been the same story with tea. Last year "the tea producers of India, Ceylon, and the Dutch East Indies, received orders to restrict their crops by a weight of 121,000,000 lbs. That amount would have filled every larder in England and Wales with 12 lbs. of tea."

It is a curious thing that all the examples brought to our attention of this wanton restriction or destruction of goods seem to be concerned with *food*. Tea, coffee, sugar, wheat, bacon, potatoes, milk, oranges—all are being restricted. The same process, of course, is going on with other primary products and raw materials. But it seems as if the capitalist system, which has always prided itself in being a thing apart from humane issues and not to be judged by them, was at last over-reaching itself in such a way as to make quite sure of its destruction at the hands of sensible men! For years it has dinned into us that labour—the work and well-being of men and women—was only a commodity to be bought and sold like any other commodity. Now it is telling us that their food also is only a commodity to be bought and sold like everything else for profit. But to the common man the provision of food has always had a divine sanction. ("Give us this day our daily bread"). And this attack on the people's food may well blow the whole gaff for capitalism.

## OTTAWA AGREEMENTS BREAKING DOWN

Interference with our food, of course, began at the Ottawa Conference. The Agreements which the National Government entered into then with the Dominions were supposed to open a new era in inter-imperial relations. But it should not have needed a very wise prophet to foretell that the Agreements might in fact turn out to be a new cause for inter-imperial bickering.

The Ottawa Agreements reduced dairy imports from foreign countries so as to favour such imports from Australia and New Zealand. The result has been a greatly intensified competition from the Dominions. It matters little to the British farmer where the competition comes from and if the Minister of Agriculture has "protected him against the one, there can be no objection *in reason* for protecting him against the other."

The Agreements lapsed in November 1935. And already it is hinted they will not be renewed. New Zealand has been making overtures in the matter. She has asked whether Great Britain would maintain the free market here for New Zealand dairy produce if, in return, New Zealand makes heavy reductions in her tariff on British goods. But she has received a chilling reply. The Dominions Secretary is said to have intimated that the proposed tariff reductions "might not outweigh the severity of the competition now experienced by British farmers owing to the heavy imports of dairy produce from New Zealand and Australia."

So it has not taken long to unmask the Ottawa Conference! We were held up for months and months in our negotiations for a Trade Agreement with Russia because of our commitments to the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett. But will this same Government that let us in for these Agreements, one wonders, still be in power, be there to face the music, in November next year when the Agreements come up for renewal or repudiation?

## UNEMPLOYED CUTS UNNECESSARY

At the moment of writing the Chancellor of the Exchequer has just announced that there is a Budget surplus of £31,148,000. This is the largest surplus there has been for ten years. It is to be hoped therefore that the first-fruits will be a restoration of those "cuts" made in 1931 in the income of the teachers, the Civil Servants, the police, and, above all, of the unemployed. Indeed, this Budget surplus shows that the cuts in unemployment benefit were never necessary. Well, then, let the Government lose no time in making amends. *If the cuts had been restored a year ago there would still have been surplus.*

The unemployed and the small wage-earners have carried more than half their share of the

Depression. Not only have their incomes been reduced, they have had to pay through the nose also in the indirect taxation of their food and clothing. The Budget accounts show £179,177,000 received in respect of Custom duties. Four-fifths of these duties were paid by the working classes. And the consumers have also had to pay an extra six millions a year for bread, because of the wheat subsidy, to say nothing of the staggering increases in **bacon prices**.

But it is not only on the grounds of equity and humanity that the cuts should be restored. A restoration would be of the greatest assistance to trade. There are indeed strong reasons for believing that it would help recovery far more than would a reduction in Income Tax. The unemployed spend their benefit on food and clothing and so employ countless thousands of other working men.

And now just a word about this Budget surplus. On every hand we shall be told that this is the largest surplus for ten years and a great feather in the cap of the National Government. But is it really? On the face of it, the year shows a surplus of over thirty-one millions. In fact, if the commitments to the United States made on our behalf by Mr. Stanley Baldwin and the Tory Government had been met, there would be no surplus but an actual deficit. Allowing for the token payment, we owe America on the year £35,000,000. And if the Socialist Government had proposed to default to our creditors abroad, what an outcry there would have been! We should have been told that the Socialists were ruining the credit of the country.

## AIR SCARES

Perhaps we might just glance for a moment at a Disarmament matter. There has been a great campaign recently in the Rothermere newspapers to work up an Air scare. And it has been followed of course by an increase in our Air estimates while the price of aviation shares has, in some cases, doubled.

In the current issue of the League of Nations journal, *Headway*, a most interesting reply is made to Lord Rothermere. The point is: who is our potential enemy in the air? Russia, the United States and Japan are ruled out because of distance. "A recent Italian formation flight to America has shown the immense difficulties to be overcome by a fleet of planes in crossing the Atlantic."

Who is the enemy in Europe then? The answer is, of course, France. But France has shown over and over again that she sets her security above every other consideration. Does Lord Rothermere imagine then, *Headway* asks, that France would watch our factories turning out hundreds of fighters and bombers without adding a machine to her own air force? Of course he must know that such a policy on

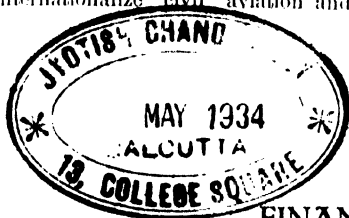


our part would lead straight to an armaments race with France.

But there is another point—and this is not mentioned by the *Headline* article—of which Sir Norman Angell has recently reminded us. "France," he writes, "the strongest Air Power in the world, has offered to scrap her air arm if we internationalize civil aviation and establish

a small air police; and has indeed offered to forgo the latter condition if the international control of civil aviation is thorough-going enough."

But, as a country, we seem to prefer being a law unto ourselves and to be prosecutor and judge in our own case. It is as futile in international matters as it would be in the case of a private citizen in national matters.



## FINANCE AND INSURANCE

### THE SUGAR EXCISE DUTY BILL

**T**HE proposal of the Finance Member to impose an Excise Duty of Re. 1-5 per cwt. (Annas 15-15 per maund) on all sugar produced in any factory in British India on or after April 1, 1934, was most unfavourably received by the Indian Press. Vehement protests were recorded by the sugar manufacturers and the bill was referred to the Select Committee, which has just produced its reports.

The Excise Duty as originally proposed (Re. 1-5 per cwt.) is estimated to yield about Rs. 147 lakhs out of which it is proposed to set aside an amount equivalent to 1 anna per cwt., representing about 7 lakhs, as a fund to be distributed among the Provinces where white sugar is produced for the purpose of "assisting the organization and operation of co-operative societies among the cane-growers so as to help them in securing fair prices, or for other purposes directed to the same end." The Finance Member trusts that as a result of the legislation, "the immediate position of the cultivators will be protected" and "the measurement of protection which will remain is sufficient to allow all reasonably well-organized factories a fair margin of profit after paying a fair price to the cultivator and—in the long run, the industry will enjoy a more healthy life and growth if this change is made now than if the present excessive duty is allowed to continue."

The bill shall apply to all factories in British India where sugar is produced and where sugar is used in any such factory in the manufacture of any commodity other than sugar, (cl. 3). "Factory" is defined in the usual way to mean "any premises wherein or within the precincts of which, twenty or more workers are working or were working on any day of the preceding twelve months." It is thus possible that it will apply to factories other than sugar-producing factories, but the language is not clear. Power

is given by clause 11 to the Governor-General-in-Council to make rules under the Act. The owners of factories and sellers of sugar may be asked to furnish informations required by such rules, to keep appropriate records and to make returns in manner prescribed by the rules. No person is allowed to issue any sugar out of a factory except in accordance with the provisions of the rules (cl. 5). Clauses 7, 8, 11 (3) provide penalty for evasion of duty or failure to supply information, for issue of sugar from factory in contravention of Clause 5 and for any breach of rules made under the Act. The penalty in each case is imprisonment which may extend to six months, or fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or both.

From 1908-09 to May, 1925, the import duty on sugar was on *ad valorem* basis. Since 1926-27, the duty has been specific. In 1931, the Tariff Board recommended a duty of Rs. 7-4 per cwt. (=Rs. 5-5 per maund) for seven years and Rs. 6-1 per cwt. (=Rs. 4-10 per maund) for eight years more. It also recommended that if market prices in Calcutta in future fell below Rs. 4 per maund without duty, a further duty of 8 annas per cwt. should immediately be imposed. It was also recommended that the minimum price paid for cane should be annas six per maund. The recommendations regarding the duty were given effect to by the Sugar Industry (Protection) Act of 1932. There is a provision in this Act (sec. 4) that if foreign sugar is imported into British India at such a price that the duties imposed (Rs. 7-4 per cwt.) proves to be insufficient, the Governor-General may "increase such duty to such extent as he thinks fit." In September, 1931, an emergency surcharge of 25 per cent was imposed making the duty amount to Rs. 9-1 per cwt. (Rs. 6-10.5 per maund) in all. The present bill proposes to abolish this surcharge. As Java Sugar sells in Calcutta at Rs. 3-7\* per

\* Rs. 10-1 minus Rs. 6-10.

maund without duty, the total import duty should be Rs. 7-12 per cwt. (Rs. 5-11 per maund) according to the Tariff Board recommendation. The present bill aims at reducing the existing duty to this level by imposing an excise duty equal to the difference.

The duty of Rs. 7-4 per cwt. was recommended by the Tariff Board on certain suppositions. It contemplated a margin of Rs. 4-3-2 per maund of sugar over the cost of the cane. This included 12 annas as the price of the molasses. At present, however, molasses have become unsaleable at any price so that the actual margin has come down to about Rs. 3-7 per maund. If an excise duty is levied at annas 15-4-5 per maund, the margin further comes down to Rs. 2-7-5 only from which if the manufacturing cost and overhead charges are deducted, the balance left is not enough to cover even the minimum return on the capital invested.

Java sugar is at present selling at Rs. 10-1 per maund and Cawnpore sugar at Rs. 9-5. If the bill is carried, the former will sell at Rs. 10-7 and the latter at Rs. 10-1 per maund.\* If we allow for the difference in quality, the margin is too small and the protection afforded so long will entirely vanish. If the recommendation of the Select Committee be adopted, the Cawnpore sugar will sell at Rs. 10-1 which is more reasonable.

The full text of the Select Committee reports are not available at the time of writing but the Press summary shows that the Majority are in favour of reducing the excise duty to Re. 1 per cwt. and imposing a duty of annas 10 per cwt. on Khandasari factory sugar. The Minority, on the other hand, is in favour of the retention of the original proposal (Re. 1-5 per cwt.) but would impose the duty as from August 1. It is very likely that the Government would take the advantage of this difference of opinion and press for the enactment of the original bill in toto.

The economics of Sir George Schuster is a bit perplexing to us. It is a common saying that you cannot both eat the cake and also have it. But Sir George wishes to achieve even this. Once you are committed to a protectionist policy, you cannot at the same time look forward to a handsome customs revenue. That is the price that has to be paid for protection. Having imposed the surcharge on sugar, it is not fair for Sir George to blame the sugar industry for the lower customs receipts.

\* This is on the assumption that the selling price would rise by the full amount of the duty. In reality it is more probable that the price of the Java sugar would respond less to the increased duty than the price of the Indian sugar would to the excise duty, so that the actual margin would be even less than what is shown above. Thus the protection enjoyed would be entirely lost except in areas near the mills.

The argument of Sir George that the excise duty is designed to put a stop to the "danger of over-production which might in the long run bring disaster" does not seem to be very strong. It is only in 1935 that for the first time the production of sugar is going to equal the consumption in India, so that the problem of over-production need not be seriously considered for some time more. The proper way to tackle the problem would be either to restrict the cultivation of sugar-cane or to restrict the activities of the mills. But at present, the number of well-established mills is far too small to manufacture the cane into sugar. Most of the mills are mere infants less than two years old and is it not strange that instead of "nursing" our infant firms, we are trying to throttle them with excise duty even before the industry has had the chance of establishing itself? This is a contradiction which the official explanation has failed to resolve.

The magnitude of the reaction that a high restrictive duty will produce on the industry can be estimated when we remember that the sugar industry gives employment to about a lakh of factory workers, represents investment of no less than 20 crores of rupees and provides the means of subsistence of 15 million cultivators throughout India. We have also to note that Java is carrying a huge stock which, if released in the Indian market, would definitely harm the Indian industry, if not altogether kill it. If in addition Java goes off the Gold Standard, the result will be all the more disastrous.

We have one further remark to make. We do not know how the Local Governments will regulate the selling price of sugar. There are at present no sales societies or co-operative societies particularly meant to serve the interest of the cane-growers. The existing co-operative societies are, we fear, too badly managed to be able to assume this additional responsibility. It is further not very easy in our country to organize the illiterate peasantry in a short time. Even if such societies are formed, the Government will have to spoon-feed them for a pretty long time. Besides, we have to be alive to the difficulty that cane has to be absolutely fresh if it is to be of any use, so that storing will not be possible.

The scheme, if it successfully works, will be a triumph of "Economic Planning" and will be of the greatest importance to the future "planning" of our economic activities. For the present, we can only hope for the best and wait.

#### STATISTICS RELATING TO SUGAR

Production of cane sugar : (raw sugar contents)				
In thousand long tons				
Year ending in Aug :	1931	1932	1933	1934 (Dec. estimate)
Java	2957	2715	1486	571
Cuba	3163	2636	2021	1673

British India	2877	3465	4652	4921
Philippines	782	983	1146	1329
Total of cane sugar	17294	17726	16901	16235
Total cane & Beet Sugar	29034	26537	24685	24765

The decrease in case of Java and Cuba is to be noted; both of them are participants in the Chadbourne Restriction Scheme, 1931-32. At present British India is the largest producer of cane sugar in the world.

#### Consumption of Sugar (raw sugar content) In thousand long tons

Year ending in Aug.	1931	1932	1933
Europe	10348	9723	9031
U. S. A.	6207	5841	5897
British India	4114	4162	5080
Grand Total for world	26515	25681	25886

Source: Estimate by Dr. Mikusch and Czarnikov, Ltd. (Bank of England Statistical Summary, January, 1934).

#### IMPORT OF SUGAR

Quantity	(1000 tons)	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933 (Apr.) to 1934 (Jan.)
Java	802.3	366.7	294.8	181.2	
Total	901.1	516.1	369.4	247.5	
Value (Lakhs of Rupees)					
Java	936.5	436.2	329.7	185.1	
Total	1053.8	600.7	412.2	254.9	

The above figures show that Java is the chief exporter of sugar. Other exporters are the United Kingdom and Japan. The bulk of beet sugar comes from the United Kingdom.

#### FINAL SUGAR CANE FORECAST 1933-34

	Area (000 acres)		Yield (000 tons)	
	1932-33	1933-34	1932-33	1933-34
U. P.	1793	1731	2612	2786
Punjab	558	467	441	347
Bihar and Orissa	302	418	313	623
Bengal	233	257	454	157
Madras	125	120	346	325
Bombay	105	102	275	266
Total	3321	3305	4684	5067

It appears that Bengal is the third sugar producing province in India. U. P. comes first with a percentage of 55 of the total while the percentage is 12 in case of B. & O. and 9 in case of Bengal.

The yield per acre (in pounds) are as follows:

	1932-33	1933-34
U. P.	3263	3605
Panjab	1782	1664
B. and O.	2322	3339

	1932-33	1933-34
Bengal	4365	3983
Madras	6200	6067
Bombay	5867	5842
Total	3163	3434

The yield per acre will be less than in the previous year in all provinces except U. P. and B. O. The high productivity in case of Madras and Bombay are worthy of note.

#### EXCISE DUTY ON MATCHES

The bill proposed imposes an excise duty on matches made in British India. The duty payable would be (1) Rs. 2-4 per gross of boxes containing not more than eighty in a box and (2) 9 annas for every twenty matches or fraction thereof in case of boxes containing more than twenty. Section 9 of the bill, provides that no person shall manufacture matches in British India except under a licence and no person shall issue any matches out of a manufactory except in accordance with rules to be framed under the Act. Again, every packet, box or booklet of matches issued from any factory shall bear a "banderol" or stamp affixed in accordance with rules to be made under this Act. Appropriate penalties for infringement are provided for as also for evasion of duty or failure to supply information.

The collection of the tax is, in the first instance, to be in the hands of the Local Governments as agents of the Government of India. The customs duties on matches are to be revised so as to comprise rates maintaining the existing measure of protection for the Indian industry over and above the equivalent of the new excise duty.

The revised import duties are to be as follows:

1. Boxes containing not more than eighty each Rs. 3-8 per gross of boxes.
2. Do—more than eighty in a box. 14 annas for every 20 matches or fraction thereof in each box, per gross of boxes.
3. Not in boxes. 4 annas and eight pies for every 960 matches or fraction thereof.

This bill was referred to a Select Committee whose report was submitted to the Assembly on April 14. The Committee has recommended a lower duty and has made a number of important changes.

The rate of the excise duty would be, according to these recommendations, at the rate of one rupee on a gross of boxes each containing on an average 40 matches with corresponding rates for matches in boxes of 60 and 80 (cls. 4). Clause 18 (D) gives the required power to limit the number of matches contained in a box to 80. The customs duty has been changed in order to

bring it into line with the duty now proposed (cl. 20). It is also recommended that imported mechanical lighters should be subjected to a suitable enhancement of customs duty and that an equal excise duty should be imposed on indigenous manufacture.\*

SAILENDRA NATH SEN-GUPTA

### Indian Insurance

#### INDIAN INSURANCE CONFERENCE

In his Presidential address to the Indian Insurance Conference at Lahore Sir P. C. Ray exhorted the Indian companies to put forth all their strength and resources with a view to expand their activities to all branches of insurance and made a pointed reference to the vast potentialities of non-life business in regard to which indigenous enterprises have not so long been able to make much headway. Of particular interest were Sir P. C. Ray's observations about the Indian Insurance Law which, according to him, "cannot save the Indian Insurance Companies from unfair competition. And even if some of the resourceful institutions of the West resort to dumping insurance business in India under conditions which may tend to paralyse the existing Indian enterprises, the Indian Insurance Law will not be able to offer any effective check to save the Indian Companies." He pleaded for an immediate revision of the Law and along with it, for the enactment of legislation, now long overdue, compelling non-Indian offices to keep records of, and value separately, their Indian business so that the relative liabilities may be rightly assessed. It is difficult to see why the Government have not yet found it possible to respond to this by no means unreasonable demand of the people who have entrusted their savings to particular institutions.

#### INDIAN POSTAL LIFE INSURANCE

That the Indian Postal Life Insurance is competing severely with our private insurance companies will be apparent from the latest returns which show that on March 31, 1933, there were about 85,000 policies covering an aggregate assurance of Rs. 15,85,00,000. The maximum amount for which life insurance could be effected in the Post Office Insurance Fund had previously been fixed at Rs. 10,000 but of late, the limit has been raised to Rs. 20,000. Moreover, in 1883 when the fund was first instituted it was meant only for the postal employees, but it has now been thrown open to all classes of Government servants as

well as to the servants of the quasi-Public bodies. The Government's plea for such widening its scope and increase of limit is that the benefits of assurance are thereby made available to a large section of its own servants. But this object could as well have been, and as a matter of fact, was being, served and that efficiently,—by private companies the working of which has given rise to few complaints so far. It is, indeed, the profitable nature of the business that has induced the Government to take this advantage. If in spite of the facts and figures the Government should argue that the Postal Insurance Fund does not offer any unfair or unreasonable competition with private companies and that the position of the Fund in relation to these companies remains substantially unaltered having regard to the very large field available in India for the operation of the private enterprises, it must be out to support an obviously insupportable case.

#### ORIENTAL'S NEW BUSINESS

The oldest amongst the Indian Proprietary Life offices, the Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company Limited celebrates its Diamond Jubilee this year. This is undoubtedly the biggest of the Indian Life offices, and this year it has written a record volume of business exceeding its own record of 1929 when it closed its books with 31,128 policies assuring Rs. 6,50,01,539. In 1932 its new business was Rs. 5,91,00,727 distributed amongst 29,982 policies. And in 1933 it has written 38,191 policies assuring Rs. 7,01,26,203 which shows an increase of Rs. 1,10,25,476 over the figures of the previous year. So far as can be judged from a cursory view the results are nothing but entirely satisfactory.

#### Foreign Insurance

#### RESULTS OF THE PRUDENTIAL

Now is the time when most of the insurance companies abroad are taking stock of their year's working and reports about some of them are already available here. The most interesting of such balance sheets and revenue accounts is, of course, that of the Prudential which has just stepped into the eighty-fifth year of its existence and is decidedly the "biggest insurance company in the British Empire." An elaborate discussion of its balance sheet is not possible here but references to a few of its figures will undoubtedly be of interest. The new sums assured in the Industrial and ordinary branch amounted to £85,764,388, while the total sums assured (with bonuses) came to £745,388,424. The premium income has also increased in all branches, and the income of the company for the year from all sources totalled £50,191,265. Consequent on the increase of the new business written in 1933 a substantial addition to expenses might reasonably

\* Since the writing of these notes (16.4.34) both the Sugar Excise Bill and the Bill for imposing Excise duty on matches have received legislative sanction. As anticipated above, the excise duty on sugar has been restored to Rs. 1.5 per cwt. as originally proposed.

have been anticipated, but it is gratifying to note that the ratio of expense to premium has decreased all round, being as low as 12.43 p.c. in the Ordinary Branch, 23.87 p.c. in the Industrial Branch and 40.07 p.c. in the General Branch. The Company paid away more than £25½ millions to policyholders in 1933, and up till now the total claims paid exceed £432 millions. The aggregate assets at the end of the year under review were £277½ millions, showing an increase of about £13¾ millions over the figures of the previous year, "nearly half the debt of Great Britain before the War." 74.1 p.c. of the assets represents investment in the United Kingdom, 9.1 p.c. Indian and 16.2 p.c. Foreign. It may be pointed out that the Prudential receives not an inconsiderable amount of its business, particularly in life assurance, from its overseas branches, and in 1933 the total amount of such new life business shows an increase over the previous year of £1 million. The Prudential is a living example of the tremendous expansions that a financial institution is capable of when it receives active national support and co-operation.

#### THE BIGGEST LIFE OFFICE IN THE WORLD

The operations of the Prudential are vast, no doubt, but vaster still is the scale of business of the "Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York" - the largest life-office in the world. During the year 1933 the Metropolitan booked a new business of \$3175 millions, and the total insurance in force at the close of the year was \$18,803 millions distributed amongst 41.7 million policies. In addition to this the Company had in force personal accident and health insurance carrying a capital sum benefit of \$1214 millions and a weekly indemnity of \$12.5 millions. During the year it paid \$573 millions in claims, and it is interesting to note that the total payments averaged \$4741 a minute for each business day. The total assets of the Company at the end of the year amounted to \$3861 millions. The hugeness of the scale of operations of the Metropolitan will be understood from the fact that the total life insurance in force of all the companies working in India is approximately less than one-fifth of its new business in 1933.

#### INSURANCE PROGRESS IN JAPAN

Although comparatively a late-comer in the field Japan has made remarkable progress in life

insurance. Her first life-office on modern lines - the Meiji Life Assurance Co. Ltd., of Tokyo - was established in 1881, when the first British Company was already about a century and a decade old, and when even India could boast of having about half a dozen life offices of her own. But within a little above half a century since then, simultaneously with the national economic development, thirty-nine companies have come into being and with her total amount of life insurance in force reaching about 11,148 millions yen she stands today as one of the leading insurance countries of the world and ranks next to U.S.A., Britain and Canada. In the earlier years, of course, certain difficulties cropped up but the Insurance Law of 1900 paved the way for a smooth and progressive development. It was in that year that the Law regulating the operations of the Foreign companies was promulgated. The Foreign life-offices had never had any predominance in Japan, and today there are only two Canadian companies working in Japan their business in force at the end of 1930 amounting to only £250 millions.

The most remarkable development took place during the unprecedented general prosperity that followed the War, when the number of policies increased by 190 p.c. and the amount of insurance by 210 p.c. Japanese life-offices were put to a severe test during the Influenza epidemic of 1919 when 12½ millions yen had to be paid in death claims, the economic crisis of 1920, the earthquake of 1923 which resulted in a loss of 100,000 lives and 10 billion yen worth of properties, and the financial panic of 1927. From each of these severe assaults the Japanese life-offices emerged ever stronger than before. The social welfare work of the Japanese life-offices have contributed not a little towards the development of life insurance thoughts. Their splendid relief work after the earthquake, their generous donations to Social Welfare foundations, their incessant propaganda for health and sanitation, and the remarkable manner in which they have organized hospitals and health consultation bureaux, have convinced the public of the high ideals of social service that permeate the business of life insurance. Firmly based on strong foundations the Japanese life-offices can reasonably look forward for an era of still more progress and prosperity.

M. G.



# ART AND LITERATURE IN RUSSIA TODAY

By NITYANARAYAN BANERJEE

**W**E came back to our hotel for tea. In the evening we again went out to see the Art Gallery. But ere going there we had to go again to Intourist office to have my passport and ticket for Moscow, which were with them. That is a nice trick of the Soviet Government. As soon as one crosses the Russian frontier, they will search every corner of his suit cases, every envelope and will make a note of the foreign money and jewellery one carries. He will be allowed to take out that amount of money and jewellery which are endorsed in the passport and will be required to show the cash memo in the frontier for anything bought in Russia. Throughout the stay in Russia the passport is kept in Government custody probably to have strict control over the foreigners; only it is delivered to the holder when travelling from one city to another. At least this was done in my case. The office work of the Intourist did not seem to be very efficient; they take too much time to handle simple things. When I was just going out of the Intourist office, a tall dark figure checked my motion. I was very glad to see a 'non-White' man, who evidently was from India. He was kind enough to step forward and ask, "Are you an Indian?"

"Yes. Are you too?" asked I.

"Surely, can't you recognize that? May I know your name?"

I answered his question, when he said, "I am a Chatterjee."

I was extremely glad to see another Bengalee there and asked him his detailed whereabouts in India. He is Mrs. Sarojini

Naidu's brother, son of the late Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya. He is a professor of Leningrad University. I had to leave Leningrad that very night; so I was really extremely sorry not to see Mr. Chatterjee again, from whom I could have gathered much more about the real condition of Russia.

We went to see the Art Museum. This is not free; a nominal fee has to be paid. For that fee a well-informed guide takes the visitors through the galleries and explain the



The Historical Museum—Moscow

techniques, the period and the idea of the pictures and sculptures there.

As the Hermitage contains the old-school works of art, this museum consists solely of paintings, portraits and sculptures of the after-revolution period. If anybody just studies the paintings systematically according to period, he may have an idea of the development of mentality in Russia from the date of the revolution up till now. The pictures are arranged in different halls according to their period.

Just after the revolution the people's mind was overwhelmed with famine and civil war; the paintings of that period portray vividly the mental worries of the people during that period. Not only pictures but dramas, novels, short stories, songs—everything of art was created with that sad theme in it. After that period, when the opposing forces had been subdued, the Bolshevich youths plunged into drinking and debauchery. With everything else they

factories; building new club-houses, workshops; toiling before red furnaces, black smoke; pictures of collective farms, common dining halls and other works and ideals of the Soviet. There are paintings of fruits and flowers, landscape and huts, but not a single picture of an angel or fairy, heaven and hell, or Christ or anything imaginary. The Russians of today are extremely realistic, they even turned all fairy tales and

fables out of Russian children's books; only very recently they are again allowing imaginary tales and fables in juvenile story books; but that even is not of mermaids and witches but of miraculous attainments of the new society and its ideals.

During this very short time after revolution many new techniques in colouring and drawing have been adopted and given up. These things show how revolutionary were the Russians against anything old and how restless were they. But though the art of this period took a very different shape from the old, yet it

must be admitted that it was not towards anything better.

All the pictures, novels, stories, dramas had to be created with an object, the furthering of the revolutionary cause. The then all powerful "Rapp," the society of the proletariat to control art, forced everything of art to be objective. Every book, every picture, every song should have the object of preaching the communistic ideals. No drama could be played which showed any sympathy with any bourgeois character. All dramas had to be cast in the same mould: proletariat are always noble and the 'kuloks,' the capitalists, always villainous, wicked, a menace to society. All characters were either absolutely noble or rogues, they were deprived of real human character. The same principle had to be followed in novels, short stories, poems and other sections of art. Lyric poems were not allowed to be written; gypsy



A painting of the 9th January revolution of 1905

took the women, too, to be socialized, and often there were cases when individuals or groups used to outrage the modesty of women freely without any privacy and restriction, even forcibly. The Russian youth at this stage, revolting against religion, defied every social law enjoined by religion. That was a horrible period—a period when the masses were maddened by the spur of the new freedom and the intellectuals were perplexed by the horrible result of the revolution and were searching for a better way to peace and social order. The famous Russian novels, *Three Pairs of Silk Stockings*, *The Embellishers*, *Squaring the Circle* and others give vivid pictures of this state of Russia.

Next was the period of the Five-Year Plan, the constructive programme. Everywhere there was some routine, some definite plan of production, system and discipline. There are pictures of labourers working in mines,

music was forbidden, even films featuring Harold Lloyd were banned. That was a terrible time for Russian art. There was no art for art's sake, it was dictated by the "Rapp" to suit the cause of the Revolution. Many well-known novelists and playwrights had to stop writing or had to sacrifice their originality to the sword of dictatorship. As



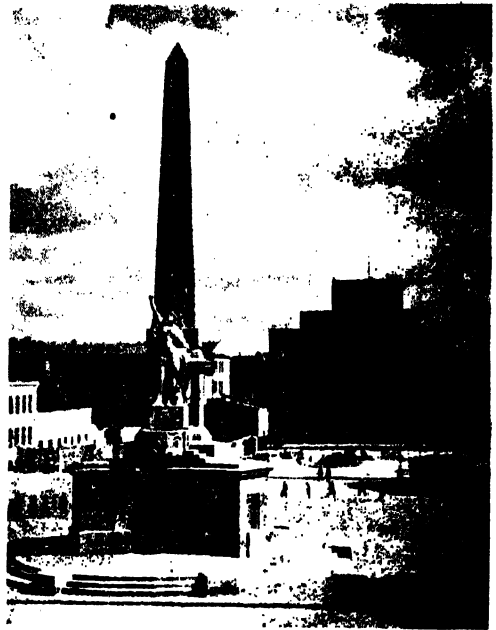
A Russian Propaganda Picture

a result of this cruel "Rapp" reign real art bade farewell to Russia; but fortunately Russians were prompt enough to realize this and by a special decree on April 23, 1932, the "Rapp" was dissolved. People were tired of political sermons in newspapers, mass meetings, factory debates, so they wanted recreation in novels, dramas, paintings, the cinema instead of political teachings. Consequently with the abolition of the "Rapp" Russian Art flowed in a different direction, it came back to its proper channel. True it is that even now there is strict censorship on art, but the censor only objects if there is anything against the State. The newspapers can criticize State policies and programmes, but only on constructive lines, not in the other direction. In *Moscow Daily News* I have seen letters criticizing vehemently some programme of the State. There are "Counter Plannings," that is, modifications of criticism of plans submitted by the State Planning Commission of Moscow. In *Voks*, the bi-monthly illustrated English periodical of Moscow, I have seen appreciation and criticism of Soviet works. From the contents

of one issue of this periodical one may have an idea of the subjects dealt with therein :

Through the Union of the Soviets	.....	M. Gorky.
The Economic and Cultural Development of the Far East Region	.....	A. Butsenko.
The Conditions of Labour and the Personnel Problem in the Soviet Oil Industry	...	G. Mitrov.
At the Soviet Factory		N. Tinovsky.

Now writers may deal with real life, they are free from dictation. New pictures are again appearing in Russia. The latest paintings seemed to proceed fast to compete with famous Italian and French paintings.



Soviet Square. The Obelisk of Freedom after revolution and the Lenin Institute, Moscow

Novels and dramas dealing with love and romance may again be written. The Russians have now realized their madness. They have gained the experience that dictatorship may build factories and farms but not Art. Still Russian literature always smacks of Revolution, it has not altogether given it up.

Formerly artists were looked down upon as the remnants of the old bourgeois intellec-



tuals ; they could not express publicly their grievances against the State, as they were supposed to have no right in the State ; but now the case is different, very different. Now, like engineers and scientists, artists are also greatly favoured and patronized by the State. While I was coming back to Berlin from Moscow I met a writer in the train who could speak a little English. From him I came to know that when one finishes a book he has to submit it to the State and if the State thinks it worth publishing the writer gets remuneration on the basis of a unit of thousand words. The drama writers get royalty from the theatres on each performance. Probably now the artists are the most happy

in Russia. They are favoured by the State, honoured by the people, live better, eat better, have no anxiety about the sale of their books. For the new education and culture Russians are so mad after literature that the supply is insufficient to meet the demand. I was told Maxim Gorky is the richest writer in Russia, but alas ! what can riches obtain in Russia. Income tax takes the major portion of the income, and if any body is a communist he has to pay another tax to the party. With the remaining amount one cannot have a house of his own, a nice car to have an evening drive or cannot accumulate it for his beloved children to live on idly. Riches are a curse in Russia instead of a blessing.

## INDIA IN SHACKLES

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

*[The Author has studied Indian affairs thoroughly and at first hand. He is the Vice-Chairman and Hon. Sec. of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs.]*

**I**NDIA'S constitution is in the melting-pot. A Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament has been sitting for the best part of a year considering the British Government's proposals which are embodied in a White Paper. The proposals were not much good from the Indian point of view at the beginning of their sittings. It seems unlikely that they will emerge much better than they began.

The outstanding feature of these proposals is distrust of India—camouflaged under the name of "safe-guards." The White Paper forms a book of some 130 pages and the leading Tory newspaper points out that there is a safe-guard on every page.

As Mr. Baldwin shrewdly pointed out at his meeting in Manchester last June, a bayonet may be a very good thing to open a tin or to dig with, but you can never sell goods to India by putting cotton streamers on the point of a bayonet. "Whatever safe-guards you have," he said, "the real safe-guard is the maintenance of goodwill."

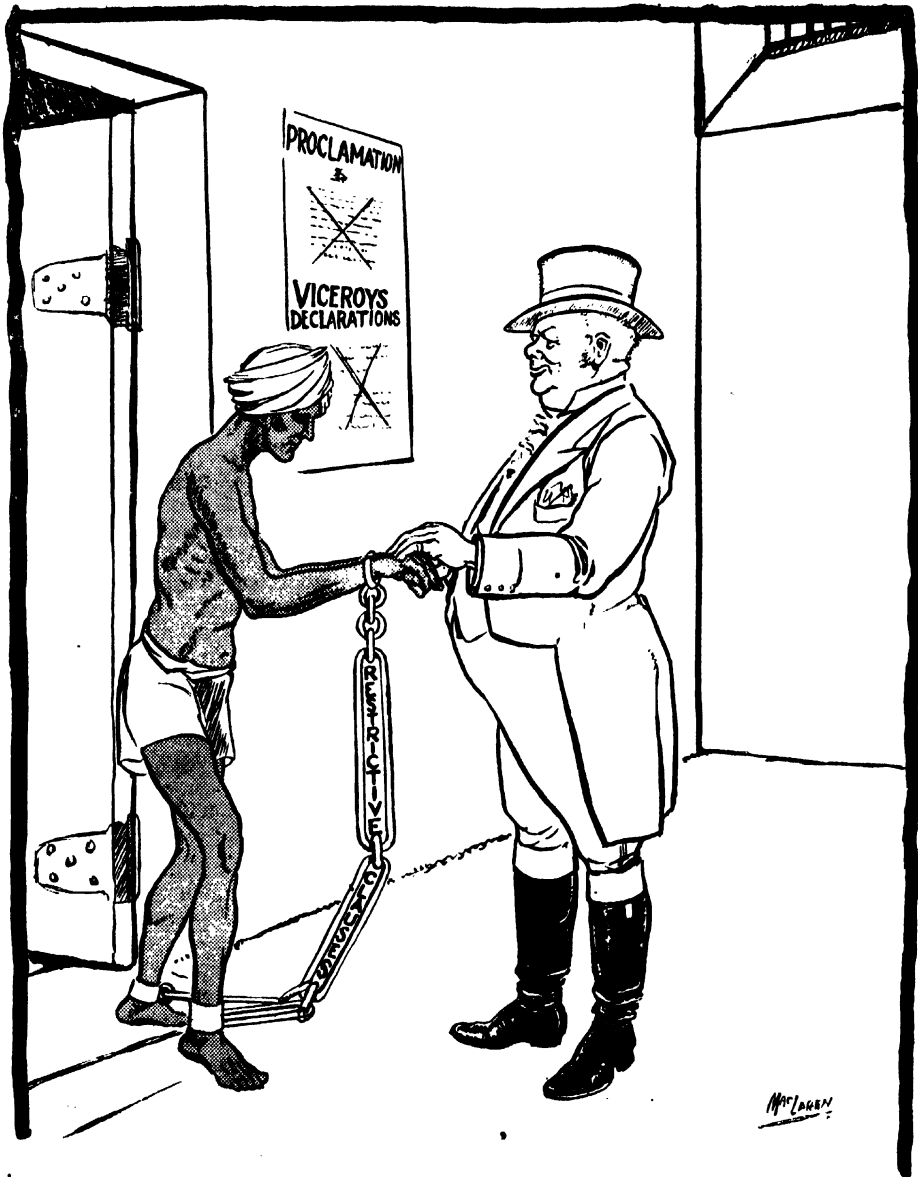
There is little in the Government White Paper to evoke that goodwill, and meetings of protest against it have been held from end

to end of the country. The Central Indian Legislature has even passed a unanimous resolution to the effect that "unless the constitutional proposals described in the White Paper were substantially amended, it would not be possible to ensure the peace and progress of the country."

History repeats itself. The Tories tried to dominate the American Colonies and so lost to the British Commonwealth of Nations the United States of America. They would have lost Canada but for Lord Durham's wise advice. In Canada the problem was much the same as in India today. There were two communities antagonistic in speech and religion—the Roman Catholic French Canadians and the Protestant English. They disagreed between themselves, but joined in a common hatred of England.

Sir Charles Innes, an Indian Civil Servant, just retired, who has occupied several of the most important posts under the Government of India and whose voice may be taken as that of "the man on the spot," said in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee :

Canada in the first half of the 19th century offers in some respects a parallel with the India of today. There was an irresponsible executive confronted by a powerful legislature, and Canada had its own communal problem in the rivalry of the French and English Canadians. The effects of these factors were much the same as have



"THIS NEW FREEDOM"

Specially drawn for *The Modern Review*

By Mr. Andrew MacLaren, ex-M. P.,

"The cleverest cartoonist in the House of Commons."

manifested themselves in recent years in India. There was a tendency towards irresponsibility on the part of the legislature. The tension between the French and English Canadians increased and there was growing bitterness against the Home Government. Finally, there was a rebellion, and it was only Lord Durham's report that saved Canada for the Empire. He recognized that responsibility was the only real remedy for the situation that had arisen. History is repeating itself in India today, and much the same phenomena can be seen....

Politically-minded Indians tend to believe that the British are standing in the way of their legitimate aspirations, and that we do so because in our own interests we are reluctant to give up our hold on India.

The Tories fought a war to get and hold South Africa. They would have lost it to the British Commonwealth of Nations but for Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's wise statesmanship in giving it self-government. The Tories are obsessed with the policy of grab and hold. They have no vision, and without vision the people perish.

Mr. Baldwin last summer at Manchester admitted their shortcomings in these words :

Your really old-fashioned, hardshelled Conservative has always been opposed to wide extension of democratic government, and when responsible government was first given to Canada no language was had enough, and no prophecies for the Tories of that time could be too bad about it.

We were wrong—our party was wrong—and had we had our way then we should have missed the bus. Looking back we can say that the granting of democratic institutions to South Africa was right. Distinguished Conservatives who voted against it at the time have since acknowledged that they made a mistake. It was a great act of faith.

The India of today is vastly different from pre-War India. Indians see the future of their country not in isolated and antagonistic Provinces and Indian States, but in one vast Federation. If such a Federation could be brought about, Great Britain is solemnly pledged to assist in framing for them a Constitution giving them real responsible self-government subject only to such safeguards as, in their own interests, are necessary for a purely transitional period.

The Federation has been agreed on, but in the Constitution it is proposed to offer them would give them no real responsibility. It offers a certain amount of freedom but prevents its full enjoyment by putting heavy shackles on the Indians' use of such responsibilities as are offered them.

India's Finance Minister, for instance, will

be responsible for raising the revenues necessary for carrying on the Government, but he will only be responsible for the spending of about one-fifth of these revenues. The responsibility for the spending of the other four-fifths is to be retained by the British Parliament thousands of miles away.

India is one of the poorest countries in the world, reckoning wealth per head of the population. But we have given her and made her pay for (and it is proposed that she continue to have) the most costly Civil Service in the world. She is not even to be allowed—under the kind of responsible self-government proposed—to appoint her own Civil Servants or Police Officials. That will be done for her by us, but at her expense, for years to come and the Civil Servants so appointed will be under our control for at least another thirty years.

She is to be allowed to have no voice in her own Foreign Affairs. The Tories have always blundered over our Foreign Affairs, but are so sensitive on the matter that they insist on the exclusive right to conduct India's Foreign Affairs—without even the pretence of consulting her even to the very limited extent that is done at present.

Then they tell India she cannot have real self-government until she is in a position to defend herself—and at the same time deprive her of all means of so defending herself and refuse to allow her even to train efficiently as she desires. Here again India is compelled by us to spend a greater proportion of her revenue on Army matters than any other country in the world.

We are a wonderful people; we deceive ourselves so easily and seem to assume that everyone else is similarly deceived.

The only hope of staving off a revolution in India on a big scale and of retaining India in the British Commonwealth of Nations is the belief in India, happily not yet dead, that Labour on its coming to power will, in consultation with Indians, frame for her a Constitution that will be real self-government on a footing of absolute equality with Great Britain and the other Dominions. Nothing less will satisfy Indians: nothing less ought to satisfy them. —Labour.

# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## The Liquidation of Illiteracy

In the last issue of *The Modern Review* appeared an article on the methods adopted in Russia to liquidate illiteracy. Miss Amy B. H. J. Rustomji in a thesis has proposed various ways and means for the liquidation of illiteracy in India too. *The Social Service* quarterly summarizes the thesis as follows :

The issue of the Journal of the University of Bombay for 1933 contains an article of absorbing interest by Miss Amy B. H. J. Rustomji entitled, "A New Way In Education." Miss Rustomji calls upon the University, all its alumni, all literates to take some share in the great work of securing the liquidation of illiteracy either in the organized manner or individually. Quoting Lenin, she observes that the removal of illiteracy is the problem of problems before the nation, for with an illiterate population there can scarcely be any possibility of progress, social, economic or political. Out of our huge population of 35 crores, less than three crores are barely literate, and even in a city like Bombay, which prides itself in being advanced, 72.29 per cent of the men and 81.83 per cent of the women are illiterate. Miss Rustomji's main thesis is that the removal of illiteracy is a work which can be taken in hand by each one of us, whether a householder employing servants, a clerk or quill-driver, an administrator or an industrialist controlling labour. The trouble is that although we see the evil in our midst, we do not take steps to remove it, on the contrary, we acquiesce in it. In support of this view of hers, Miss Rustomji reproduces the results of a census of illiteracy in cultured households held by some women's organizations in Bombay. In 1315 households there were no less than 954 illiterates, and if the employers ~~and~~ <sup>or even</sup> acted individually they could easily remedy the present state of things within less than six months. Similar action should be taken, Miss Rustomji suggests, by public utility companies, the Municipality and other local authorities, the Railway Companies and other large employers of labour. Government might follow suit both for their servants in the offices, the police force and even for the illiterates committed to their care in jails. The University itself has twelve illiterates among its employees and can well turn its attention to the educating of these as well as of the illiterate employees of affiliated

schools and colleges, with the assistance both of the staff and of students. University extension work is an integral function of all modern Universities, and, in Miss Rustomji's opinion, such extension work in a country like India, which has 92 per cent of its population illiterate, can best take the form of eradication of illiteracy. The University should take the lead and inaugurate a vigorous campaign ; if it does so, Miss Rustomji concludes, there is no reason why the number of literates should not go up in ten years' time from three crores to thirty crores as has already happened in Japan, Russia and other countries which have worked with a will to liquidate illiteracy at all cost.

## At the Back Door of Russia

We hear much of the progress Russia has made since the days of the Revolution of 1917. Mr. Howard L. Haag gives us some idea of the condition of those Russians who could not conform to the methods of the Revolution and had to seek shelter in Manchuria and other foreign lands in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*. He says :

It was natural that during those awful days immediately following the Russian Revolution those hordes of Russian people who knew that they must flee for their lives, should move eastward. They were cut off from the West. For hundreds of thousands of them the only opening left lay toward the East where still remained the outpost of old Russia—the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria. It was logical that they might expect that there at least they would be welcomed on soil into which Russia had built its great culture. They could not be expected to see into the future to a time when that too would be taken from them. "Surely," they reasoned, "here we shall have time to wait out the turn of events and we shall have our homes back again." They have waited thus far in vain. No one knows how many Russians crossed the borders into Manchuria to seek refuge temporarily, they thought, from the pestilence which was sweeping their country. It may be safely stated that the numbers ran into hundreds of thousands. Since these first years the borders of Manchuria and Siberia have been the scene of an almost unending stream of fleeing people. Even to this day the winter months when roads

are passable bring group after group of hungry folk who prefer the rigours and privations of the long trek to Manchuria to that with which they have to put up in Soviet Russia. Not longer ago than the winter of 1930 we assisted a group of some 200 people, a whole village, to get away from the border to the safety of Harbin. They had packed all they had upon their sleighs, hitched up their horses, loaded their women and children on, and in the depth of the Siberian night driven across the border into Manchuria. In spite of all their suffering on that long and bitter cold trip, in spite of all hardships they have endured since that time, they are all thankful that they have been delivered from the oppression which was upon them.

The population of Harbin has been a strange indication of the conditions existing in Soviet Russia. Not all who have come here have remained. Thousands have gone on to try their luck in other parts of the world. While America, Australia, Canada and parts of Europe would accept them, they pushed on in their search for new homes. But since depression has overtaken these countries, the doors have been closed to the unfortunate Russian. He has had to find in Manchuria a way of living. This has not been easy. For a person of the white race to compete with those of the yellow races is not and probably will never be easy. Different language, customs, and standards force the former to give way in manual labour to the latter. Furthermore, land till now has not been obtainable for cultivation, and even if it were, the vastly different methods of cultivation and exploitation make it next to impossible for the Russian to compete. Hence, it has been the aim of the Russian in Manchuria to move on as soon as any opportunity presented itself. Shanghai has taken its share of those who seek status in a foreign settlement. There are at least 10,000 Russian people living there. In Harbin there still remain from 80,000 to 100,000 Russians.

### Women and Law

*The Bombay Law Journal* writes editorially :

Not the least refutation of the charge levied by some of the foreigners against India that it is a backward country, is furnished by the remarkable awakening among Indian women in the present generation, not only as regards the welfare of their own sex, but with regard to social problems of infinite moment to the future of the country. H. H. The Maharani of Baroda, presiding over the fourth biennial conference of the National Council of Women in India, held in Bombay, last month, delivered an address which is remarkable for its fervour and its wide and courageous outlook and it will serve as an inspiration and

guide in thousands of Indian homes. Referring to the Hindu Laws of Inheritance and property, Her Highness observed that their injustice was evident. She further said, "Women could not afford to be mere dependents on men in matters of property, if they desired full scope for self-expression and development of their personality. They must be afforded a right to inherit, acquire and deal with property on the same basis as men. Many Hindu women were anxious to have a law of divorce passed for them, but a divorce law without proper laws of property and inheritance would be a misfortune." Lawyers are apt to lose sight of the fact while they are engaged in arguing about the true construction of ancient texts, public opinion has progressed so far that the texts do not matter now as much as they used to. We find from the Report of the Council that the Legislation Committee kept in touch with all bills relating to women and children introduced in the Legislative Assembly and in several instances, pointed out defects and suggested changes in various bills to the members who introduced them. The resolutions regarding social legislation passed at the Conference deserve the immediate attention of lawyers all over the country ; it is for them to take the next step, so as to expedite the putting into force of the measures recommended at the Conference. We suggest that the proceedings of the Conference should be made available to the public in the different vernaculars, at a moderate price.

### India's Rice Trade

The Indians, particularly the Bengalees, should carefully note that rice, their staple food, is now being imported from Japan. India is fertile enough to produce it in sufficient quantity for the consumption of her people. Even in the field of rice trade she is being cornered by foreign Powers. Organization of this trade is now urgently needed. Mr. Amritlal Ojha, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, writes in *The Indian Review*.

In the rice trade of India, Bengal presents certain peculiarities which have been and are probably, not present elsewhere in the country. Up to the year 1915, unlike Burma and Madras for example, there were very few rice mills in Bengal. The cultivators had to bring their produce to the district towns and dispose them off to the middlemen. A large number of mills have been started after 1915, and now practically every district has a number of rice mills. These mills, in addition to milling and cleaning rice, very often purchase the paddy outright from the cultivators and then sell them to the exporting centres, such as Calcutta, Dacca, Chittagong, etc., or to the merchants who in their turn act as distributors to up-country areas...

The rice trade of Bengal after the Great War has declined heavily but the reasons are not far to seek. Until 1919, Bengal rice commanded a good market abroad, but ever since that year, Burma has made heavy inroads in her trade and now she practically has obtained a complete monopoly of what was formerly Bengal's. Up to 1919, amongst the Indian provinces, Bengal alone was specializing in boiled rice. Burma has now taken even this special field of Bengal, and since 1925 the Burmese boiled rice has more or less ousted the Bengal boiled rice from the Indian (other than Bengal) as well as the foreign markets. At present, it appears there is little or no scope for Bengal rice in the Indian markets excepting, probably, in the U. P. and Bihar. In those two provinces, the land is increasingly going under sugarcane cultivation, and in all likelihood rice might have to be imported from the neighbouring province of Bengal in order to make good the local deficiency.

As regards the foreign markets, Bengal can hope to have some revival of her former trade only if the grave internal defects are remedied. Rice is, unfortunately, the most disorganized industry in the province. Some strong organization that would stop the unhealthy competition among merchants and effectively safe-guard the interests of the traders and cultivators, is absolutely essential to put the rice trade of the province once more on its feet. Another great defect is the vast number of varieties to be found in the rice grown in the province and a woeful lack of standardization of the different types. When it is understood that it is on the standardization of the agricultural crop alone, their prosperity in export trade is possible, the difficulties in Bengal could be easily visualized. It goes without saying that standardization can be effected only by a competent official or semi-official organization.

In the British Empire, Ceylon and Straits Settlements are India's good customers. It is quite likely that the United Kingdom may also become important in the course of few years from the point of view of the Indian rice trade. Amongst the foreign countries, Germany, Netherlands, Java and China are large importers of Indian rice. Though we have practically lost the Japanese market, we can more than make up that loss in China.

Reference in this connection should be made as to the anxiety of some, about the possibility of not only India's export trade in rice suffering, but also the invasion of the home market itself by other countries. During the last year, Japan actually reshipped a few thousand tons of rice to India. Just now, we are hearing of the Siamese exports of rice into Madras Presidency. It is undoubtedly true that imports of even a few thousands of tons at lower prices are likely to disorganize the Indian markets and create panic in the minds of the merchants. Under

the existing circumstances, instead of erecting tariff barriers against the Siamese and other rice, India would probably do better to make representation to the respective Governments just as she did last year in the case of Japan.

### Kerala and Indian Culture

Contribution of Kerala, a Southern India province, to Indian culture is very considerable. Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon gives a *resume* of it in *India and The World*. Part of it is quoted below :

Kerala, in ancient times, was, for administrative purposes, divided into *angams* and *desams*. Each *desam* formed the territorial unit for military organizations, while the *tara* formed unit for civil purposes. "Every division and subdivision was designated by the allotted quota of Nayars it was required to bring into the field." "The Nayar inhabitants of a *tara* formed a small republic, represented by the *Karnavars* or elders." According to Keralolpathi, the Nayars formed 'the eyes' and 'the hands' of the land. The *nad* or country was a congeries of *taras* or village republics and the *Kuttam* or assembly of the *nad* was a representative body of immense power, which, when necessity existed, set at naught the authority of the Raja, and punished his ministers when they did unwarrantable acts."

According to some, "Southern India was the cradle of the human race, and the passage ground by which ancient progenitors of northern and Mediterranean races proceeded to the parts of the globe which they now inhabit..."

The Jews, the Muslims and the Christians alike claim it as their first settlement; and all of them had a generous, tolerant welcome from the Hindu Rulers of old. Near it was Matilakam, the seat of a celebrated University....

There was a famous temple there, common to all the 64 Nambutiri, *gramams*. The north and south length of its boundary walls was about a mile and a half. It was in the upper hall of one of its tanksheds (of Chempalikulam) that the Parliament of the Perumals sat. It was called *Vidvalsabha*, the assembly of the wise, a sort of witenagemot, to direct studies, to enact laws; and even to give the last word on political matters. The *Vidvalsabha* was adorned by the presence of renowned Sanskrit and Tamil poets, Buddhists and Jaina scholars, and erudite pandits in every department of knowledge, temporal and spiritual. The Cheraman Perumals had their capital and residence at Thiruvanchikulam near Cranganor. The Hindu temples and the Buddhist Chaityas in Matilakam and Vanchi were perhaps the oldest ones in Kerala. "In that corner of India were built the first and probably the only Roman temple in India, the first church, the first mosque and the

first synagogue and the greatest *chhura* of South India."

The temples of Kerala were centres of learning, and they helped to develop literature and Fine arts. Many of the ancient temples in Kerala exhibit the high stage reached here in architecture, sculpture and iconology. Some of the paintings on the walls and panelled ceilings are marvels of the art, and serve to impart instruction in the legendary lore of the Puranas. On occasions of festivals in temples, there will be grand processions, dancing and drumming, music and piping, *Kathakali* and *Thullal*, *Kuthu* and *Patikam* and sports of various sorts. Several of the dramatic pieces and hymns, and songs that accompany the sports and dances are rightly ranked as classics.

"Kerala again found a fertile and congenial soil for Tamil, Sanskrit and Malayalam to grow. Manimekhalai and Chilappadhikaram, the two famous Tamil classics, were first published in Kerala. In the field of Sanskrit literature, we have our representative authors of no mean attainments in every department of Sanskrit learning; Prabhakara Bhatta, Sankaracharya and Purnaprajna Madhavacharya in the field of Vedanta, Lakshmidasa and Narayana in the field of Poetry; Kulasekhara and Sakti Bhadra in the field of dramaturge; not to speak of great names in the fields of Ayurveda, astronomy, astrology, architecture and other branches of knowledge." In Malayalam literature the names of "Cherussori, Thunjan, Kunjan and Unnayi" form a constellation in second to none in brilliance and in its unique character.

#### George Carver of Tuskegee

Everyone of us should know something of the Tuskegee Institute and its devoted workers. This Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington, is entirely staffed by American Negroes. In *Harizon* (April 6, 1934) Mr. C. F. Andrews tells us the life-story of Dr. George Carver, a teacher of the Tuskegee Institute. It has a lesson for us all. We make a few extracts from the sketch:

One of the greatest teachers in Tuskegee is Dr. Carver, who combines in his character the simplicity of a child with the wisdom of old age. The days that I spent with him, either talking over my own religious experience and comparing it with his own, or else being shown by him over his own laboratory, where the most marvellous discoveries in science have been made, were among the most precious during all my stay at Tuskegee.

In his own field of scientific work, Dr. Carver is almost as great a genius as Burbank was with regard to plant life and Edison with regard to discoveries in electricity and light. He has been

able to synthesize the different products of sweet potatoes, peanuts and other plants in such a manner as to produce entirely new materials to be used either for food, or dyes or other purposes. He has made synthetic products from waste materials, also of such a character that new building boards and floor marbels have been produced from them. Work that has undertaken in chemistry has led continually to discoveries of very great commercial value; but Dr. George Carver has never made for himself a fortune out of them. Not seldom he has given over his discoveries to others to use in the best way they could, and they have made money from them, while he has remained to the end of his life a poor man.

One of his most noticeable characteristics is his complete humility. Never in my life have I seen one so great in character and achievement and at the same time so modest and retiring in temperament. Though he is now advanced in years and has grown old in learning, his whole attitude towards life is child-like and simple. His laugh is expressive of his youthful heart within. He seems to have retained the secret of perpetual youth as he has grown towards old age.

The world and its values have no attraction for him and, when he was offered many years ago a place in the laboratory of Thomas A. Edison which would easily have made his fortune he refused it, because he wished to live among his own Southern people and to give his learning to the service of Tuskegee Institution, which he so dearly loves. Sir Harry Johnston, who was one of the most eminent British scientist and explorers of the 19th century, writes of him as follows: "Prof. Carver, who teaches scientific agriculture, botany, agricultural chemistry, etc., at Tuskegee, is an absolute Negro; but in the soundness of his science, he might be Professor of Botany, not at Tuskegee, but at Oxford or Cambridge. Any European botanist of distinction after ten minutes' conversation with this man, would instinctively treat him as a man on a level with himself." These words, which were written many years ago, have become still more true today; for Dr. Carver's experiments have gained him an even greater reputation in the scientific world than he had when Sir Harry Johnston wrote about him.

Probably the most beautiful of all his most recent discoveries are those that have been made of the common clay of his own Southern States. At a time when Georgia and Alabama were passing through a very critical period owing to failure of the cotton crops through the boll weevil, George Carver showed how the soil of Alabama was by no means confined in its fertility to the black cotton soil of the South, but that the clay soil, which had hitherto been neglected was itself a soil which could produce splendid crops of peanuts, and sweet potatoes and other products of great value to mankind. The

manifested themselves in recent years in India. There was a tendency towards irresponsibility on the part of the legislature. The tension between the French and English Canadians increased and there was growing bitterness against the Home Government. Finally, there was a rebellion, and it was only Lord Durham's report that saved Canada for the Empire. He recognized that responsibility was the only real remedy for the situation that had arisen. History is repeating itself in India today, and much the same phenomena can be seen....

Politically-minded Indians tend to believe that the British are standing in the way of their legitimate aspirations, and that we do so because in our own interests we are reluctant to give up our hold on India.

The Tories fought a war to get and hold South Africa. They would have lost it to the British Commonwealth of Nations but for Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's wise statesmanship in giving it self-government. The Tories are obsessed with the policy of grab and hold. They have no vision, and without vision the people perish.

Mr. Baldwin last summer at Manchester admitted their shortcomings in these words :

Your really old-fashioned, hardshelled Conservatives has always been opposed to wide extension of democratic government, and when responsible government was first given to Canada no language was bad enough, and no prophecies for the Tories of that time could be too bad about it.

We were wrong—our party was wrong—and had we had our way then we should have missed the bus. Looking back we can say that the granting of democratic institutions to South Africa was right. Distinguished Conservatives who voted against it at the time have since acknowledged that they made a mistake. It was a great act of faith.

The India of today is vastly different from pre-War India. Indians see the future of their country not in isolated and antagonistic Provinces and Indian States, but in one vast Federation. If such a Federation could be brought about, Great Britain is solemnly pledged to assist in framing for them a Constitution giving them real responsible self-government subject only to such safeguards as, in their own interests, are necessary for a purely transitional period.

The Federation has been agreed on, but the Constitution it is proposed to offer them would give them no real responsibility. It offers a certain amount of freedom but prevents its full enjoyment by putting heavy shackles on the Indians' use of such responsibilities as are offered them.

India's Finance Minister, for instance, will

be responsible for raising the revenues necessary for carrying on the Government, but he will only be responsible for the spending of about one-fifth of these revenues. The responsibility for the spending of the other four-fifths is to be retained by the British Parliament thousands of miles away.

India is one of the poorest countries in the world, reckoning wealth per head of the population. But we have given her and made her pay for (and it is proposed that she continue to have) the most costly Civil Service in the world. She is not even to be allowed—under the kind of responsible self-government proposed—to appoint her own Civil Servants or Police Officials. That will be done for her by us, but at her expense, for years to come and the Civil Servants so appointed will be under *our* control for at least another thirty years.

She is to be allowed to have no voice in her own Foreign Affairs. The Tories have always blundered over our Foreign Affairs, but are so sensitive on the matter that they insist on the exclusive right to conduct India's Foreign Affairs—without even the pretence of consulting her even to the very limited extent that is done at present.

Then they tell India she cannot have real self-government until she is in a position to defend herself—and at the same time deprive her of all means of so defending herself and refuse to allow her even to train efficiently as she desires. Here again India is compelled by us to spend a greater proportion of her revenue on Army matters than any other country in the world.

We are a wonderful people; we deceive ourselves so easily and seem to assume that everyone else is similarly deceived.

The only hope of staving off a revolution in India on a big scale and of retaining India in the British Commonwealth of Nations is the belief in India, happily not yet dead, that Labour on its coming to power will, in consultation with Indians, frame for her a Constitution that will be real self-government on a footing of absolute equality with Great Britain and the other Dominions. Nothing less will satisfy Indians: nothing less ought to satisfy them.

—Labour.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Peace is Dead

After a deep-rooted and careful analysis of great Political Powers of the world, Mr. Devere Allen has come to the inevitable and logical conclusion that International Peace has died away. His learned introduction to an essay, quoted below from *The World Tomorrow*, is a challenge to the school of optimistic believers in International Peace :

International tragedies, now as much as ever in the past, have a way of tumbling toward a sudden crisis, revealing sharply in the flames of conflict issues previously limned in half-light or, for some observers, utterly obscured. That the world's peace structure is weak and wanting, every thoughtful person long has known. If the nature of its glaring deficiencies are not now more apparent, we are in a hopeless state indeed. For the ferocious campaign against the Austrian workers in particular, coming on the heels of the French riots and general strike ; the dim manoeuvres for a face-saving rearmament deal between Hitler and the French, the growing impotence of the declining League of Nations, the heedless obstinacy of Japanese imperialism, the swiftly-spreading prestige of fascism, and the stampede of our own government into a rampant war preparedness, all serve to illuminate the collapse of peace intent and mechanisms.

There are those who, with invincible optimism, will still persist in their hopeful incantations, believing that if they flood with sunshine the withering plant of peace it will revive, irrespective of what happens at the root. There are those who, with patient and profound analysis, will probe to the evils of human nature and find there such narrow limits to generosity that peace, should it ever come, will be an illegitimate child of cosmic chance. With neither do I propose to quarrel here : for the main thing is not who carries off the honours of posterity for Olympian prophecy ; the main thing is to discover ways of action which, whether by intelligence or a lucky guess, may give a breathing spell, free from a suicidal war, in which the scholars may go as far as they like up the golden streets of faith or down the dark alleys of realism. ~~Both~~ gas works equally well in either.

### Collectivization of Agriculture in Soviet Union

W. Ladejinsky in an essay on "Collectivization of Agriculture in Soviet Union" has traced the origin and development of the agrarian movement in Russia culminating in the State-ownership of the land. The following extracts from the *Political Science Quarterly* may serve the purpose of a short introduction to the history of agriculture in the U. S. S. R. :

Lenin's proposed method of bringing about a collective system of agriculture points clearly to the pace to be followed. Considering the general make-up of the Russian peasant, particularly his adherence to old forms and his distrust of large-scale economy, Lenin pointed out that "it is self-evident that such a transition...a transition from individual peasant farming to collective working of the land, requires a long time, and under no circumstances can it be accomplished at once." Tsarism, in his opinion, could be overthrown in a few days, the landlords and capitalists expropriated in a few weeks, but the solution of the agrarian problem "which we are now approaching...can be achieved only through extremely persistent and continuous effort...For the collective working of the land we shall have to fight step by step, inch by inch."

A long time before Lenin formulated his views, the Russian peasant through sheer force of necessity, properly gauged the importance of collective action. For instance, the land commune system, which, before the promulgation of the Stolypin land reform, covered almost eighty per cent of the total peasant land allotments, had taught them lessons in effective co-operative action long before the modern co-operative movement came into existence. Under this system the land was owned by the entire village commune, or *mir*. In order that each member of the commune might use the land on an equal basis, the *mir* would periodically redivide the land among the members, allowing each one to utilize the allotted land for his own purposes...

Under the circumstances "it was inevitable that the households should follow a common routine in the seeding, harvesting, pasturing and fallowing of the intermingled strips in each great field." This close connection led to collective

# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## The Liquidation of Illiteracy

In the last issue of *The Modern Review* appeared an article on the methods adopted in Russia to liquidate illiteracy. Miss Amy B. H. J. Rustomji in a thesis has proposed various ways and means for the liquidation of illiteracy in India too. *The Social Service quarterly* summarizes the thesis as follows :

The issue of the Journal of the University of Bombay for 1933 contains an article of absorbing interest by Miss Amy B. H. J. Rustomji entitled, "A New Way In Education." Miss Rustomji calls upon the University, all its alumni, all literates to take some share in the great work of securing the liquidation of illiteracy either in the organized manner or individually. Quoting Lenin, she observes that the removal of illiteracy is the problem of problems before the nation, for with an illiterate population there can scarcely be any possibility of progress, social, economic or political. Out of our huge population of 35 crores, less than three crores are barely literate, and even in a city like Bombay, which prides itself in being advanced, 72.29 per cent of the men and 81.83 per cent of the women are illiterate. Miss Rustomji's main thesis is that the removal of illiteracy is a work which can be taken in hand by each one of us, whether a householder employing servants, a clerk or quill-driver, an administrator or an industrialist controlling labour. The trouble is that although we see the evil in our midst, we do not take steps to remove it, on the contrary, we acquiesce in it. In support of this view of hers, Miss Rustomji reproduces the results of a census of illiteracy in cultured households held by some women's organizations in Bombay. In 1315 households there were no less than 951 illiterates, and if the employers and operators or even acted individually they could easily remedy the present state of things within less than six months. Similar action should be taken, Miss Rustomji suggests, by public utility companies, the Municipality and other local authorities, the Railway Companies and other large employers of labour. Government might follow suit both for their servants in the offices, the police force and even for the illiterates committed to their care in jails. The University itself has twelve illiterates among its employees and can well turn its attention to the educating of these as well as of the illiterate employees of affiliated

schools and colleges, with the assistance both of the staff and of students. University extension work is an integral function of all modern Universities, and, in Miss Rustomji's opinion, such extension work in a country like India, which has 92 per cent of its population illiterate, can best take the form of eradication of illiteracy. The University should take the lead and inaugurate a vigorous campaign ; if it does so, Miss Rustomji concludes, there is no reason why the number of literates should not go up in ten years' time from three crores to thirty crores as has already happened in Japan, Russia and other countries which have worked with a will to liquidate illiteracy at all cost.

## At the Back Door of Russia

We hear much of the progress Russia has made since the days of the Revolution of 1917. Mr. Howard L. Haag gives us some idea of the condition of those Russians who could not conform to the methods of the Revolution and had to seek shelter in Manchuria and other foreign lands in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*. He says :

It was natural that during those awful days immediately following the Russian Revolution those hordes of Russian people who knew that they must flee for their lives, should move eastward. They were cut off from the West. For hundreds of thousands of them the only opening left lay toward the East where still remained the outpost of old Russia—the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria. It was logical that they might expect that there at least they would be welcomed on soil into which Russia had built its great culture. They could not be expected to see into the future to a time when that too would be taken from them. "Surely," they reasoned, "here we shall have time to wait out the turn of events and we shall have our homes back again." They have waited thus far in vain. No one knows how many Russians crossed the borders into Manchuria to seek refuge temporarily, they thought, from the pestilence which was sweeping their country. It may be safely stated that the numbers ran into hundreds of thousands. Since these first years the borders of Manchuria and Siberia have been the scene of an almost unending stream of fleeing people. Even to this day the winter months when roads

engage in work in any part of the East Indies without the special permission of the Governor-General. Amry Vandenbosch gives a graphic account of the main currents of controversy in the columns of *The International Review of Missions* :

The controversy has stirred Indonesians as well as the Dutch, and has led to two unusual incidents. The first of these was the act of the Balinese chiefs in sending a memorial to the Governor-General, urging the exclusion of Christian missionary activity from their island. The second was the passage by the Volksraad (the East Indian central legislative body) of a resolution likewise petitioning the Governor-General not to admit Christian missionaries to Bali.

Little is known of the early history of Bali. Probably Hindu colonies from Java settled on the island, and with the aid of military support from home made themselves masters of its inhabitants. The now Hinduized Balinese remained for a long time subject to the powerful Hindu empire of Madjapahit, whose seat was in central Java. When in the fifteenth century Java became Islamicized a large number of Javanese, unwilling to accept the new religion, fled to Bali. This had several consequences : it strengthened the Hindu influence in Bali, as it left Bali an isolated Hindu community, for the other islands of the Malay archipelago either remained animist or became Moslem ; and it made Bali politically independent of Java.

Although the Dutch first came into contact with Bali as early as 1597, they did not attempt an occupation until two centuries and a half later. Throughout this long period they did, however, maintain loose political relations with the Balinese chiefs.

Missionaries and missionary leaders have long viewed Bali as a strategic field for work. In 1829 the English missionary-sinologue, Dr Medhurst, visited the island, and in his report recommended that missionary work be begun on Bali. Dr. W. R. Baron van Hevell, in 1846 issued a brochure in which he ardently pleaded for the establishment of mission posts on Bali. Dr van Hevell was convinced that unless Christianity were speedily brought to the Balinese they would become Moslems. Missionary work was begun several times but discontinued after a shorter or longer period. An English missionary, Ennis by name, established himself on Bali in 1838, but apparently remained only a short time. From 1864 to 1881, the Utrecht Missionary Union, in co-operation with the Netherlands Bible Society, carried on work on Bali. The undertaking ended tragically ; the missionary, J. de Vroom, was murdered by the sole Christian convert. In 1891 Roman Catholic authorities obtained permission to begin work in Bali but no use was ever made of the permission. Over three

decades later, they sought to begin missionary work on Bali by the opening of a Dutch-Indonesian school. Bitter opposition immediately developed against this plan. Mr. Tjakorda Gede Sockawati, the Balinese representative in the Volksraad, introduced a resolution requesting the Government to refrain from giving either direct or indirect support to propaganda of a religious nature. . . . Recent events in Bali have given the question an entirely new turn. Christianity has found its way into Bali even though the missionaries have been kept out. In North Bali Christian influence proceeds from a number of Amboinese families who have come there to live. Christianity has found its way also into South Bali.

As a result of these events a reaction began to set in, which became intensified when it became known that Dutch missionary societies were considering the advisability of opening work in Bali.

Naturally not all of those who desire the exclusion of missions from Bali base their opposition on the same grounds. Some merely take what may be called an opportunist point of view. Bali, according to this view, cannot now stand the strain of adjusting itself to an additional stream of influence.

A second group oppose the admission of Christian missions to Bali on the ground that missions would injure Balinese society, cause unrest, weaken the effectiveness of Dutch administration and cause a great deal of political disaffection on the part of the Balinese upper castes.

There is lastly a group which is opposed to all Christian missionary activity. Among superficial tourists, this takes the form of an amusing simplicity. They find the dances fascinating and the cremations of unusual interest. 'Would it not be a pity if anything of this charming civilization were destroyed by Puritanic busy-bodies ? After all, one religion is as good as another—each people has developed the religion that best suits its needs.'

Others, with a deep feeling of sympathy for Balinese life and culture and with more than a smattering of knowledge of anthropology, ethnology, would like to see Bali preserved as an anthropological museum.

A small group, however, view missions as distinctly a destructive force among oriental peoples. They contend that missions can only rob an intelligent, civilized and deeply religious people, such as the Balinese of their most treasured possessions : their religion and culture.

There is little in this attack on Christian missions that is new. The attempt is here again made of linking missions with imperialism and of identifying the work of missions with the transmission of Western civilization. The civilizations of backward peoples are over-idealized.

The basic difficulty is, of course, that these critics hold a relativist view of religion and dismiss all other views as absurd. They consider all religion a purely human culture-product: 'man is constantly creating God after his own image.'

Friends of the missionary movement were not slow in pointing out that Bali had been laid open to nearly every other alien influence—What good reason can there be for singling out Christian missions for exclusion? The answer of *Soekawati* (the Balinese representative in the Volksraad) and others is that whereas the other influences attack the Balinese Hindu culture only incidentally and indirectly, missions would attack the cultural bases directly.

### Public Health in India

*The Asiatic Review* has published a brief criticism by Mr. R. W. Brock, of the final report of Major-General Graham, Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India. In his review of the subject, the critic shows that the Commissioner has laid stress upon three important factors, namely, the question of Federal Health Responsibilities, the need for a Ministry of Health in India and inadequate financial support:

In accordance with the Government of India Act of 1919, the health subjects which were reserved for the Central Government were: (i) International health affairs; (ii) wider aspects of epidemiology; (iii) census and statistics; (iv) emigration and immigration; (v) pilgrim traffic *ex-India*; (vi) major port quarantine work; (vii) medical research; (viii) legislation in regard to any provincial subject stated to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature and any powers relating to such subjects reserved by legislation to the Governor-General in Council. As Major-General Graham observes, it is extremely improbable that such subjects as those named, which are generally recognized as federal health responsibilities, will cease, under the new Constitution, to be the concern of the Central Government and of its Public Health Commissioner. In the Report

under review, as in preceding surveys of the same character, Major-General Graham has "laboured the desirability and need for a Ministry of Health for India. The recent reports of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and of the Royal Statutory Commission," as he reminds us "have emphasized the same need whether this be arrived at through a Ministry of Health or by strengthening the central health organization. "We are now," he adds, "within measurable distance of the introduction of a new Constitution—a Constitution which must presuppose heavy and increased expenditure in many branches of the administration; but the subject of federal health has been relegated, meanwhile at all events, to the background, and has not received the attention which its importance would seem to merit."

On the other hand, the project for a new Central Research Institute worthy of India, recommended by the Fletcher Committee, has been abandoned, owing to the financial implications being greater than the Government of India cared to undertake. The establishment of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health was only rendered possible by the munificence of the Rockefeller Foundation, which offered to purchase a site and to erect and equip an institute for six sections to deal with advanced public health teaching and public health research, subject to the Government of India undertaking to meet the recurring charges.

Inadequate financial support has, indeed, proved one of the most formidable handicaps to the promotion of public health in India. The drastic economies of the Incheape Committee paralysed the renewal of research activities on a big scale before the work of the Indian Research Fund Association had had time to recover properly after the war. Public opinion, however, both in Great Britain and India, and scientific medical opinion in India as expressed through the Scientific Advisory Board, were not silent. His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, realizing the true implications of the closing down of medical research activities in India, pressed the Government of India continuously to restore the grant in part or in whole at as early a date as possible, and also the unspecified appointments in the Medical Research Department which were in abeyance.



are passable bring group after group of hungry folk who prefer the rigours and privations of the long trek to Manchuria to that with which they have to put up in Soviet Russia. Not longer ago than the winter of 1930 we assisted a group of some 200 people, a whole village, to get away from the border to the safety of Harbin. They had packed all they had upon their sleighs, hitched up their horses, loaded their women and children on, and in the depth of the Siberian night driven across the border into Manchuria. In spite of all their suffering on that long and bitter cold trip, in spite of all hardships they have endured since that time, they are all thankful that they have been delivered from the oppression which was upon them.

The population of Harbin has been a strange indication of the conditions existing in Soviet Russia. Not all who have come here have remained. Thousands have gone on to try their luck in other parts of the world. While America, Australia, Canada and parts of Europe would accept them, they pushed on in their search for new homes. But since depression has overtaken these countries, the doors have been closed to the unfortunate Russian. He has had to find in Manchuria a way of living. This has not been easy. For a person of the white race to compete with those of the yellow races is not and probably will never be easy. Different language, customs, and standards force the former to give way in manual labour to the latter. Furthermore, land till now has not been obtainable for cultivation, and even if it were, the vastly different methods of cultivation and exploitation make it next to impossible for the Russian to compete. Hence, it has been the aim of the Russian in Manchuria to move on as soon as any opportunity presented itself. Shanghai has taken its share of those who seek status in a foreign settlement. There are at least 10,000 Russian people living there. In Harbin there still remain from 80,000 to 100,000 Russians.

#### Women and Law

*The Bambay Law Journal* writes editorially :

Not the least refutation of the charge levied by some of the foreigners against India that it is a backward country, is furnished by the remarkable awakening among Indian women in the present generation, not only as regards the welfare of their own sex, but with regard to social problems of infinite moment to the future of the country. H. H. The Maharani of Baroda, presiding over the fourth biennial conference of the National Council of Women in India, held in Bombay, last month, delivered an address which is remarkable for its fervour and its wide and courageous outlook and it will serve as an inspiration and

guide in thousands of Indian homes. Referring to the Hindu Laws of Inheritance and property, Her Highness observed that their injustice was evident. She further said, "Women could not afford to be mere dependents on men in matters of property, if they desired full scope for self-expression and development of their personality. They must be afforded a right to inherit, acquire and deal with property on the same basis as men. Many Hindu women were anxious to have a law of divorce passed for them, but a divorce law without proper laws of property and inheritance would be a misfortune." Lawyers are apt to lose sight of the fact while they are engaged in arguing about the true construction of ancient texts, public opinion has progressed so far that the texts do not matter now as much as they used to. We find from the Report of the Council that the Legislation Committee kept in touch with all bills relating to women and children introduced in the Legislative Assembly and in several instances, pointed out defects and suggested changes in various bills to the members who introduced them. The resolutions regarding social legislation passed at the Conference deserve the immediate attention of lawyers all over the country ; it is for them to take the next step, so as to expedite the putting into force of the measures recommended at the Conference. We suggest that the proceedings of the Conference should be made available to the public in the different vernaculars, at a moderate price.

#### India's Rice Trade

The Indians, particularly the Bengalees, should carefully note that rice, their staple food, is now being imported from Japan. India is fertile enough to produce it in sufficient quantity for the consumption of her people. Even in the field of rice trade she is being cornered by foreign Powers. Organization of this trade is now urgently needed. Mr. Amritlal Ojha, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, writes in *The Indian Review*.

In the rice trade of India, Bengal presents certain peculiarities which have been and are probably, not present elsewhere in the country. Up to the year 1915, unlike Burma and Madras for example, there were very few rice mills in Bengal. The cultivators had to bring their produce to the district towns and dispose them off to the middlemen. A large number of mills have been started after 1915, and now practically every district has a number of rice mills. These mills, in addition to milling and cleaning rice, very often purchase the paddy outright from the cultivators and then sell them to the exporting centres, such as Calcutta, Dacca, Chittagong, etc., or to the merchants who in their turn act as distributors to up-country areas...

is all due to the privations and hardships that they have suffered all along since their arrival in this country. They recognized me and with tears in their eyes, begged me to help them to return to Natal. Women and children with barely enough clothing to cover their limbs stood before me and I wondered whether those responsible for this atrocious scheme had ever visualised such helpless misery. And this was not a new scene that was being enacted before me. I went to Matlaburz quite unexpectedly without any knowledge on the part of the repatriates. Things like these have been happening since 1920 as can be proved from the reports issued from time to time by responsible workers like Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mr. F. E. James (Secretary Y. M. C. A. now M. L. A.), Mr. S. A. Waiz (Secretary Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay), Mr. H. K. Mukerjee and others. It is a pity that these reports were never circulated in the principal vernaculars Hindi and Tamil in South Africa. I feel sure that if this step had been taken a good deal of misery could have been averted. As far as I can see nothing substantial has been done to alleviate the distress of these unfortunate people. I do not forget that spasmodic efforts have been made from time to time to give temporary relief to these people but charity at the best of time is only a palliative and can never be considered as a curative. Had any serious effort been made by the authorities concerned on the lines of the Indian Emigrants Friendly Service Committee



A group of homeless unemployed repatriated Indians at Madras

nate if Indians in South Africa lose confidence in the sincerity of the Indian Government for that will put an end to all hope of any co-operation without which no substantial improvement could be made in the situation."

Mr. P. B. Singh came to the Vishal-Bharat office also and just when he was leaving it he saw a number of returned emigrants who had come to see me. We talked with them. Referring to these people Mr. Singh told me:

"I shall never forget the look of despair in the eyes of those people. They complained of being on their last legs and one could see that starvation was writ large on their faces. They looked emaciated and ill. I could at once see that it was not one man's work and it required the combined efforts of public bodies like the Y. M. C. A., the Arya Samaj and the Ramkrishna Mission."

Mr. P. B. Singh expressed his gratefulness to Mr. H. K. Mukerjee, Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. College Section and said:

"The noble work that Mr. Mukerjee has been doing for the last twelve years deserves every praise at our hands.

I am glad to learn that through the efforts of Messrs. Mukerjee and Andrews Birla Brothers have given a good deal of help to the returned emigrants by supplying them food, cloth and medicine and we must thank them for their charity."

Mr. Singh was not satisfied with the attitude of the Government of India and he wondered why the Government had been neglecting



A group of repatriated Indians at Akra near Calcutta

the problem; would not have assumed such dimensions. It is yet not too late. The Indian Government has a moral obligation to fulfil for they were a party to the pernicious scheme and had definitely promised to give all assistance to these repatriates on their return to India. An impression is fast gaining ground in South Africa that the Indian Government has failed in its duty and if things are not taken up in right earnest it will have a deplorable result. It will be most unfortu-

this problem. It would not be a difficult thing for them to organise the relief work on a permanent basis with the help of some non-official workers.

I invite the attention of Mr. G. S. Bajpayi of the Government of India to this question and hope that he will himself come to Calcutta to see the things with his own eyes.

### Pola Negri and Uday Shankar

Upon her recent return to New York from Europe on her way to Hollywood for motion picture



Pola Negri and Uday Shankar

engagements, Miss Pola Negri the celebrated filmstar, came to know that, Uday Shankar was dancing at the St. James Theatre. She at once engaged a box for herself and a few friends.

During the first intermission Miss Negri went back of the stage and greeted Mr. Shankar most cordially and said to him :

"This is the greatest artistic thrill I have had in many years, in fact since the death of Anna Pavlova. I was so sorry that I could not see Pavlova before her death. You know how much I admired that great dancer."

"Yes, I do know that," said Shankar with much feeling. "And you know how much I admired her. I am so sorry that I could not dance for her even for only one evening with my full company of Hindu dancers and musicians."

"I am going to India; and I hope to meet you there."

"I shall be most happy to greet you in India; and shall be delighted to show you the matchless glories of our arts."

Miss Negri stayed to the very end of the performance; and when Tandava Nritya, the last number on the programme, was finished, she rose to her feet and cheered Shankar most heartily through several curtain calls; and Shankar bowed to her in the box. And when asked by Mr. Basanta Koomar Roy how she liked the Tandava Nritya, Miss Negri said most emphatically :

"It was superb. In fact all the movements of all his dances are superb indeed. Shankar is simply divine. I cannot say more; and I cannot say less. Shankar is simply divine."

NOTE: On Plate II facing p. 419 of the last issue of *The Modern Review* was published "Kama Deva" by the courtesy of Elizabeth Dyson. This is the drypoint of impersonation of "Kama Deva" by Mr. Uday Sankar, the celebrated Indian dancer.



# MAHATMA GANDHI WELCOMES REVIVAL OF SWARAJYA PARTY

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

**D**URING the last week of March some Congress leaders held a conference at Delhi with a view to reviving the Swarajya Party and, after arriving at some conclusions, three of them, namely, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, went to Patna to confer with Mahatma Gandhi. The result of their discussions with Gandhiji is to be found in the following letter addressed by him to Dr. Ansari :

PATNA, April 5.

"Dear Dr. Ansari,

It was good of you, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Dr. Bidhan Roy to come all the way to Patna to discuss the resolutions arrived at recently at an informal meeting of some Congressmen at Delhi and to ascertain my opinion on them. I have no hesitation in welcoming the revival of the Swaraj Party and the decisions of that meeting to take part in the forthcoming election to the Assembly, which you tell me is about to be dissolved. My views on the utility of legislatures in the present state are well known. They remain, on the whole, what they were in 1920. But I feel that it is not only the right but also the duty of every Congressman who for some reason or other does not want to or cannot take part in civil resistance and who has faith in entry into legislatures to seek entry and form combinations there to prosecute the programme which he or they believe to be in the interest of the country. Consistently with my views above-mentioned, I shall be at the disposal of the party at all times and render such assistance as it is in my power to give.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi."

The revival of the Swarajya Party is to be welcomed for various reasons. All those who want to fight the forces arrayed against the struggle for freedom should fight them on all fronts. The legislative bodies constitute one such front. They should never be, they should never have been, left to be filled by a majority of those who cry ditto to the bureaucracy. It is true the old Swarajya Party could not completely gain its object. But it did succeed in preventing the passage of some anti-national, some repressive laws—at least in their original drastic forms. Some substantial amendments were made in them at the instance of the party. It also succeeded in carrying many important resolutions in the teeth of the Government, nominated and week-kneed elected members. Moreover, so long as the Swarajist members were in their full strength in the central and provincial legislatures, Government had to take care not to show utter disregard for public opinion in the bills brought before

them. It may be objected that as the old Swarajya Party did not succeed in its main object, it would be useless to revive the party. But the No-changers, the Non-co-operators, also have not succeeded in gaining their principal object, namely, the attainment of Swaraj. Nor have the Liberals succeeded in gaining their object. It should always be borne in mind by the soldiers of liberty of all parties and every party, that many peoples have had to struggle very much longer than a decade or two for winning freedom. Repeated failures did not damp their ardour.

After the Swarajists as a party had retired from the legislatures, the opposition became very weak in the central and provincial legislatures. Government were able to arm themselves with all the weapons of repression which they required to frustrate the efforts of the leaders of the people to win self-rule. They have in fact now got a superabundance of instruments of repression. Many things which people could do and say and write a decade or five years ago without infringing any law are now unlawful or illegal. The executive and the police have fully utilized their experience of the past few years and have got laws passed depriving the people of many ordinary rights of free citizens and have succeeded in giving the ordinances a permanent place in the statute book as ordinary laws. In Bengal in particular, what is known as Martial Law, which, wherever enforced, is of short duration during emergencies, has been codified as permanent law. Already some prisoners have been sentenced to death, although their action, which was undoubtedly reprehensible, did not result in the death of any human being. And this in an age when the death penalty has been abolished in some countries for actual murder and when there is a widespread movement for its abolition in other countries. Hundreds of young men and women are in detention without trial, and a law has been made that nobody must show "undue" concern for them!

It may be that, even if the Swarajist members had been in the Councils all along, Government would and could have done by some means or other what they have provided themselves with the authority given by the legislatures for doing. But certainly not so easily as the emasculated legislatures have enabled them to do.

The attainment of each and every thing that is worth having is no doubt valuable, but the struggle to attain is not less important. The struggle both tests and develops our manhood.



Whatever the result, the struggle should continue. By this it is not meant that means and methods, policies and principles and strategy do not matter, provided there is some sort of struggle. What is meant is that every care ought to be taken in the choice of means, methods, policies and strategy—all to be consistent with sound principles, but that, if the struggle becomes unsuccessful, the endeavour is not to be given up, only the strategy has to be changed.

Here it may be observed that, if the members of the revived Swarajya Party seek election to the legislatures in the hope of winning Swaraj through them they are destined to be disappointed. "The national demand" was accepted by the central legislature by a majority more than once, but the British Government have totally ignored such demands. Swaraj cannot be won through the councils as they are. Nor can it be attained through the programme of Non-co-operation as followed by the Congress. The words, "I told you so," and the spirit underlying them are hateful to me. It is not in that spirit, therefore, but simply for the sake of supplying information, that I wish to tell the reader that some fourteen years ago it seemed to me that the programme of Non-co-operation would fail. I gave the reasons in *The Modern Review* for October, 1920, pages 457-58. Those reasons exist today in a stronger form.

The people of India ought to try to convince the people of Great Britain that India's freedom would be good not only for India but for Great Britain and all other countries, and that it is absolutely necessary for human freedom and welfare. Newspapers, periodicals, tracts, pamphlets, bulletins, books and other publications should familiarize our people and all the world with our ideals and arguments—with our case in short. Speeches and debates in India and abroad should be delivered and held with the same object. If we are sufficiently active, all these may convert reasonable people and idealists in Great Britain like their fellows in other countries to our point of view. But as in other foreign countries so in Great Britain, the number of idealists and reasonable people is small. The conversion of the whole British nation or the British Government in power at any time to our point of view in the near future, if it be at all possible at any time, cannot be expected. Hence in addition to the method of persuasion referred to above, some method or methods of putting pressure on the British people and Government must be constantly followed. The methods must be such that the resulting cumulative pressure may be irresistible. We live in such times that, though we are a disarmed and unarmed people, it is necessary to state in unequivocal language that the struggle, the fight, the methods, the strategy, the pressure, that I have in view is wholly unconnected with the use of physical force. And this for two main reasons. The most prominent

leaders of India are wedded to *ahimsa* or non-killing. And under the present circumstances of India, if any one wishes to pit the necessarily unorganized, untrained, and quite insufficiently equipped force of any section of the Indian people against the highly organized, trained and scientifically equipped land, sea and air forces of the British Government, he is destined not only to disastrous failure but even to unintentionally putting obstacles in the way of others whose object is to win freedom for India in a non-violent way.

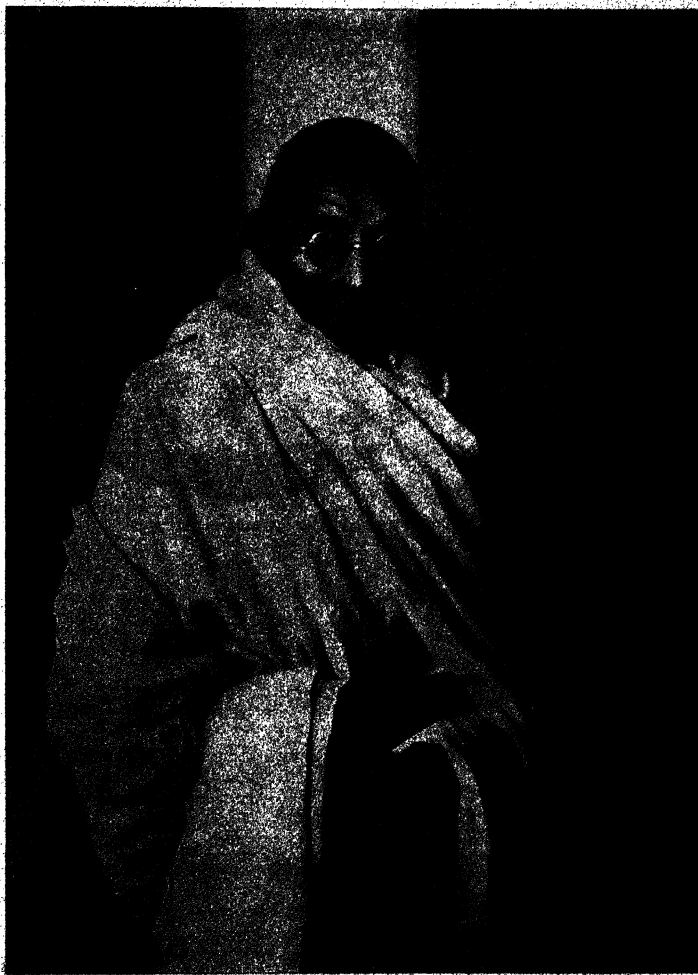
It is not the object of this article to say how the pressure that I speak of may be applied.

If the Legislative Assembly were dissolved before the introduction of the "Reforms," it would not be impracticable for the revived Swarajya party to capture the majority of the elective seats. Lord Willingdon's Government and the British Government would have the world believe that their dual policy of repression and of offering some "Reforms" *à la* the White Paper proposals had the approval—at least the acquiescence, of the people of India. The people of India know that such a claim, if made, would be utterly at variance with the truth. But a mere assertion of this description will not do. There should be an irrefutable demonstration of the truth. If the new Swarajya party (—why not also the Liberals ?) contest all the elective seats by declaring their opposition to the dual policy and the White Paper proposals and if they succeed in capturing the majority of seats, that would furnish the incontestable proof required. That would be one gain. Moreover, the Swarajist members of the central and provincial legislatures would, as the opposition, be able to do, during the period of continuance of the present constitution of India, all that the former Swarajist members were able to do. That might not be much, but it would be something.

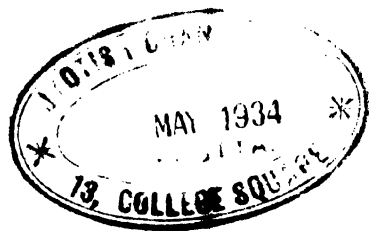
Condemnation of the dual policy of the Government would perhaps be one part, the destructive part, of the election-slogan of the new Swarajya party, the other, the constructive part, being whole-hearted support given to what Mahatmaji had demanded on behalf of India at the Round Table Conference. Victory won by the Swarajya party on such a ticket would go to show, what is the truth, that Mahatmaji really spoke for the people of India.

After their election the Swarajist members need not and would not merely be critics and opponents of the Government within the Council Chambers. They would perhaps make use of their position and powers to introduce and promote constructive legislation for the public good and move resolutions with the same object in view. If Government introduced any such legislation or a Government member moved any such resolution, it would not be at all wrong to support them.

The Swarajists need not be deterred by the objection that a programme of opposition *cum*



**MAHATMA GANDHI**  
**The Greatest worker for the uplift of the Lowly**



co-operation of the above description would be tantamount to "working the Reforms." Those who are capable of thinking for themselves should not be afraid of a phrase, but should do whatever is for the public good.

Congress has a following which is counted by the thousand. The legislative bodies can make room for only a few hundreds. And Mahatma Gandhi has clearly stated in his letter to Dr. Ansari that Council-entry is only for those Congressmen who for some reason or other do not want to or cannot take part in civil resistance and who have faith in entry into legislatures to form combinations there to prosecute the programme which they believe to be in the interest of the country.

Whether the Swarajya party be the majority or a minority of the adherents of the Congress, the majority of Congressmen would remain outside the Councils to follow the Congress programme in the country. And it has been stated authoritatively that the revived Swarajya party's programme would include not merely Council-entry but that the Swarajists would do outside the Councils what other Congressmen would do. It is true Council work brings to many a kind of fame which the doers of more valuable work outside the Councils cannot enjoy. But there are many men in and outside the Councils who do some kinds of work only for their excellence, not caring whether their labours would be rewarded with fame. Every day all the indigenous daily papers of India give publicity to the speeches, views, etc., of various persons all of whom are not indisputably superior to the ablest editors of the dailies. But the opinions of the ablest of these editors find publicity for the most part in the columns of the papers they edit—not in all the dailies. Notwithstanding this difference in the extent of publicity, which is a kind of fame, the ablest editors remain editors, leaving stump orators and demagogues to enjoy their greater publicity and their more extensive fame. From examples of this kind it seems to us that it need not be apprehended that Council-entry would deprive other kinds of service of the people of all value and attraction in the eyes of all Congressmen.

Council-entry may be difficult for those who have been in deadly earnest about Civil Disobedience, which is Civil Rebellion. Mahatma Gandhi declared himself a rebel at least once, if not more often. One cannot be a rebel and a loyal subject at the same time, or by turns. It is, therefore, only natural for Gandhiji not to seek to enter any legislative body, for after becoming a member one has to take the oath of allegiance. I do not know how many Congressmen have thought or declared themselves rebels. Of course, it is possible for rebels to become loyal subjects. But if any one still feels that he is a rebel, he cannot take the oath of allegiance without forswearing himself.

If the Government do not dissolve the Assembly in the near future and order a general election, that would clearly mean that they are not prepared to face the verdict of the country on the dual policy and the White Paper and accept the challenge of a strong opposition in the lower house of the central legislature.

After the introduction of the "Reforms" *a la* the White Paper, or *a la* the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report and recommendations, which would most probably be worse, there would be little probability of any Nationalist opposition doing anything effective. For the National oppositionists can come mostly from the Hindu community. But that community, though forming an overwhelming majority of the population, has been reduced to the position of an impotent minority in the White Paper Scheme. And against the forces of nationalism that Scheme has arrayed the nominees of the ruling Princes, the communalist Muslims, the Europeans, the Anglo-Indians, etc., all of whom have been given seats out of all proportion to their numbers. In the case of the Hindus, neither numerical strength, nor education, nor public spirit, nor ability, nor business enterprise, nor the (major) share of the revenue contributed by them, has been taken into consideration. There are Nationalists in the Muslim community, no doubt. But the Moslem community being smaller than the Hindu, Moslem Nationalists have always been smaller in number than Hindu Nationalists. And the White Paper Scheme has made such indecent exhibition of favouritism to that community that there are at present very few genuine Nationalists left among Mussalmans.

So in the constitution with which India would most likely be cursed in the near future, the Swarajists as the whole or a major section of the opposition would not probably be an actually effective force. Nevertheless, even in the future constitution, and certainly in the existing one, members of the legislature who possess a spirit of independence, courage, adequate information and debating powers, and who are not halting and travelling allowance-hunters, favour-hunters and job-hunters for themselves or relatives, would be a distinct gain to the legislatures and the country. The gain would be at least this that the political paralysis and defeatism from which the country has been suffering would be at an end, at least to a small extent.

Some sort of political activity had become necessary owing to the suspension of mass civil disobedience after the informal Poona conferences. For, very few went in for individual civil disobedience thereafter. But even that has been practically put a stop to by Mahatma Gandhi's statement of April 7 last. The scheme of constructive work outlined therein is entirely non-political. Hence, a political programme has become an urgent necessity.

# MAHATMA GANDHI "MONOPOLIZES" SATYAGRAHA FOR SWARAJ

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

**T**HE statement on Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience which Mahatma Gandhi issued at Patna on the 7th of April last contains the following prefatory words :

"This statement was drafted by me on my day of silence at Saharsa, that is, Easter Monday, the 2nd instant. I passed it on to Rajendra Babu and then it was circulated among the friends who were present. The original draft has undergone considerable revision. It is also abridged. But in essence it remains as it was on Monday. I regret that I have not been able to show it to all friends and colleagues with whom I would have been delighted to share it. But as I had no doubt whatsoever about the soundness of my decision and as I knew that civil resistance of some friends was imminent, I was not prepared to take the risk of delaying publication by waiting for the opinion of friends. The decision and every word of the statement are in answer to intense introspection, searching of the heart and waiting upon God. The decision carries with it reflection upon no single individual. It is a humble admission of my own limitations and a due sense of the tremendous responsibility that I have carried on my shoulders all these long years."

This paragraph shows that Mr. Gandhi drafted his statement before Dr. Ansari, Dr. B. C. Roy and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai saw him on the 4th April. The drafting was no doubt preceded by the conference of the would-be Swarajists at Delhi and the conclusions reached by them. It is not known whether Mahatmaji had any idea of those decisions at the time of drafting his statement.

It is only natural that, before arriving at any important decision, a man of Mr. Gandhi's firm and deep faith in God should wait upon Him for light. But though he certainly does so, and has done so in this particular instance, his decision will be generally judged by the appeal that it makes to men's reason and conscience, though there may be followers of Mahatmaji who may take it as a God-inspired statement. It is well known that the scriptures of the historical religions of the world are claimed by their orthodox followers to be revelations from God. But others accept or reject particular portions of these scriptures according as they do or do not satisfy their reason and conscience. On account of this critical and rationalistic attitude of outsiders, many intelligent and wise defenders of their respective faiths, when they try to convince outsiders, do not any longer take their stand upon the revealed or inspired character of this scripture or that, but try to prove that they are soul-satisfying. Hence, just as in the case of the scriptures, so in that of secular documents, it is

best not to say that they are the outcome of waiting upon God. For, if the documents are logical and sound, that itself would be their passport to general acceptance. But if they are wholly or in part illogical and unsound, the blame for such unsoundness and illogicality may be attached to God by scoffers and unbelievers. Of course, that would not injure God. But why give any opportunity to anybody to blaspheme? Moreover, as it is not always certain that what one considers God's voice is really His voice and not one's own prepossessions and inclinations, it is best not to speak of any decision as the result of waiting upon God.

Mr. Gandhi says that "the decision carries with it reflection upon no single individual." There can be no question that he does not intend it to carry with it any reflection upon any single individual. But it seems to me that it does unintentionally carry with it such reflection upon many, which will be shown below.

Mahatmaji writes :

"This statement owes its inspiration to a personal chat with the inmates and associates of the Satyagraha Ashram who had just come out of prison and whom at Rajendra Babu's instance I had sent to Bihar. More especially is it due to a revealing information I got in the course of a conversation about a valued companion of long standing who was found reluctant to perform the full prison task, preferring his private studies to the allotted task. This was undoubtedly contrary to the rules of Satyagraha. More than the imperfection of the friend whom I love more than ever it brought home to me my own imperfections. The friend said he had thought that I was aware of his weakness. I was blind. Blindness in a leader is unpardonable. I saw at once that I must for the time being remain the sole representative of civil resistance in action.

"During the informal conference week at Poona in July last I had stated that while many individual civil resisters would be welcomed even one was sufficient to keep alive the message of Satyagraha. Now after much searching of the heart I have arrived at the conclusion that in the present circumstances only one, and that myself and no other, should for the time being bear the responsibility of civil resistance if it is to succeed as a means of achieving *purna swaraj*."

In practically calling off civil disobedience, Mahatmaji has done the right thing. After mass civil disobedience had been suspended after the informal Poona Conference, not many went in for individual civil disobedience. That showed that, whatever the reason, there was no longer much life left in the movement. So, instead of trying to keep up a mere formality or an outward

show, it was best practically to admit that the real thing no longer existed. That is how I, a mere onlooker, look at the matter. But Mahatmaji's reasons for henceforth bearing the whole burden of civil disobedience for Swaraj on his own shoulders are different.

Practically, his case for calling off civil disobedience for Swaraj rests on a single individual, "a valued companion of long standing," having done things "contrary to the rules of Satyagraha." I do not know the rules of Satyagraha. But Satyagraha had gone on for more than a decade, during which period tens of thousands, if not lakhs, have been its adherents. It is surprising that Mahatma Gandhi has only now, when the movement is at its lowest ebb, has discovered that there has not been a single true Satyagrahi, except perhaps himself. Numerous men and women among them have lost their all, have borne lathi charges of the police and military, have endured physical torments of various other kinds, and women satyagrahis or female relatives of satyagrahis or their neighbours have complained of having been dishonoured; and yet they have remained non-violent. As I write, the prison experiences of a brilliant young research student, narrated to me by himself, come to my mind. He related them to me quite calmly, without any resentment. I, an old man, could not help getting excited when listening to his story. But afterwards I came to think that he was an example of the miracle wrought by Satyagraha. There must be many such. Mahatma Gandhi is a great man, a good man, a saint, beyond compare in his own line. But so far as sacrifice and sufferings go, I humbly venture to think that there are numerous followers of his who have made very great sacrifices and suffered greatly, and, if Mahatmaji's fasts be not taken into consideration, their sufferings and sacrifices in India have been greater than his. In Indian jails Mahatmaji has lived in comparative comfort compared with the conditions of life of numerous civil disobedience prisoners.

From one solitary example of a person who preferred his private studies to the performance of the full prison task, Gandhiji comes to the conclusion that no one among his colleagues and followers is or is fit to be a true Satyagrahi. I do not mean any disrespect to him, but I cannot follow his logic. The very fact that so few Congressmen have complained of what has appeared to non-Congressmen to be unintentional injustice to many Satyagrahis on the part of Gandhiji, appears to show that there are very many true Satyagrahis who are above feeling resentment.

Mahatmaji says, "I was blind. Blindness in a leader is unpardonable." I do not know if such blindness is not a disqualification in or for a Satyagrahi.

Gandhiji proceeds:

"I feel that the masses have not received the full message of Satyagraha owing to its adultera-

tion in the process of transmission. It has become clear to me that spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media. Spiritual messages are self-propagating. The reaction of the masses throughout the Harijan tour has been the latest forcible illustration of what I mean. The splendid response of the masses has been spontaneous. The workers themselves were amazed at the attendance and the fervour of vast masses whom they had never reached.

"Satyagraha is a purely spiritual weapon. It may be used for what may appear to be mundane ends and through men and women who do not understand its spirituality provided the director knows that the weapon is spiritual. Everyone cannot use surgical instruments. Many may use them if there is an expert behind them directing their use. I claim to be a Satyagraha expert in the making. I have need to be far more careful than the expert surgeon who is a complete master of his science. I am still a humble searcher. The very nature of this science of Satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him."

There is and can be no question that Mahatmaji is far more spiritually advanced than the generality of men and the generality of non-co-operators. It is, therefore, no wonder that the masses have responded splendidly to his personally delivered appeal throughout his Harijan tour. But the wonder is that he has taken thirteen long years to discover that Satyagraha has reached the masses through "non-spiritual media." I know very few Satyagrahis or non-co-operators. It would be impudence on my part, therefore, to question Mahatmaji's diagnosis. But the conclusion seems irresistible that either the non-co-operators are a bad lot, or that Mahatmaji's standard being very exacting they appear worse than they are.

Mahatmaji states his conclusion thus, giving reasons:

"The introspection prompted by the conversation with the Ashram inmates has led me to the conclusion that I must advise all Congressmen to suspend civil resistance for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. They should leave it to me alone. It should be resumed by others in my lifetime only under my direction, unless one arises claiming to know the science better than I do and inspires confidence. I give this opinion as the author and initiator of Satyagraha. Henceforth, therefore, all who have been impelled to civil resistance for Swaraj under my advice, directly given or indirectly inferred, will please desist from civil resistance. I am quite convinced that this is the best course in the interest of India's fight for freedom.

"I am in deadly earnest about this greatest of weapons at the disposal of mankind. It is claimed for Satyagraha that it is a complete substitute for the violence of war. It is designed therefore to reach the hearts both of the so-called "terrorists" and the rulers who seek to root out the "terrorists" by emasculating the whole nation. But the indifferent civil resistance of many, grand as it has been in its results, has not touched the hearts either of the "terrorists" or the rulers

as a class. Unadulterated Satyagraha must touch the hearts of both. To test the truth of the proposition Satyagraha needs to be confined to one qualified person at a time. The trial has never been made. It must be made now.

"Let me caution the reader against mistaking Satyagraha for mere civil resistance. It covers much more than civil resistance. It means relentless search for truth and the power that such a search gives to the searcher. The search can only be pursued by strictly non-violent means."

As Gandhiji is the author and initiator of Satyagraha, no one will dispute his right to 'monopolize' its practice, particularly as its practice is neither pleasant nor profitable, in the popular and worldly sense. But is it a correct general proposition that the author and initiator of a science (say, surgery, which Gandhiji has named) is justified in preventing all others from pursuing it after allowing them to do so for a dozen years? Has no one acquired the necessary spiritual and other qualifications during this long period?

I long with all my heart for an effective substitute for war. It would be bliss for me to live to see the success of Satyagraha in preventing violence and achieving the results of violence.

As for touching the hearts of the rulers and the "terrorists," as I do not know either class, I cannot judge whether Satyagraha will really touch their hearts. I hope and believe that to the extent that they are human their hearts can be touched. But machines have no hearts. Therefore, if men become like parts of machines, they cannot respond to Satyagraha.

Not having been a civil resister or a Satyagrahi, I cannot quite understand how there can be among Congressmen many persons who are fit to offer civil resistance for the redress of specific grievances without there being a single one fit to offer it for the attainment of Swaraj. To be obliged to live under Other-raj because of the absence of Swa-raj is a comprehensive grievance, including all or most specific grievances. The difference between the former grievance and the latter grievances is mainly not of kind, but of magnitude and degree. For the redress of both by Satyagraha, it is necessary to touch the heart of the rulers. Therefore, it seems to me that, if there are many Congressmen fit to offer Satyagraha for the redress of specific grievances, there may be at least a few who are fit to undertake Satyagraha for the redress of the comprehensive grievance, mainly, absence of Swa-raj.

A programme for the "freed" civil resisters follows.

"What are the civil resisters thus freed to do if they are to be ready for the call whenever it comes? They must learn the art and the beauty of self-denial and voluntary poverty. They must engage themselves in nation-building activities, the spread of khaddar through personal hand spinning

and hand weaving, the spread of communal unity of hearts by irreproachable personal conduct towards one another in every walk of life, the banishing of untouchability in every shape or form in one's own person, the spread of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs by personal contact with individual addicts and generally by cultivating personal purity. These are services which provide maintenance on the poor man's scale. Those for whom the poor man's scale is not feasible should find a place in small unorganized industries of national importance which give a better wage.

"Let it be understood that civil resistance is for those who know and perform the duty of voluntary obedience to law and authority."

Mahatmaj's spiritual and ethical ideal is very high and beautiful. It is worthy of being pursued not only by Congressmen but by all men. His constructive programme of nation-building will do great good to the country if carried out. I could wish he had added the item of spread of education. Mere literacy may not have much value. But as a means to a great end, it is very valuable, and indispensable where large masses of men are concerned. So far as the religio-political atmosphere of the country is concerned, universal education cannot but be beneficial by destroying to some extent superstitious hero-worship.

It is to be noted that there is no purely and directly political item in the programme. Is the omission due to the fact that Gandhiji has resolved to eschew politics for one year? But that guess may be wrong. For his statements relating to the revival of the Swarajya party and Council-entry are politics.

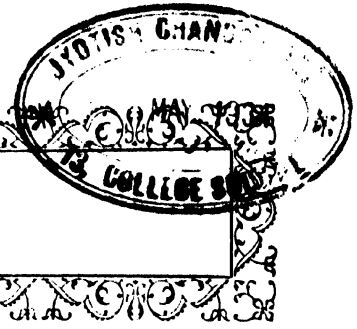
In conclusion Mahatmaji says:

"It is hardly necessary to say that in issuing this statement I am in no way usurping the function of the Congress. Mine is mere advice to those who look to me for guidance in matters of Satyagraha."

This is true. But to the generality of Congressmen Mahatmaji's advice is a mandate. There have been demands, no doubt, for a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress, a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, and a meeting of a plenary session of the Congress. Such meetings are desirable. If they are held and Mahatmaji attends them, it is more than probable that his "advice" will carry the day.

I cannot conclude this article without paying a tribute to Mahatmaji's self-control and spirit of detachment. Satyagraha, Civil Resistance, Non-cooperation were his spiritual offspring, on whose success high hopes were built. Yet their demise or suspension animation does not evoke a single sigh, a single note of sadness, or a single word of despondency. What utter cheerful resignation to the will of God! What faith in the ultimate triumph of Truth and Right and Justice!

# NOTES



## *Present Assembly's Verdict Would Be Worthless*

Calcutta morning papers of the 26th April contained the following telegram :

Simla, April 25

While a good deal of speculation is still going on as to the nature of the Government pronouncement to be made shortly regarding the life of the present Assembly, the "United Press" learns that extension will be granted to the Assembly for another year.

It is also revealed that the Press report about the supposed unanimity of the Willingdon Cabinet favouring dissolution is incorrect, inasmuch as at least two Indian members of the Executive Council are understood to have supported Sir Samuel Hoare in his contention that the Assembly should not be dissolved until it has given a favourable verdict on the Joint Select Committee report on constitutional reforms, which is likely to be published in August next.

One of the topics which is now being discussed most is what will the Swaraj Party do if their anticipation of a General Election is frustrated by the Government's non-dissolution decision.—United Press.

Congress is the best organized and the largest and most representative body in India. As Congress did not take part in the elections, through the Swarajya party, when the present Assembly was elected, it is a very inadequately representative legislative body. Moreover, its elected members were returned neither on the White Paper nor on the Joint Select Committee's report issue. For these reasons, should the Assembly be not dissolved now but, should be dissolved after it had given a favourable verdict on the Joint Select Committee's report, that verdict could not be taken as representing Indian public opinion. Should the Assembly be granted an extension for another year with the object stated in the telegram, it would not be unfair to consider such a move as an attempt to

hoodwink the British and the world public into the false belief that the Indian people approved of any constitution resembling that sketched out in the White Paper, or any other worse even than that.

For really ascertaining the true opinion of the people of India on the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report through the Assembly, a general election of the Assembly members should be held after the publication of that report, making the report the issue.

## *Waning and Waxing of Civil Disobedience and Terrorist Movements*

It is stated in the Government *Report on the Administration of Bengal 1932-33*, p. xviii :

"While the star of civil disobedience and the prestige of Congress were thus waning, numerous incidents illustrated the strength and the widespread nature of the terrorist movement."

Government cannot be accused of any partiality for either the civil disobedience or the terrorist movement. But has any connection between the waning of the one and the waxing of the other ever been suspected by the official mind? The lines quoted above seem to show that perhaps it has been.

## *"The Anticipated Effects of the Communal Award"*

Paragraph 488 of the latest Bengal Administration Report on the general tone of the Press concludes with the following two sentences :

"The most noticeable feature of the year was the growing cleavage between the Hindu and Moslem press, and the gradual disappearance of the nationalist section in the latter. The anticipated



effects of the Communal Award on the division between the two communities of powers to be transferred by the new constitution mainly contributed to this development." P. 175. [Italics ours. Editor, M. R.]

So it was *anticipated* that the "Communal Award" on the division of powers between Hindus and Moslems in the forthcoming constitution, would lead to growing cleavage between the Hindu and the Moslem press and the gradual disappearance of the nationalist section in the latter, which means, in other words, growing cleavage between Hindus and Moslems and the increasing scarcity of nationalists in the Muslim community! Anticipated by whom? It is a subtle psychological question whether what is anticipated is always also intended, when the anticipators and the authors of that of which the effect is anticipated are the same party.

The Report does not supply any clue to the identity of the anticipator or anticipators. The introduction to it states that

"The Report is published under the authority and with the approval of the Government of Bengal, but this approval does not necessarily extend to every particular expression of opinion."

Should the Bengal Government ever find itself in a tight corner on account of any expression of opinion in this Report, these words of the introduction would be useful as opening a backdoor for retreat.

### *Offences against Women*

The latest Bengal Administration Report observes on the subject of offences against women :

"On the 25th of August a circular letter appealing for funds was issued by the Women Protection Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha. This letter noted that 'there has been an alarming increase in the number of crimes against women in this Province. In most of these cases Hindu women are generally the victims'. The figures do not support either of these conclusions."

The Report then proceeds to give the figures.

"The total number of cases reported to the Police under sections 354, 366, 376 of the Indian Penal Code for each of the four years 1929-32 inclusive was 778, 697, 729, and 772 respectively. The total number of 'True' cases reported to the Police and the Magistracy combined for the same four years was 1029, 684, 690, and 821 respectively. The total number of persons arrested was 2006,

1389, 1552 and 1657 and the total number of persons convicted was 409, 402, 352, and 499. These figures speak for themselves."

They do indeed, but not as the writer of the Report would have it.

The Report admits that "the figures available may not reveal the full extent of" the evil. And in fact there are frequent complaints in the papers that the police do not record or take up all cases reported at thanas. Moreover, fear of social obloquy and excommunication and terrorism exercised by the offenders lead to the hushing up of not a few cases. But let us assume that the figures are accurate, and let us exclude from consideration the year 1929, which appears to have been abnormal for some reason or other. Then the figures for the years 1930, 1931 and 1932 respectively would stand thus: Cases reported to the Police, 697, 729 and 772; "True" cases reported to the Police and the Magistracy combined, 684, 690, and 821; and persons arrested 1389, 1552, and 1657. In the case of each of these sets of figures, there has been a steady increase from year to year. As regards the number of persons convicted, in 1929 the number was 409, which came down to 402 in 1930 and to 352 in 1931; but in 1932 it mounted up to 499, which is much larger than the figures for all the three previous years. So it is unquestionable that the figures for 1932 are in all cases greater than the figures for 1930. *Hence they do support the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha's statement that there has been an increase in the number of crimes against women in Bengal.* The Sabha obviously made the statement with reference to recent years, just preceding the date of the circular letter wherein it was made.

### BENGAL'S RECORD NOT WORST

The Report proceeds to observe that "the suggestion that Bengal's record is worse than that of other provinces is also refuted by the figures." It appears to be true that Bengal's record is not the worst, but one cannot really understand how the figures in the Report enable one to arrive at such a conclusion. For, nowhere in the Report are the figures for the other Provinces given to make comparison possible.

The figures for the Panjab, Bengal and U. P. are given below from the Police Administration Reports of those Provinces for 1932.

Province	Population	Crimes Against Women in 1932
Panjab	23,580,852	504
U. P.	48,408,763	711
Bengal	50,114,002	693

These figures show that, considering their respective population, of the three provinces for which alone we have got the figures before us, the record of the Panjab is the worst, the next blackest being that of the U. P. But the point is, not whose record is the most shameful but that the records of all are disgraceful, and every effort should and must be made to wipe away the disgrace everywhere.

#### THE COMMUNAL ASPECT OF THE SUBJECT

"With regard to the Communal aspect of the subject the figures are" :—

"For the years 1926-31 inclusive the number of Hindu victims was 324, 325, 304, 367, 362, and 338; while the number of Mahommedans was 191, 579, 657, 538 and 582 respectively. These figures show not only that there has been no appreciable increase in the number of Hindu women assaulted, but that more Mahommedan than Hindu women have suffered in this connection, and that it is in respect of the Mahommedan women that there has been some increase in the number of outrages."

In 1926 there were 324 *plus* 494 outrages or 818 in all. In 1931 there were 338 *plus* 582 outrages, or 920 in all. Hence these figures, too, show that there has been an alarming increase.

What we want is that there should be no outrages on women, no matter to what community they may belong. For gaining this object, Hindu brutes and Mussalman brutes should be punished with impartial severity and there should be an awakening of the public conscience in both the communities. But hitherto the agitation for special action and legislation by Government for putting down these crimes has been carried on by Hindus alone. Mussalman leaders and the Moslem press have repeatedly asserted that outrages on women very rarely, if at all, take place in the Moslem community and that the abduction of Hindu women is due generally to evil Hindu customs. The figures show that that is a wrong assertion. They ought to

rouse the Moslem conscience. If Hindu manners and customs were mainly responsible for the evil, why should it be greater in the Moslem community?

The Report goes on to state :

"It is noteworthy also that, while outrages by Mahommedan men upon Hindu women during each of these six years numbered 114, 122, 105, 114, 109, and 125 respectively, those perpetrated by Hindu men upon Hindu women totalled 205, 201, 198, 231, 234, and 194, respectively."

It would not be unnatural if the outrages upon Hindu women by Hindu scoundrels were really greater than those perpetrated on Hindu women by Moslem scoundrels. For Hindu men can mix with Hindu women more easily than Moslem men. But there is some reason to doubt whether the numbers of Hindu women victimized by Moslem men were really as low as the figures given in the Report would lead one to believe. For, in Hindu society the probability and fear of social obloquy, persecution and excommunication are greater in cases of abduction by Moslem men than by Hindu men, and consequently there is perhaps greater hushing up of cases of the former class than of the latter class.

The Report has given the figures of outrages on Hindu women perpetrated by Hindu men and Moslem men respectively, but it has suppressed the figures of outrages perpetrated on Moslem women by Hindu men and Moslem men respectively, obviously because the number of Moslem women victimized by Hindu rogues is much less than the number of Hindu women victimized by Moslem rogues and much less also than the number of Moslem women victimized by Moslem rogues. The *Sanjibani* of the 12th April last has published these figures from a voluminous statement placed on the library table of the Bengal Legislative Council some time ago by the Hon'ble Mr. Reid. These figures are given below.

#### OUTRAGES ON WOMEN BY MOSLEM SCOUNDRELS

Year	On Hindu Women	On Moslem Women	Total
1926	113	481	594
1927	122	576	
1928	104	460	564
1929	114	676	790
1930	104	531	635
1931	125	573	

## OUTRAGES ON WOMEN BY HINDU SCOUNDRELS

Year	On Hindu Women	On Moslem Women	Tot
1926	194	9	203
1927	201	3	204
1928	198	10	208
1929	236	8	244
1930	234	6	240
1931	197	3	200

The figures compiled above from the Hon'ble Mr. Reid's statement show that scoundrels belonging to the Moslem community perpetrate outrages on a far larger number of women than scoundrels belonging to the Hindu society.

We have referred to the communal aspect of these shameful offences because the Government Report has done so. We consider it disgraceful that Hindu society contains so many brutes. That according to Government statistics Moslem society contains scoundrels who perpetrate a far larger number of outrages does not in the least make it less binding on the Hindu community to fight the evil in its own ranks as well as in the entire population of Bengal. As regards the duty of the Moslem community, it had better be pointed out and laid down by the Moslem press and leaders.

#### SPECIAL ACTION AND LEGISLATION CERTAINLY REQUIRED

The Report observes in conclusion :

"While the evil undoubtedly exists and while the figures available may not reveal the full extent of it, they are nevertheless a sufficient indication of the truth to enable it to be said that special action or legislation by Government is not required at the present moment. The subject, however, is not one which can be disposed of by statistics. That such crimes are perpetrated is a blot on the province, and the sense of horror they evoke is a welcome sign of a rising public conscience."

If one-hundredth of the outrages committed on Indian women with their attendant horrible cruelties had been committed on European women, it is perfectly certain that the European community in India would have demanded that gang rape, if not also rape of all kinds, and abduction and kidnapping of women in cases where the victims cannot be found, should be made capital offences, and Government would have lost no time in meeting the demands.

Government seem to take their stand on

the fact that offences against women are not increasing. We have shown from their own figures that the evil has been on the increase, and we shall quote from the Police Administration Report of Bengal to show that we are right. But assuming that the evil is not increasing, it can neither be contended that it is decreasing. And, therefore, we assert most emphatically that special action and special legislation are undoubtedly required to fight the evil. Pious platitudes like those quoted above will not do.

#### "LIES, DAMNED LIES AND STATISTICS"

The Report rightly says that "the subject" "is not one which can be disposed of by statistics." Far less can it be disposed of by the kind of statistical information against which the British proverbial classification of lies, "lies, damned lies and statistics," is aimed.

#### BLOT ON WHOM ?

The fact that such crimes are perpetrated is undoubtedly a blot on the province, as the Report says. But that is only part of the truth. It is a blot on the Government also.

It is also true that the sense of horror they evoke is a welcome sign of a rising public conscience. It would be a far more welcome sign if the word "public" included all sections of the public, and if one could be sure that the administrative machine had fully realized the seriousness of the evil.

#### *Increase in Offences Against Women Officially Admitted.*

While the latest Bengal Administration Report has made an unsuccessful attempt to show that crimes against women have not been increasing in Bengal, the latest Report on Police Administration in Bengal expressly states that *these crimes have increased*. The exact words are quoted below.

"The increase of 94 cases under this head is most noticeable, Burdwan, Nadia and Hoogly being the worst contributors with increases of 21, 20 and 17 cases, respectively." P. 23.

The Government Resolution on this Police Administration Report contains the following paragraph :

"His Excellency in Council notes that cases of offence committed against women under sections

363 and 351. Indian Penal Code, showed an increase of 94 over the figure of the previous year—Birlwan, Nalla and Houghly being the main contributors." P. 2.

If the reader is puzzled to find differences in the figures given in the Bengal Administration Report, Bengal Police Administration Report and Mr. Reid's statement, the fault is not ours.

### *One Small Reason for Council Enfranchise*

Allegations of oppression and ventilation of grievances have been made very difficult and risky, if not wholly impracticable, at public meetings and in the columns of newspapers. The only places where this can be done with some amount of freedom are the council chambers. But there, too, it is only members who possess courage and a spirit of independence who can serve the public in this way. Hence, the larger the number of Congressmen there whom fear of imprisonment and lathi-charges has not deterred from doing their duty according to their lights, the better.

It is no doubt true that often, if not in every case, even if a member brings very serious complaints to the notice of the Government in the council chamber, no public inquiries are made to ascertain the truth or falsity of the complaints, and newspapers do not publish these complaints for fear of the law or of the press officer. A case in point is the number of very serious allegations contained in Mr. S. C. Mitra's speech in the Legislative Assembly on the 19th March last, which is printed in full in the official report of the proceedings of the Assembly, pages 2498-2502, and pages 2506-2512. In the newspapers this speech has been dismissed in a few lines. The speech related mainly to what had been alleged to have done to houses and other property and to many men and women in several villages in Midnapur by soldiers and the police. But these allegations appear to be considered so trifling that even the Government members of the Departments concerned were not present to hear them! No wonder that public investigations are not made, and Sir Samuel Hoare answers light-heartedly in the House of Commons, when questioned, that

the allegations are either entirely unfounded or are exaggerated. If a true son of India were in the House of Commons as an M. P., he might have challenged Sir Samuel to state which of the allegations were unfounded and which exaggerated. If any allegations are unfounded, there the matter ends. But if any are exaggerated, there is at least a grain of truth in them. What action is taken by the Government to redress this grain of grievance?

If there is really oppression anywhere, it is better that at least some members of legislatures should hear of them than that the news should be entirely suppressed. And if the Houses ever came to contain an appreciable number of would-be free citizens, they might at least move a resolution demanding an open public inquiry into allegations of oppression like beating of men and women, rape, theft, destruction of property, etc., by soldiers or other public servants.

### *Police officials Receive Condign Punishment—But in Germany!*

The Nazi Government has been criticized unsparingly when it deserved such criticism. But let it have well-merited praise, too, for at least one example of even-handed justice, *v. g.*, the following case:

Berlin, April 6.

Dragonic sentences were imposed at Stettin Court on three police officials for maltreating persons in the Concentration Camp at Bredow near Stettin, which is now closed.

Hoffman, the chief detective, was given thirteen years' hard labour, another five years' hard labour and the third five years' ordinary imprisonment. Various civilians, charged with the same offences, received sentences ranging from ten to two years' imprisonment. The trial was held in camera. Reuter.

We forget what punishment, if any, was inflicted on those who were responsible for the shooting down of some detenus at the Hijli detention camp. Was it hanging, or thirteen or five years' hard labour or ordinary imprisonment?

### *Condemnation of the White Paper But not of the Communal Award!*

There is an endeavour going on for a united Hindu-Moslem front against the White Paper scheme, but not against that part

(though an essential part) of it which is based on the communal "award." The White Paper scheme has given very little power to the Indian people, and what little power has been given to them has been deliberately withheld from the Hindus as far as practicable, and given to the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Moslems. The Hindus, who form three-fourths of the population of British India, and an absolute majority of the population of India, have been proposed to be reduced by that scheme to the position of an impotent and insignificant minority, and the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Moslems, with the ruling princes, have been proposed to be given *statutorily* the powers of the majority. Apart from the grave injustice to the Hindus involved in the White Paper scheme and apart from its thoroughly anti-national and undemocratic character, the communal "award" has divided India into various big and small mutually antagonistic groups—sex being pitted against sex, religious community against religious community, occupational class against occupational class, racial group against racial group and one Hindu caste-group against another Hindu caste-group. So even if the proposed united Hindu-Moslem front of the kind indicated above succeeded in extorting the substance of independence or dominion status from the British Parliament and people, of which there is not the least likelihood under the present "National" British Government, it would still mean that India would be a land of warring groups which would not coalesce into a Nation. For that reason alone, if not for any other, the substance of independence, nay even independence itself, would not be desirable, if the condition precedent for obtaining it were the acceptance of the communal award.

We have said that even if the Hindus and Moslems presented a united front of the kind proposed, the British National Government now in power would not agree to the transfer of more power to the Indian people than has been proposed to be given to them in the White Paper scheme. On the contrary, the Tory Die-hards want more safe-guards or restrictions to be introduced in the future constitution of India.

But supposing any Hindu leader or leaders

accepted the communal "award" for the sake of a so-called Hindu-Moslem Unity, what would be the result? To the extent of his or their Hindu following, the Hindus would be taken by the world public to be a people who do not know their own minds and who are capable of temporizing and forswearing themselves; for, hitherto, except some, not all, "depressed" Hindus, the Hindu community as a whole has condemned the communal "award."

So, the first result of any Hindu leaders accepting the communal award would be that the thinking public in India and abroad would cease to have any respect for the character, intelligence and political wisdom of the Hindus.

Another result would be that the Government would make a higher bid for Moslem support. It has not been forgotten that when the Unity Conference proposed to reserve 32 per cent of the seats in the central legislature for the Moslems, Sir Samuel Hoare lost no time to offer them 33 1/3 per cent, and when the Unity Conference agreed to the separation of Sindh under some conditions the same British functionary declared unconditionally that Sindh would be separated. Hence, any effort to secure a united Hindu-Moslem front of the kind proposed would only foster this auctioneering spirit. And it is no injustice to the Muslims to say that, *perhaps* with a few exceptions, they, being "realists," not sentimentalists or idealists, would accept the highest bid, namely, that of the ruling party, and consequently there would not be any united front.

A third result would be that the Hindus would be further divided among themselves. For there are numerous Hindus who would never accept the communal "award" even if Mahatma Gandhi, not to speak of any lesser leader, were to accept it. They would form a very large and influential section. And there would not in effect be any united Hindu-Moslem front, but only a combination of a section of the Hindus with the Moslems. Such a combination is not likely to succeed in extorting any appreciable amount of political power from the British Government.

It is a glorious privilege and duty of man to be in the minority of even one for the sake of Truth and Right. If Truth and Right

demand it, one should not mind separation from one's own family, class, community, people or nation. But the communal "award" is the negation of Truth and Right and Principle. And, therefore, no Indian, no Hindu, ought to further divide or sub-divide his community by accepting, even temporarily, this poisonous rotten thing.

Remember, Mahatma Gandhi risked his life by fasting to prevent the separation of the "depressed" class Hindus from other Hindus, as the original communal "award" would have had the effect of bringing about. It is very likely that the suggested acceptance of the communal "award" by some Hindus, if the suggestion were acted up to, would bring about a further division of the Hindu community into more groups. Whether Mahatma Gandhi would fast to prevent such division or to re-unite the groups, after such division, is more than we know or can anticipate.

It has been attempted to be shown in the foregoing paragraphs of this note that there cannot be a Hindu-Moslem combination of the kind proposed, and that even if there be a combination of that sort of Moslems with some Hindus, it will not succeed in getting any appreciable political concessions from Britain for India. But supposing such a combination of some Hindus with the Moslems succeeded in getting more power from the ruling race on the understanding that the communal "award" would remain intact, what would be the result?

The result would be that the Hindus, the majority community of India, would be reduced to the position of an even more helpless and powerless minority than the White Paper proposes to reduce them to, and political power would continue to be practically monopolized by the minority consisting of Moslems, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and the ruling princes; and hence, it is the minority which would become more powerful, and the majority would grow relatively more powerless. We do not lay stress on the mere fact of the Hindus being the majority community and on the fact of that majority community being reduced to the position of a powerless minority. But we do lay stress on the fact that the powerlessness of the Hindus would be

a calamity for India, because the Hindu community contains the majority of the nationalists, the patriots, the intelligentsia, and of the public-spirited, able, and self-sacrificing men and women possessed of a spirit of altruism and independence.

Let us hope that, if Mahatma Gandhi cannot unsettle the communal "award," he will try his utmost to prevent and succeed in preventing further injury being done to the national cause by the acceptance of that so-called "award" by any of his Hindu and other followers.

The acceptance of a thing makes its future repudiation difficult. There is just a possibility—it may not be a probability—of India getting a democratic constitution when the Labour party next comes into real power in Britain. Our non-acceptance of the communal "award" and persistent agitation for its annulment and for the introduction of democratic Swaraj would help that party. But acceptance of that so-called award would hamper even those members of that party who are most enthusiastic advocates of self-rule for India.

### *Some Sanatanists and Mahatma Gandhi*

It would be doing a grave injustice to Sanatanists in general to assume that as a body they are in favour of violence and prone to act foolishly. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a Sanatanist, and has just presided over a Sanatanist conference. It is well known that he is entirely against any Sanatanists using physical force against those who are called reformers. He is the very personification of sweet reasonableness. And there are many Sanatanists of lesser note and unknown to fame, who resemble him in these respects. It is to be hoped that persons like him and them would be able to restrain the fury of foolish so-called Sanatanists against Mahatma Gandhi and his followers.

We use the word "foolish" deliberately. It is really foolish to think that a man like Mahatma Gandhi can be prevented from acting according to his convictions by the fear of death. Both deductive and inductive reasoning should lead one to this conclusion. If Gandhiji had never been subjected or threatened

to be subjected to fatal assaults, from his character alone one could infer that fear of death would not deter him from doing his duty. But he has in the past actually been assaulted several times, which might have ended fatally, without being deflected from his chosen path by a hair's breadth.

Moreover, if Gandhiji could be frightened into giving up the cause of the "untouchables," which is unthinkable, or killed and removed from the scene of his consecrated labours, others would take up the work with re-doubled zeal. And with or without workers for the cause from among the ranks of the "touchables," it is bound to triumph. Hinduism will not die. Harijans will become respected members of the Hindu community and will not only keep it from dying but add to its vitality and strength.

Argue with and against Mahatmaji by all means. But baculine arguments directed against him are of no use.

### *Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on Untouchability*

At the seventh session of the Panjab Provincial Sanatan Dharma Conference, held last month at Rawalpindi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered his presidential address extempore. The greater portion of his address was devoted to a discussion of the problem of untouchability as at present understood.

Quoting extracts from the Scriptures the Pandit impressed upon the audience that untouchability as practised at present was never sanctioned by the Vedas or sastras. No untouchability existed in congregations, melas, tirthas, temples, schools and on the roads. Every human being had a right to have 'darshan' of the deity.

It is cheering to learn from an orthodox Hindu scholar like the Pandit that the Vedas and the other sastras do not sanction untouchability. But whether they sanction it or not, it is bound to disappear entirely. It has been disappearing gradually. The Hindus do not follow the Vedas or the other sastras in many vital things where strict adherence to the scriptures would have done them great good. Therefore, even if the scriptures did sanction the evil custom of untouchability, it would not have been

consistent, logical or right for them to adhere to it.

Of course every human being has a right to have *darshan* (sight) of images or idols of gods and goddesses. Hindus in many places have gone further. In the festivals of the worship of the goddesses Durga and Sarasvati in many places the actual worship has been performed by Hindus of the non-Brahman "depressed" castes officiating as priests, and the food offered and afterwards partaken of by Hindus of various castes including Brahmans, Namasudras, etc., sitting together, has been cooked by "depressed" class Hindus. Such festivals have not been followed by any untoward results.

Referring to the bills now before the Central Legislature in this connection, the Pandit declared he was opposed to all of them on principle and would strain every nerve to get them withdrawn. He would not like the intervention of Government in religious matters. The Legislative Assembly, constituted as it was of Muslims, Christians, Parsis and others, had not the right, the Pandit contended, to pass any bill regarding temple entry, which was a purely sanatanist measure.

That is too comprehensive a subject to be discussed in the course of a note. We, too, are opposed to the interference of the Government or the Legislature in religious matters, except in matters involving considerations of humanity and morality, as *Suttee*, infanticide, etc. But we do not see any objection to legislation of a permissive character and to legislation which removes some legal powerlessness on the part of temple-trustees to admit "untouchable" worshippers to temples.

Concluding the Pandit appealed to Sanatanists to work for the betterment of the oppressed and depressed classes. He, however, struck a note of warning against over-zealous reformers using compulsion or coercion in the matter of temple entry by untouchables and urged them not to commit any action likely to injure the feelings of the orthodox section of Sanatanists.

Both Sanatanists and reformers should work for the welfare of the lowly, not as patrons and benefactors, but in a brotherly spirit. Just as over-zealous reformers should refrain from compulsion or coercion, so should fanatical Sanatanists refrain from doing what was recently done at Buxar and Baidyanath-Deoghar to break the heads of Mahatma Gandhi and his followers.

It is encouraging that Pandit Madan

Mohan Malaviya is with the reformers up to a certain point.

### *Mahatma Gandhi Welcome to Bengal*

Mahatma Gandhi is in modern times the greatest among the workers for the uplift of the poor, the lowly and the "depressed." He would, therefore, be cordially and enthusiastically welcomed to Bengal on the occasion of his tour in the province this month. We join with all others in welcoming him and wish all success to his philanthropic labours. We feel, however, that his tour will be all too brief and will not include many districts. We do not refer to Midnapur. We know that he is hard-pressed for time, but hope that on the next occasion he will be able to visit the districts, omitted from his tour programme this time.

### *The Late Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair*

Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair, who passed away last month at the age of 77, was a man of strong personality, varied talents and many achievements in different spheres of activity.

Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair, B. A., B. L., C. I. E., was born on July 11, 1857; educated at Madras Presidency College; High Court vakil; Government pleader and public prosecutor to the Government of Madras; Advocate-General; Judge High Court, Madras; for many years a member of the Madras Legislative Council; president of the Indian National Congress at Amraoti; president of the Indian Social Conference at Madras; president of the Indian Industrial Exhibition, Madras; founder and for some time editor, the *Madras Review*, the *Madras Law Journal* and the daily newspaper *Madras Standard*; member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, 1915-1919; member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India 1919-1921; elected member, Council of State, Nov. 1925; chairman of the Central Legislature Committee which sat with the Simon Commission, 1928; author of *Gandhi and Anarchy*, which involved him in a libel suit filed against him by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

We remember with gratitude that Sir Sankaran Nair contributed to *The Modern Review* for March, 1914, an article on "Village Government in Southern India," in which he said:

"Representative government is so constantly alleged to be abhorrent to the spirit of the East that I shall quote in extenso the rules for election for one of those [village] assemblies from the report of the archaeological superin-

tendent for 1904-5, pp. 131-145. These rules are said to have been promulgated in A. D. 918-919 and 920-921."

He concluded the article with the remarks:

"It is interesting to observe that ladies were eligible for election and a lady was a member of a committee of justice. (Report for 1910, section 35, p. 98.) Other village assemblies appear to have consisted of cultivators and merchants. The archaeological superintendent surmises that the same rules applied to them, except knowledge of the Vedas. (Report for 1912-13, p. 98.)

"After this who can say that representative institutions and self-government are a foreign importation?"

### *The Late Mr. Kumud Nath Chaudhuri*

Mr. Kumud Nath Chaudhuri, barrister-at-law, was a distinguished lawyer of the Calcutta High Court and a brother of the late Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri. *Shikar* was his hobby, and as a *shikari* he had bagged many a tiger and other wild animals. During the last Easter holidays he went to the Kalahandi forest for shooting tigers, though he was about 70. Unfortunately he was fatally mauled by a wounded tiger. He was the author of a book and many articles on *shikar*.

### *The Late Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose*

Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose had served Government for long years as an officer of the Geological Survey of India. In spite of his meritorious services, he was superseded by a European officer. For this reason he retired early, though he could have served longer. In the sphere of geological work he will be remembered as the discoverer of iron ore in the Gorumahishani hills in the Mayurbhanj State. This discovery of his lies at the foundation of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur.

Mr. Bose was a widely read thinker and was the author of several books on Indian civilization and culture. He was the protagonist of Indian cultural swaraj. Having been educated in Britain, he lived and dressed like a European



during the period of his service and some years afterwards. But latterly, for long years, his dress and personal habits were like those of a Bengali who had never received English education. This change was deliberate and the result of conviction. He lived to be about 80. Years ago he was good enough to contribute several articles to *The Modern Review*.

### *Reward for Bibi Harnam Kaur*

Miss Harnam Kaur, a Sikh girl of the Panjab, bravely offered resistance to a gang of dacoits in spite of receiving two gunshot wounds. Two of the dacoits died and one was captured, while her father also died in the encounter. Her brother also received serious injuries. Brother and sister are still in hospital. They are to receive Government rewards in cash (Rs. 2000 each) and lands. The public also should honour and reward their heroism in a suitable manner.

### *"Political Outrages in India"*

NEW DELHI, April 26.

The Council of State met today to discuss the Trade Disputes Extending Bill, the Sugar Excise Duty Bill and the Sugar Cane Bill.

During the interpellation hour the Home Secretary informed Mr. Jagadish Banerjee that the total number of political outrages in India from 1931 to February, 1934, was 329 of which 210 was in Bengal. Of these 210 outrages in Bengal 13 were murderous outrages, 37 were attempts at outrages, 76 were dacoities, 10 were bomb throwing and one armed raid. The total number of officials killed and injured in India during this period was 193 of which Bengal was responsible for 111.—"United Press."

In March last Sir Harry Haig stated in the Legislative Assembly that Bengal had the monopoly of political outrages. That was not quite accurate. Political outrages have taken place in the rest of India, too, though not so many as in Bengal. It would be good for Bengal and good for India, if some disinterested competent party studied the aetiology of political outrages in India and their greater prevalence in Bengal and discovered remedies.

### *Proposal to Lighten Britain's Philanthropic Burdens !*

The South African Whites have come forward in quite a fraternal spirit with a

proposal to lighten Great Britain's philanthropic burdens ! Reuter telegraphs :

LONDON, April 26.

The possibilities of an inter-Imperial controversy have been opened up by an announcement of General Hertzog in the South African Parliament that the Government proposed sending a note to Britain urging the immediate transference of the native Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland to the Union.

The procedure by which such a change may be effected has been laid down in the Union of South Africa Act and the advocates of the change maintain that the British Government have failed to develop the Protectorates, which have been left in a backward state.

The natives themselves, however, are strongly opposed to the transference, while the opposition likely to be offered in certain quarters in Britain is indicated by the comment of the "Manchester Guardian," which urges that there can be no question of entertaining the request, unless the Union adopts a more liberal native policy.

As if Britain's own "native policy" has always everywhere been and still is "liberal" !

The record of the dealings of the whites with the black races in Africa is black.

### *Travancore Sanctuary for Animals*

Travancore has taken suitable measures to establish an animal sanctuary on the shores of the Periyar Lake extending up to Peermade and for this purpose it is proposed not to allow any shooting on the highlands for a period of five years.

Unlike in many places in Northern India where animal reserves are mainly intended for shooting purposes, it is His Highness the Maharaja's intention to have the animal reserves on the Travancore highlands to enable visitors from all over the world to see the wild animals leading their natural lives. Owing to indiscriminate shooting in the past several species have been completely exterminated and the Government have decided to revive the rare fauna which once abounded in Travancore forests.

His Highness the Maharaja had on more than one occasion gone to the highlands to see for himself how this could be best effected and on every occasion he cruised Periyar lake on board the State steam launch. His Highness had witnessed herds of bison, sambar and even tigers very near the shores of the lake.—A. P.

### *Oriya Authors Honoured*

Berhampore (Ganjam.)

The All-Utkal Oriya Poet's Conference was held here last week, Raja Sahib of Dharacote presiding. A large number of poets and scholars from different parts of Orissa and Ganjam attended.

After Mr. M. S. Panigrahi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, had welcomed the poets, the Raja Sahib of Dharacote opened the conference.

Mr. Gopal Chandra Praharaj, author of the

Oriya Encyclopaedia, and the Raja Sahib of Chikati, a reputed author, were presented with separate addresses of welcome, referring to their valuable contributions to Oriya literature.

In connection with the conference several unpublished works, oil paintings and best works of art were exhibited.

A resolution condoling the death of the late Mr. M. S. Das was unanimously passed. — *United Press*.

We have seen the first three volumes of Mr. Gopal Chandra Praharaj's encyclopaedic dictionary of the Oriya language. In reviewing it in our last number, we have said that this dictionary will be of use not only to those whose mother-tongue is Oriya but also to those whose mother-tongue is Bengali or Hindi. Bengali and Oriya are in fact so akin that, if both were written in the same script, this dictionary could be easily adapted as a Bengali dictionary. If the same script were used for writing Hindi, Hindi lexicographers could also use it.

The close kinship of Oriya and Bengali has been known to me for a long time. It was brought home to me afresh when I went to Cuttack last year to take part in the local Rammohun Roy centenary celebrations. I could follow the speeches in Oriya of three gentlemen and a lady almost throughout, and although I delivered all my speeches in Cuttack in Bengali, except one, among the audience, consisting for the most part of Oriya gentlemen and ladies, only one gentleman complained that he could not follow me—and he was a Telugu-speaking young gentleman from the Ganjam district.

### *Tagore's Visit to Ceylon*

On the 3rd of this month the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and party will start for Colombo, arriving there on the 9th. The party will consist of more than 20 persons in all, some sailing to Colombo and others journeying by rail. The Poet will stay in Ceylon for about a month and a half, during which period he will deliver a few addresses at Colombo, and *Shapamochana*, a drama by him, will be staged on four nights by the professors and students accompanying him. An exhibition of the arts and crafts of the Visvabharati at Santiniketan and Sriniketan will also be held. The Poet, his son, daughter and daughter-in-law, Principal Nanda Lal Bose, other professors

and the boy and girl students are likely afterwards to pay visits to the principal historical and other famous places in the island. The Sinhalese will thus have a rare opportunity of being acquainted with Bengali culture in some of its principal phases.

### *Japanese Ambition*

How Japan attacked and dismembered the Chinese Republic and practically became the owner of Manchuria and some other regions which had been Chinese territory before, and how the Western exploiters of China and the League of Nations simply looked on but did not or could not give any other help to China than words, words, words, though both those Asiatic countries were members of the League, is recent history. That history does not reveal Japan's pacifism. But last month Japan posed as the maintainer of peace in the Orient!

TOKIO, April 18.

What is interpreted bluntly in the press as a warning to the world to keep its hands off China is contained in a statement issued by the Foreign Office in connection with reports of proposals for joint international assistance to China. The statement declares that Japan deems it her natural responsibility to maintain the peace of the Orient. In view of the fact that the restoration of order in China depends on China herself, Japan will oppose any action by the Chinese Government contrary to the peace of the Orient. Furthermore, Japan will be forced to oppose any measure of other powers likely to lead to a disturbance of the peace of the Orient like providing China with military planes, military instructors and political loans. — *Reuter*.

This means, not that Japan really desires to maintain the peace of the Orient, but that she will not allow any other power to prevent her from breaking the peace whenever she likes. Hence she is speaking as if China were her vassal and she herself was the suzerain of all Asia and the islands in the Pacific Ocean and all regions bordering on it. She desires that China should remain entirely at her mercy. Hence she objects to that country being provided with military planes, military instructors and political loans. China as a sovereign state has every right to provide herself with these for defensive purposes. But even if she wanted these for purposes of aggression, an aggressive nation like Japan would have no moral right to assume airs of injured innocence and sermonize, because

when Japan attacked China, she turned a deaf ear to all ethical dissuasion. China, however, has no aggressive designs on any other state; she wants only to be equipped for defence, and that is what she has said in reply to the Japanese declaration.

NANKING, April 19.

No State has the right to claim an exclusive responsibility for the maintenance of peace in any part of the world, declares a Foreign Office statement in reply to the Japanese declaration yesterday.

China, as a member of the League, desires to promote international co-operation, peace and security, but does not intend to injure the interests of any country, far less disturb peace in the Far East. The collaboration between China and other countries, whether financial or in the form of technical assistance, has been non-political and the purchase of military equipment and employment of foreign military instructors have been solely for national defence.

But "national defence" on the part of China is exactly what Japan does not like and wants to prevent.

China's declaration of her pacific intentions and her assertion of her independent political status were followed by a hypocritical "disclaimer" on the part of Japan:

TOKIO, April 20.

A disclaimer that Japan has any intention of interfering with the interests of other Powers engaged in trade beneficial to China has been made by a Foreign Office spokesman with reference to the statement. Japan has no intention of deviating from the policy of open door and equal opportunity to all nations in China or interfering with the independence of China. Japan desires unification and prosperity of China, which must be obtained by China's awakening, not by selfish exploitation by other Powers. The time has passed when other Powers in the League can exercise influence for the exploitation of China.—Reuter.

Of course, "Japan has no intention of deviating from the policy of open door and equal opportunity to all nations in China"! Only she wishes to be in a position to shut the open door against others whenever it may be necessary in her own interests. Similarly, she does not want to interfere with the independence of China. Only she will not allow China to exercise that independence to obtain from other countries whatever help she stands in need of for her "unification and prosperity"—for maintaining her integrity. Precious independence! The Japanese desire for the "*unification and prosperity of China*" has been clearly proved by the creation of Manchuria as

a separate independent (?) state. It would have been all right if Japan prevented other Powers from exploiting China in the interests of China. But the fact is, Japan wants to monopolize the exploitation of China.

Meanwhile other Powers look on as if in abject impotence, as before. Consider the British attitude.

LONDON, April 23.

In the House of Commons Sir John Simon faced a storm of questions on the subject of Japan's "hands off China" announcement on April 18.

Sir John Simon replied that he had not received any notification to that effect from Japan but the British Ambassador had cabled the text of the informal verbal statement made to the Japanese Press by a spokesman of the Foreign Office.

Sir John Simon said the statement apparently was inspired by apprehension of certain dangers to peace and good relations between China and Japan which might follow certain action by other Powers in China.

Sir John Simon declared that no such dangers were to be apprehended from the British policy. He, however, had communicated with the Japanese Government with the object of clarifying the position of His Majesty's Government in consequence of the spokesman's reference to objections to financial assistance to China. Reuter.

*"Dangers to peace and good relations between China and Japan"* might follow if other Powers acted in China as her friends! Peace and good relations can be maintained by China by licking the boots of the powerful aggressor and by the other Powers not doing anything to disturb this dignified Sino-Japanese tableau vivant.

John Bull is such a good boy and is so polite to persons armed with the big stick that "Sir John Simon declared that no such dangers were to be apprehended from the British policy." And it is really true that British manufacturers of war materials will not be so partial to China as to sell these only to China; but, if war were to break out between Japan and China, they will, as before, supply arms and ammunition to both the countries impartially to the extent of their respective powers to pay cash.

A further message from London is printed below.

LONDON, April 23.

The British communication to Japan on the latter's sensational warning indirectly addressed to the Powers regarding their policy in China has been despatched to the British Ambassador, Tokio, for delivery to the Foreign Office. There has been no direct notification by Japan to Britain regarding the new Japanese attitude. It is understood that British

communication is chiefly a reaffirmation of Britain's position, especially under the Nine-Power Treaty. —Reuter.

From the Chinese point of view, there does not seem to be any hope of help from the predominant partner in the League of Nations. Nothing is so far known about the attitude of France, Italy, etc. Outside the League the wealthiest and strongest Power is the United States of America. The American attitude is indicated in the message printed below.

WASHINGTON, April, 24.

It is definitely indicated that the United States intends, at least for the present, to remain a mute by-stander in any international complications arising out of Japan's statement of policy regarding China.—Reuter.

### *Japan's "Hands off China" Policy*

Since writing our note on "Japan's Ambition" we have found some more telegrams relating to Japan's "Hands off China" policy, subsequently published in the dailies. One of them runs thus :

TOKIO, April 26.

The desire for direct Sino-Japanese negotiations on the pending problems was expressed by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Hirota, in an interview with the Chinese Minister, General Changtso-pin. Mr. Hirota said that a solution as early as possible was vital to peace in the Far East.

Clarifying and upholding the 'hands off China' statement, Mr. Hirota stated that there was a manifestation of sentiment in China which was not very pleasant. He declared that part of the Japanese statement was somewhat strongly worded but the Japanese Government would support its substance and spirit and hoped that the Chinese Government and people would co-operate, as both countries were responsible for peace in the Far East.

In the meanwhile, according to the Rengo Agency, Japanese official circles are giving serious attention to the reports that China has already purchased 13 aeroplanes from Italy and that two Italian instructors are teaching at the Nanchang aviation school and Germans are planning the establishment of an aeroplane factory in the same vicinity.

What Mr. Hirota has said in his interview with the Chinese Minister does not make it necessary for us to withdraw or modify any of our observations in the note on Japan's ambition.

As for China buying aeroplanes from Italy and Italy supplying them and China engaging Italian instructors of aviation, that is what all independent countries have a right to do.

Japan herself will, it has been reported, greatly augment her air power in the course of three years. If China has really purchased aeroplanes and engaged Italian instructors and allowed Germans to make preparations for the establishment of an aeroplane factory in China, that would mean some sort of warlike preparation, defensive or offensive, or both. We heartily dislike war. But the proposition cannot be agreed to that it is the strong and the victorious alone who have the right to make military preparations on an increasing scale, but that the weak and the defeated have no right to become stronger in order to prevent further defeat in future.

Britain and France have dependencies and colonies in and near Asia, which are open to reprisals on the part of Japan. America has the Philippines in the Pacific to think of. Italy and Germany have no such territories in Asia. Hence Italy and Germany can do things to help China which Britain, France, U. S. A. cannot think of doing, unless compelled to by special circumstances in defence of their own interests. Holland also has a considerable stake in Asia and, therefore, must needs think thrice before giving offence to Japan directly or indirectly.

Besides the possession of territory in Asia, some of the powers mentioned above have stakes in China itself, as the following telegram indicates :

LONDON, April 26.

Arising from the Japanese 'hands off China' announcement it is pointed out authoritatively that the British investments in Shanghai are three and a half times those of Japan. In China proper British investments total £197,000,000, that is 56 per cent. of the total foreign investments, as against £74,000,000 of Japan, which is 21 per cent. of the total, and the United States' £32,000,000 or nine per cent. of the total.

The British Ambassador in U. S. A. has explained the British position to the proper party in Washington.

WASHINGTON, April 27.

Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British ambassador, discussed the Japanese situation with Mr. Phillips, Under-Secretary of State, for half an hour in the State department this evening; and it is understood communicated to Mr. Phillips the authentic text of Britain's note to Japan and explained Britain's position. It is learned from authoritative sources that the United States has not taken any definite diplomatic action in the matter and has not sent any official communication to Japan or other signatories to the Nine-Power Treaty. There is no

indication that any immediate action is contemplated.

Some reasons for the French attitude have been stated above. Further indications of that attitude can be gathered from the following telegram :

PARIS, April 27.

Official circles are extremely reserved in regard to the reported Japanese statements of policy *vis-à-vis* China. The exact extent of the Japanese policy and aim is not clearly understood and it is believed that in the absence of authoritative indications France will hold her hand on the ground that Britain and the United States are more directly interested.

If any country states that its inaction in any matter is due to its interests not being affected, it is an honest statement.

Nations are generally chivalrous, generous, just, friendly, neighbourly, and so on, when it is to their interest to be so. They are never so, if by being chivalrous, etc., their interests are sure or even likely to be affected.

### *Temple Entry and Untouchability Bills*

The same page of the same issue of an Indian daily newspaper contains the following two items of news :

AJMER, April 19.

The commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara requested the president of the Hindu Sabha, Ajmer, to express his opinion on the Hindu Temple Entry Disabilities Removal Bill. The president placed the Bill before the Hindu Sabha as well as the Rajputana Provincial Hindu Sabha, and both the bodies have unanimously supported the Bill.

RAWALPINDI, April 25.

The Panjab Sanatan Dharma Conference adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution opposing bills relating to temple entry and the abolition of untouchability on the ground that they constituted Government interference in a purely Sanatanist matter.

When the opinions of different Hindu representative organizations differ as poles asunder, perhaps the best course is to follow reason.

The greatest weight should be attached to the opinion of the depressed classes, who are the aggrieved party, and to that of Mahatma Gandhi, their greatest spokesman.

The Sanatanists could have made and still can make the Bills which are obnoxious to them unnecessary by throwing temples, etc., open to the 'untouchables' and by removing untouchability in other directions.

### *The Redistribution of Provinces*

On account of the obvious fact that the greater the number of provinces the larger would be the expenditure on account of the multiplication of the number of governors, directors of this department and that, secretaries, etc., and of big buildings and their upkeep, a discussion has been going on on the subject of the redistribution and regrouping of provinces. The forthcoming constitution, whatever it may be, would involve additional expenditure of various kinds. For these reasons, instead of creating a number of deficit provinces (for the present two) it would be far better to reduce the number of provinces. That is reason. But in these days, if a man wants to appeal to reason, logic and things of that sort, he must apologize for being so eccentric.

The Simon Commission favoured the appointment of a Boundaries Commission for the redistribution of areas among the provinces before a new constitution began to work. Bengalis have been agitating for it—rather mildly, we should think. Bengal should be made a linguistic province. This will not involve any extra expenditure. The Bengali-speaking areas now included in Bihar and Orissa and in Assam—districts and sub-districts which were formerly parts of Bengal, should be transferred to Bengal. In area Bengal is at present the smallest of the major provinces. Hence the inclusion of these Bengali-speaking districts and sub-districts will not make Bengal a more unwieldy province than the other major provinces.

It is risky to make other suggestions—particularly for an organ conducted by a Bengali. So we prefer to refrain from making definite proposals. But cannot the small provinces, old or new, actual or future, decide to be partners of other provinces on advantageous terms? Linguistic and cultural affinity may guide their choice.

### *Conference in Aid of Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes*

Last month Sir R. N. Mukherji, president of the Society for the Improvement of the

receive education. Pupils of all creeds and castes are admitted. The Society also maintains libraries and reading-rooms, and delivers health lectures in rural areas and works in various ways against untouchability.

The annual expenditure of the Society averages Rs. 87,000 in round numbers. But recently its income has greatly decreased on account of economic depression. That was the reason why Sir R. N. Mukherji called the Conference.

Sir N. N. Sircar was to have presided over it. In his unavoidable absence Maharaja Sir Pradyot Kumar Tagore took the chair. Sir R. N. Mukherji being requested to open the proceedings made a short speech observing that both Government and the people should help the Society with more funds. In addition to his previous donations and the subscription which he pays, he made a donation of Rs. 1,000 at the conclusion of his brief speech. During the years of his connection with the Society he has also given ungrudgingly of his time and energy for the furtherance of its cause, in spite of his heavy engagements and the infirmities of age. He is more than 82 years old.

Mr. Haridas Majumdar of the Amrita Samaj promised a donation of Rs. 200 on behalf of that Samaj.

After some discussions and consultation a Committee was formed at the instance of the Maharaja Tagore with himself as the chairman for devising ways and means for the better financing of the good work being carried on by the Society. Let us hope that now that a man of the position and wealth of the Maharaja is taking interest in the affairs of the Society, it will receive some help.



Sir Rajendra Nath Mukherji

Backward Classes of Assam and Bengal, invited a considerable number of the citizens of Calcutta to meet in his office to devise ways and means for helping that Society in its work. It has been in existence for the last quarter of a century and has been quietly doing much educational work. There are about 450 schools in most of the districts of Bengal and Assam under its superintendence, where more than 17,000 boys and girls

### *Calcutta Mayoral Election*

The entire proceedings or certain parts of the proceedings of the meeting of the Calcutta Corporation recently held for the purpose of electing the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor are before the Bengal Government and the Calcutta High Court. We, therefore, say nothing about them.

We are not in the least opposed to the election of a competent Mussalman gentleman to fill the Mayoral chair. We are rather in favour of it; as, by the election of such a person, a cause of Moslem dissatisfaction can be removed. What is wanted is that the election should be regular. It is not necessary to discuss now whether Mussalmans are justly dissatisfied or not.

As regards Mr. Fazlul Huq, he knows that the editor of this *Review* supported his candidature for a councillorship.

### *Suggested University for Gwalior*

In the article on the late lamented Princess Kamala Raja of Gwalior published in this issue the writer suggests that a university should be established in Gwalior in memory of the beloved Rajkumari. Though we have no local knowledge, we have no hesitation to support the suggestion that the memorial should take the form of a noble educational institution. As the Rajkumari was herself an accomplished lady who, in addition to literary attainments, was possessed of artistic gifts and was also a trained soldier, the educational institution founded to enshrine her memory should aim not only at the advancement of learning like other universities but should also promote the arts and crafts of India in general and of Gwalior in particular and train its alumni to be strong and valiant sons and daughters of the Motherland.

If the suggestion finds favour, there need not be any anxiety as to where the endowment is to come from, an anxiety which is felt in connection with many another educational project.

### *Effects of Last Year's Floods in Orissa*

About a month ago, we received copies of appeals and letters issued by Pandit Nila-

kantha Das, Mr. Lingaraj Mishra, Mr. Gopabandhu Chaudhuri and others asking for public help for those affected by last year's floods in Orissa. On account of the pressure on our space we were unable to draw attention to Orissa's needs in our last issue. Now that Mahatma Gandhi is about to visit that stricken region, we have no doubt that something will be done for the distressed people there. When last year we visited Cuttack and were taken by friends to a relief centre, we were convinced that help would be required for many a month to come. We wrote to that effect in the papers, and the people in distress received some help. Subsequently, the charitably disposed public could think of nothing else but the cataclysmic disaster which had overtaken Bihar. But a lesser calamity is also a calamity and those who suffer from it also deserve sympathy and help. And, therefore, we again call attention to the needs of Orissa. Those who desire to send contributions will kindly do so to the Secretary or the Treasurer, Orissa Flood Relief Committee, Cuttack. That is the earnest request of Srimati Rama Devi and Messrs. Gopabandhu Chaudhuri, Nilakantha Das, Bichitrnanda Das, Lingaraj Mishra, Laxminarayan Sahu, Satyanarayan Sen Gupta, Seth Harakchand Motichand, and Seth Ranga Lal, which we support.

### *"How Long Can Man Live?"*

It appears from the dailies that the latest Public Health Report of Bengal has been published and that it makes gloomy reading on account of the idea that it gives of the terrible rate of infant mortality and of the ravages of malarious fever and other diseases in this province. That reminds us of an article by Professor Dr. Walter Weisbach which has recently appeared in *Pester Lloyd*, a German-language daily of Budapest, Hungary, in which it is stated:

"Whereas in 1800 the average life span amounted to only twenty-seven years [in Hungary], it has risen today to fifty-six. In other words, it has more than doubled in a little over a hundred years. This success is largely due to strenuous attacks on epidemics and infant mortality."

Professor Weisbach adds that

"The disastrous effect of epidemics makes itself felt especially in British India, and Ronaldshay's book, *A Bird's Eye View of India*, states that

since 1896 ten and a half million people have died of the bubonic plague and that in the year 1918 about seven million died of influenza. In Bengal alone 350,000 to 400,000 people die of malaria each year."

But let us revert to the question of the average life span in different countries. Prof. Weisbach says in Hungary it was 27 years in 1800 and is now 56. What is it in India? In the Indian Census Report the expression 'average life span' is not used. In the report for 1931 the mean age is stated to be 23.2 for males and 22.8 for females. So India was worse off in this respect in 1931 than Hungary in 1800, more than a century ago. *The expectation of life at birth* in different countries has been given in the Census of India Report, Vol. i, pp. 171-72, from which we compile the following statement.

Expectation of life in years at Birth

Country	Males	Females
Australia	55.20	58.84
Denmark	51.9	57.9
England	48.53	52.38
France	45.74	49.13
Germany	44.82	48.33
Holland	51.0	53.4
India	22.59	23.31
Italy	44.24	44.83
Japan	43.97	44.85
Norway	54.84	57.72
Sweden	54.53	56.98
Switzerland	49.25	52.15
United States	49.32	52.54

In reply to the question, "How long can man live?" which forms the heading of this note, Professor Weisbach writes :

"Hufeland has stated that as a rule the life of any individual is eight times as long as the period required for complete growth. Since the average man reaches maturity between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, this would mean that man ought to live between 144 and 200 years. But even if the fact that men take a long time to reach maturity inclines us to estimate human life at five times this period, we should be justified in expecting a life of between 90 to 125 years." [Translations from *The Living Age*.]

But in India the average expectation of life is very far from 90 or 125 years. In fact the expectation of life in India is only half of what it is in other countries which have the lowest expectation of life in the tabular statement printed above.

### "Overtaken by Good Luck" !

A certain university dignitary, who was telling his audience the other day how fortunate

he was, said that a certain piece of good luck had overtaken him twice ! It seems he had been fleeing from good fortune all the while, but Dame Fortune was too fleet-footed for him and so overtook him ! It is lucky that the gentleman did not speak in his mother-tongue. Had he done so, his hearers would have been deprived of the treat of knowing how original one can be in congratulating oneself on one's good fortune.

### "Public Flogging of Women in Kashmir" ?

A Reuter's message told the Indian public some days ago that in the House of Commons,

Lieut.-Col. R. V. K. Applin, a Conservative member, asked the Secretary of State for India for the reasons for externing Lady Nethersole from Jammu and Kashmir; also whether she might now return home. Sir Samuel Hoare replied that the lady left Kashmir under an expulsion order issued by the Resident on the ground that she encouraged agitation against the State. Lieut.-Col. Applin suggested that the lady was turned out because she protested against the public flogging of women which she witnessed. Sir Samuel Hoare replied that it was not in accordance with his information, which showed that she was causing a great deal of trouble at a critical moment for Kashmir and it was necessary to expel her in the interests of safety."

It is clear from the above that an English lady of the name of Lady Nethersole had made her home in Kashmir and that she was externed because she was creating a great deal of trouble at a critical moment. As the exact character of the trouble and of the critical moment was not described by Sir Samuel one is left to wonder what they were. Sir Samuel was not astounded at the Lieutenant Colonel's mention of public flogging of women. He gave only a conventional bureaucratic reply. Did the critical moment have any reference to the public flogging of women, and was the "great deal of trouble" given by Lady Nethersole was in part her persistence in protesting against such flogging? In any case, the Indian public would like to know whether there was any such flogging for any reason whatsoever and whether the Resident knows of any such barbarous incident.

### An Offer to Libraries

With reference to the very informative and useful book, "*Rammohun Roy, the Man*



and his Work," edited by Mr. Amal Home and published by the Calcutta Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee, the Secretary to that Committee has asked us to publish the following announcement, which we do with pleasure :

The Secretary of the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee announces that a free copy of the above book will be awarded as presentation copy to all the libraries in Calcutta as well as outside. It will be available in the office of the Rammohun Roy Centenary, 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, on production of a signed receipt from either the Secretary or any other authority of the library, between 7 A. M. and 10 A. M. in the morning, every day. To libraries outside Calcutta it would be sent per book-post on receipt of stamps worth annas three only. The offer holds good only so long as the stock of the book is not exhausted.

### "Rammohun Roy Centenary Celebrations"

Reports of Rammohun Roy Centenary Celebrations held in various parts of India and abroad, other than those of the Central Celebrations Committee, Calcutta, have been compiled and edited and published in one volume by Mr. Satis Chandra Chakravarti, M. A., Joint Secretary, Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee. The volume, covering 328 closely printed pages, has been named "Rammohun Roy Centenary 1933." The price has been fixed at Re. 1 for the general public and As. 12 for the members of the Centenary Committee. It is a very interesting publication and is well got-up.

We make this announcement in the editorial pages, as the book is not a commercial venture.

### Mahatma Gandhi Answers A Harijan's Questions

*Harijan* for April 20 contains Mahatma Gandhi's answers to ten questions sent to him by a 'Harijan.' As Gandhiji says, they are good questions. And his answers also are good and characteristic. Hence some of the questions and answers are printed below with a few words of our own. We wish we had space for all the questions and their answers. First come the questions.

1. Mahatmajee, why are you so much interested in our cause? 2. If all religions are one in your consideration, are the Christians not entitled to combat untouchability? 6. Arya and un-Arya are the divisions created for us. What harm is there if we remain separated? 8. Once you said that Swarnaj can be attained the day untouchability is removed. Is this present propaganda directed to that end? 9. If so, are you going to give equivalent rights with other Hindus to our crores of untouchables? 10. Instead of opening temples

and eradicating untouchability, suffice it if you make provisions for our livelihood.

Gandhiji's answers are :

1. I am interested in the Harijan cause for the sake of purifying myself of the taint of untouchability and doing penance for the sin; and, being jealous of the reputation of the faith I profess, I am anxious that fellow-members of the faith should also purge themselves of the same.

If any one doing 'Harijan work' were to say that he was interested in it because it is meant for the uplift of the depressed classes, it would not be an inaccurate statement. But Mahatmaji's answer strikes a truer and a more spiritual note, a note instinct with humility.

The reply to the second question is :

2. Not only are the Christians entitled, but it is their duty, to combat untouchability in their own midst. But if the question is that Christians should combat untouchability in Hinduism, my answer is that they simply cannot do it, because untouchables of Hinduism should not be untouchables to Christians. The anti-untouchability movement means weaning Hindus from their error. This cannot be effectively done by non-Hindus, even as Hindus cannot bring about religious reform among Christians or Mussalman. If the question means that Christians should combat untouchability among Hindus by converting untouchables to Christianity, they do not advance the cause in any shape or form, the cause being reformation among caste-Hindus. If the latter repented of their sin, the Harijans would be delivered from the yoke of untouchability in a moment. Conversion can never do it. It can only add to the prevailing bitterness and introduce a disturbing factor in a situation, which is already bad but which, owing to the work of the Harijan Sevak Sanghs and other movements of internal reform in Hinduism, is steadily improving, untouchability being daily undermined.

This answer makes Mahatmaji's point of view plain. Harijans themselves can escape from the curse of untouchability by becoming Christians or Moslems; and by wholesale conversion of this kind the evil of untouchability may be destroyed so far as the untouchables themselves are concerned. But this would be to dismember the Hindu community and would not cure it of the evil of untouchability. Mahatmaji's aim is to keep Hinduism and the Hindu community intact and at the same time to free it from the curse of untouchability. In his view, Harijans should remain Hindus as respected and self-respecting equal members of a renovated and purified Hindu community. He is right.

The answer to the sixth question is as follows :

6. He would be a bold man who is able to say today with any degree of success who is Arya and who is un-Arya. Historians tell us that a blending of the two took place centuries ago. If now a sharp division is attempted, it will harm not only Hindus, both caste and outcaste, but it will harm the whole of India and, by implication, the whole of humanity.

Historians and anthropologists will endorse Mahatmaji's answer. There is no wholly 'pure-blooded' race or caste or sub-caste or class.

The answers to the remaining questions are :

8. I should assert the statement again. But the present propaganda is directed only to the purification of caste-Hindus and, therefore, of Hindus. And when that purification is demonstrably attained, not only Swaraj but many other desirable results will follow, as day follows night. The word Swaraj as here used does not mean a mere legal status but something far better and more lasting. I would call it an organic status evolved from within.

9. Whatever meaning may be given to the word Swaraj, removal of untouchability will be a fraud, if it does not carry with it the enjoyment by the freed Hindus of precisely the same rights as the other Hindus and all other communities may enjoy under it.

10. It is beyond me, a single, poor mortal to make provision for the livelihood of millions. That can only be achieved by their own effort and God's grace. But if temples are flung open to Harijans and untouchability is eradicated, the dead weight that is grinding them down will have lifted, and they will have an equal opportunity with the rest of their fellow-men for earning an honest livelihood.

### *Sind Hindus on Sind Separation*

The alleged or real observation of a great Hindu leader, namely, "The Hindus are Nationalists because it suits them to be so," is often flung in the face of Hindu Nationalists, particularly those who are outside the Congress camp. We are not aware of the existence of any nationalists in any country who are nationalists because nationalism does not suit them ! The acid test of the correctness or otherwise of the above observation lies in the attitude of the Hindus in those provinces where they are in a minority. Do they want a purely national and democratic constitution, or do they, like the Moslems, want separate electorates for themselves with weightage and various other safe-guards like Mr. Jinnah's

'14 points'? In Bengal, Hindus would be satisfied with joint electorates in a Nationalist democratic constitution, without weightage and with no reservation of seats for themselves. Such is the case with Panjab Hindus, too. In Sind the Hindus are a small minority. They held a conference last month. According to *The Sind Observer* :

It has been made clear beyond a peradventure that Sind Hindus stand for undiluted nationalism. They are opposed to communal electorates and reservation of seats for any community in any form and at any stage. Though they are a minority community, they are prepared to have joint electorates for the sake of Swarajya, communal peace and harmony. Though the colour and complexion of elected Hindu representatives will be determined in joint electorates by the voters of the majority community, yet, for the sake of nationalism and Swaraj, they will take cheerfully all the risks involved, knowing that they, too, will have a share in determining the nature of the Muslim members to be elected. They do not ask for any special safeguards under joint electorates (without reservation of seats) unlike Muslim minorities elsewhere.

If that is accepted by our Muslim countrymen, then, the question of separation can be considered on its economic merits. But the communal question must be cleared out of the way before any discussion on separation can be initiated. The Hindus will then forget their fears of tyrannous treatment at the hands of a highly communal Muslim majority. That is the crux of the whole problem; that is the way, too, to a national settlement.

But if Muslim opinion is not prepared for such a patriotic step, doubts and fears will continue to obsess the mind of the Hindus and, if Sind is going to be separated in spite of their opposition, they demand certain safeguards which are mentioned in the resolution and are eight in number.

We are sorry we have no space for these.

### *Strike of Bombay Textile Workers*

We know Bombay textile workers have their just grievances and that they ought to have a larger share of the income of the mills than is given to them in the shape of wages. They ought also to have better housing accommodation where decency and privacy can be observed and an average standard of health maintained. But whether a strike is the best way to secure these rights is very doubtful. The Bombay mill industry has not been in a flourishing condition for some time past. Their compulsory closing by a strike cannot improve their condition and enable them to pay

better wages to the workers. We cannot, therefore, support the strike. It involves much suffering, loss of some lives and the unemployment and loss of income of the majority of the workers for some time at least. At the same time we cannot but condemn the obduracy of the mill-owners which had led the workers to strike. The mill-owners have made huge profits in the past. If they could have satisfied the workers even by reducing themselves to their pecuniary position so far as current profits go, they ought to have done it. It would have been good for the industry. Can there not be compulsory arbitration under the law?

### *What is the Meaning of "the Objectionable Nature of the White Paper?"*

A statement issued to the Press from New Delhi on the 29th April last by the secretariat of the Swarajya party contains the following paragraph :

"It is hoped that in order to focus public attention on the objectionable nature of the White Paper, steps will be taken to launch a countrywide campaign alongside organized constructive work in the country and to keep the ideals for which the Congress stands constantly before the Indian people."

What is the meaning of "the objectionable nature of the White Paper"? As the so-called communal award is an essential part and a part of the structure of the White Paper scheme, it is to be hoped that the Swarajya party considers the nature of the communal award as an essential portion of the objectionable nature of the White Paper.

If not, if the Swarajya party openly or by silence or implication accepts or acquiesces in the communal award, Hindus as a community can never go in for any so-called "united front." The result would be not unity but internecine dissensions in the Hindu community. Hindus should not, cannot, will

not as a body agree to anything which humiliates them and reduces them to abject powerlessness. Not even Mahatma Gandhi, or Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, or Dr. B. S. Moonje or Bhai Parmanand can reconcile them to such a plight. We have explained our position and given our reasons in our note on the condemnation of the White Paper *plus* acceptance of the communal award. In that note and in this, we have given our independent opinion. We have never consciously spoken from a party point of view, though the editor of this *Review* was connected with the Hindu Mahasabha for years. Now that he is no longer connected with it, it should be still more obvious that any editorial opinion expressed in these pages is non-party opinion.

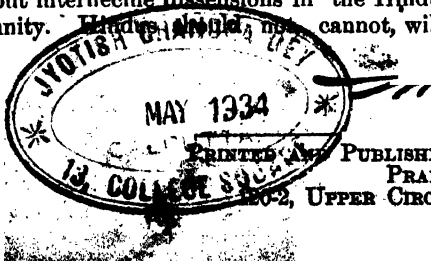
It is surprising that anybody can believe that there can be any real united front if one party alone has to do all the giving and the other party all the taking.

### *Sir C. V. Raman's "Indian Academy of Sciences"*

An Associated Press message, dated Bangalore the 28th April informs the public that

"An all-India (!) institution under the name and style of the Indian Academy of Sciences was registered today in the civil and military station of Bangalore under the Societies Registration Act of 1860, established on a 'distinctly federal basis' (?), with Bangalore as the temporary headquarters," says Sir C. V. Raman."

This attempt to forestall the decision of the Indian Science Congress Committee completely proves a previous assertion of Sir C. V. Raman's to the effect that Calcutta scientific circles are full of cliquism, with its corollary that Bangalore is quite free from it. Those who want to know all about the proposed Indian Academy of Science should read the article on the subject in our last March number.



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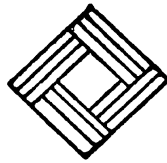


BALLAL SEN AND THE PIGEON

By Ajodhyalal Saha

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## ON RUSSIA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

**I** have already said how impressed I have been by my first acquaintance with Soviet rule. The reasons for this are worth examining.

In the background of the picture of Russia that has taken shape in my mind lurks the dark misery of India. If the reader pauses to consider the reality behind this misery, it will be easier to follow my meaning in the present discussion.

The attainment of political glory was the inner urge of the expansion of Moslem rule in India. In those days struggle for territory always had this for motive. Alexander of Greece swept the foreign skies with the flaming tail of his comet-like army solely to extend his power. Romans felt a similar impulse. Phoenicians traded from shore to shore, but never scrambled for empires.

When at last Europe with its merchant fleet reached the shores of the Eastern continent, a new chapter in human history opened. The Age of Chivalry passed; the Age of Commerce dawned. In this epoch legions of adventurers scattered over foreign lands to trade, but behind the display of their wares raised empires. Their main concern was increase of profit; they cared nothing for chivalry. In pursuit of this, they did not hesitate to follow crooked paths, because their object was success, not glory.

At this time India was renowned for her immense wealth, a subject repeatedly referred

to by foreign historians of those days. Even Clive himself declared:

Consider the situation in which the victory of Plassey\* had placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels! Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"\*

Such mighty treasures are not easily obtained. India produced them. In the past those who came to rule here enjoyed our wealth, but never squandered it. In short, they were aesthetes, but not merchants.

To facilitate trade, the foreign merchants set up their imperial throne on the merchant's seat. Times were favourable. The Moghal Empire was in the grip of decay; the Mahrattas and Sikhs were busy untying the knots of the Empire; in the hands of the English it was reduced to shreds and to final destruction.

It cannot be said that in the reign of kings pursuing imperial glory there was no oppression, no injustice, no discord in this country. None the less these kings belonged to this country. The wound they inflicted was skin-deep; it bled, but never affected the nervous system. The manifold wealth-producing activities continued unimpeded; the Nawabs and Badshahs even encouraged

\* Cf. Clive's evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

them. Had it not been so, why should there have been such an assemblage of foreign merchants here ; why such a swarming of locusts in a desert ?

Subsequently, King and Trader met in India and in this fateful moment began the hacking at the roots of the tree of wealth—an oft-repeated but discordant tale. But simply because it is an old tale it will not do to draw the veil of forgetfulness over it. Here is the genesis of this country's unbearable burden of poverty. India had wealth, but if we forget by what means it was transported beyond the seas, a basic fact of modern history will elude us. The mainspring of the present political system is not the pride of heroism, but the greed of wealth. This truth must be kept in mind. Royal glory binds king and subjects in a human relationship, but not so the greed of wealth. Wealth is cruel, impersonal. Greed not only collects the golden eggs but also kills the goose that lays them.

The greed of the merchant-king has sapped India's varied wealth-bearing powers. Agriculture alone has been spared, or else the supply of raw materials stops, and the power to pay for foreign commodities is completely undermined. The day-to-day existence of India hangs by this very slender thread.

Let us admit that the skill and methods of production on which the livelihood of craftsmen depended in the past have become obsolete owing to the competition of machinery. Hence what was essential for their survival was to help them by all possible means to become efficient in the use of machines. In the struggle for existence, this effort is vigorously pursued in every country today. In a short time Japan has mastered the mechanical technique of wealth production ; otherwise she would have been crushed out of existence by the conspiracy of mechanical Europe. That opportunity never came our way, because greed is jealous. Our existence withers away at the touch of this colossal greed, but what matters ? Law and Order is still there to protect us ! On our side, we have mortgaged our food, clothing, education, and all to pay for the watchman's livery. Nothing but greed is at the bottom

of this fatal indifference. And the while, we from our post far below helplessly look up to the seat of all knowledge and power and listen to words of comfort from on high : "Never mind your loss of strength ; we are powerful, we shall protect you."

Greed exacts service, but never respects. One who is not respected is ignored as far as possible ; at last he becomes so cheap that it galls to spend ever so little on him even in his direst need. How meagre is our life's demand, how little we expect to keep our human decency is not unknown to anybody. No food, no education, no medical aid ; drinking water can be had only by straining mud ; but there is no limit to the number of watchmen ; no end to the number of fat-salaried officials, whose emoluments flow like a gulf-stream to warm the British Isles ; we supply their pensions by economizing on our last rites. Greed is blind, remorseless ; India is an object of greed to the rulers of India.

And yet, even in times of hardest trials I cannot own to myself that magnanimity is lacking in the English character ; other Europeans in their treatment of subject peoples are less generous and more cruel than the English. The opposition that we show in word and deed against the English race and their administration is unthinkable against rulers of other races. Even had it been otherwise, the punishment would have been far less bearable, proof of which is not wanting in Europe itself or even in America. Even when we openly revolt and are punished by the officials, we complain in surprise, which only shows that even in the midst of the beatings we receive our deep respect for the English people dies hard. We expect far less from our own Rajahs and Zamindars.

During my sojourn in England I have noticed that disgraceful incidents about Indian administration hardly ever appear in the English newspapers. This is not merely for the sake of her reputation on the Continent and America. Indeed, even a firm English administrator fears his countrymen's good sense ; it is not easy for him to boast of his exploits, because there are great minds among the English. English people know little of the real facts about India. The causes for

self-reproach are suppressed. At the same time it cannot be denied that those who have for long eaten India's salt have become tainted in their English liver and heart, and yet to our misfortune, it is these who are authorities on us!

In connection with the present political upheaval in India, the authorities claim that punishment has been minimum. We are loth to agree, but comparing past and present methods of administration we cannot dismiss this as an exaggeration. We have been beaten, often unjustly beaten, and worse still is the punishment meted out in secret. I shall also add that in many instances the glory is theirs who have been beaten; those who have beaten have forfeited respect. But judging by ordinary administrative standards the punishment has indeed been minimum, especially as our rulers have no ties of blood with us, nor was it physically impossible for them to turn the whole of India into a Julianwalabagh. Even in normal times, it requires little imagination to picture to oneself the hideous flow of blood that would occur, were the entire negro population of the United States boastfully to engage in a struggle for emancipation. Besides, it is superfluous to dwell on what has happened in Italy and other countries.

But this is little consolation. The punishment that is at the end of the stick grows tired in time, indeed may even be ashamed of itself. But the persecution that is deeper does not disappear by merely breaking a few heads behind the scenes of the bridge-party in the clubroom. It bleeds the whole nation to exhaustion. Century after century this process continues. Angry beatings cease, but greed never stops.

In the *Times Literary Supplement* I came across an author called Mackee who said that the "root cause" of India's poverty was excessive births due to indiscriminate marriage. The implication is that the sucking that continues from outside would have been more bearable had there been fewer mouths to feed. It is said that between 1871-1921 the population of England rose by 66 per cent. In India the increase of population was 33 per cent in fifty years. Whence is this difference? It follows that the "root cause"

is not increasing population, but inability to provide food. What is the "root cause" of the latter?

If the destiny of the rulers and the ruled were the same, there would be little cause for complaint, at any rate on the score of food. In other words, in times good and bad their respective shares would be similar. But where the one is separated from the other by colossal greed and giant oceans, the latter is ever starved of education, health, and deprived of dignity and material well-being, but provision for the midnight watchman's bull's-eye lantern never ceases to increase. Not much statistical intricacy is involved to see that during the last hundred and sixty years the all-round poverty of India and England's all-round prosperity lie close together. If we want to draw a complete picture of this, we must place the scene of life of a Bengali peasant, who produces jute, side by side with the life led by those who enjoy its profits in far-off Dundee. They are both connected by greed, but separated by enjoyment: the division has yawned wider and wider during the last century and a half.

No sooner did the manifold multiplication of profit by machinery become possible than the chivalry of the Middle Ages was converted into commercial morality. The opening of this remorseless commercial age coincides with the circumnavigation of the earth. The commercial age arose out of plunder. Mother Earth groaned in agony at the hideousness of slave-hunting and pillage of wealth. Foreign soil was the main scene of this cruel business. In those days Spain wiped off not only Mexico's accumulation of gold, but her whole civilization with blood. At last the gory storm clouds from the West reached the shores of India in repeated gusts. It is unnecessary to discuss their history. The flow of wealth turned from the East to the West.

• From now onwards Mammon became firmly seated on his earthly throne. Science proclaimed that the law of the Machine was the law of the Universe: eternal truth there was none beyond outward success. Aggressive competition spread all round; brigandage became respectable in the guise of gentility. By the highways and bye-ways of



greed slavery was reintroduced under a false name. European literature is replete with horrible descriptions of savage exploitation, deception and cruelty in factories and mines and on big plantations. In the West those who grow rich and the people who produce wealth have been at loggerheads for a long time. Sociability is man's chief religion: nothing destroys it more than greed. In the present age this enemy is convulsing human society and loosening and disrupting man's social relations.

In one's own country, among one's own people, however great may be the suffering due to the cruel division of classes in the economic sphere, the field of opportunity is open to all; there may be difference of power but there is none of rights. In the mill of wealth-production the upper and the nether millstones may well change places any day. Besides, the wealth accumulated by the rich, at any rate some part of it, is invariably distributed throughout the whole country. Individual wealth cannot help undertaking some responsibility in the national fortunes. Popular education, public health and other activities for people's welfare are enormously costly affairs. Whether they wish it or no, directly and indirectly the rich meet these varied demands of the country.

But only the barest leavings of the wealth which goes to enrich foreign merchants and public officials fall to India's own share. While the profound wants of the jute cultivators—their education and health, are left gaping like ditches and cesspools in drought, nothing of the outflowing profits turns back towards them. What leaves, goes for good. Rural water supply is contaminated by jute to make profit possible, but not a farthing drops out of the foreign trader's bulging money-bag to remove the unbearable scarcity of drinking water. If water is to be provided, it must come by taxing the life-blood of these destitute and hungry wretches. If there is no money in the royal treasury for the education of the people, why is it not there? It is largely because vast sums of money leave India for ever: the earnings of greed become complete strangers. In other words, water on this side evaporates into rain-clouds to pour down on the land beyond the seas. Long

and unnoticed, hapless, ignorant, diseased and moribund India has been purveying for the hospitals and educational institutions of yonder country.

For a long time I have been an eye-witness of the supremely tragic sight of the mental and physical agony of our people. Poverty not only kills, but makes one contemptible. That is why Sir John Simon could say: "In our view the most formidable of the evils from which India is suffering have their roots in social and economic customs of long-standing which can only be remedied by the action of the Indian peoples themselves." These are indeed words of disdain! The ideal by which he has judged India's needs is not his own. The advantages of unlimited education, opportunities and freedom, which his own people enjoy for producing abundance of wealth, have enriched from many sides their ideal of life in education, action and enjoyment. India in rags, emaciated of body, exhausted by disease and starved of education must not even dream of this ideal. We must carry on as best we can by preventing the increase of our population and limiting our expenses so that their bloated ideal of life may grow for ever at the cost of our own. Beyond this there is nothing more to think; and therefore the entire responsibility for the remedy lies on us; those who make the remedy difficult have little to do.

But I have ceased to complain against Man and God and for some time have been devoting my limited energy to infuse life from within into our lifeless villages. In this effort I have not disdained government favours, nay, even desired them. But I have been disappointed, because sympathy is absent. Sympathy is not possible, for our helplessness, our diverse miseries have crippled our demands. At last I have arrived at the conclusion that in real constructive work adequate co-operation between the government and our workers is not possible. Therefore let us do what we can with the few coppers that remain after paying for the watchman's livery.

I came to Russia at a time when royal greed and its offspring, insufferable indifference, had filled my mind with dark despair. I am

familiar with the ostentation of wealth in other European countries, but it is so Olympian that, poor as we are, even our envy fails to reach its height. In Russia, the display of luxury is wholly absent; probably that is why it was easy to catch a glimpse of her true being.

Here I saw mighty efforts being made to provide universally everything of which India is deprived. Needless to say, I have seen it all with my own long-hungry eyes. It is impossible for me to judge correctly how the sight strikes a Westerner, fortunate in the enjoyment of freedom. I do not want to argue about the amount of India's wealth that left for the British Isles in the past nor how much is still leaving today and year by year by devious channels for the same destination. But I can see very clearly, and many English writers also admit it, that in the bloodless body of our country mind has suffered an eclipse; there is no joy in life; we are dying in mind and body. But on no account shall we bow down to the calumny that its "root cause" is in some moral perversity of the Indian, that its cure is beyond the power of any government.

I have always known that the relation of India's foreign rulers with India is one of strong self-interest and not of sympathy; the enthusiasm to maintain Law and Order with great vigour, therefore, is only natural, but in matters in which the interest is entirely ours, where it concerns the revitalizing of our country in every respect, materially and spiritually, the government is indifferent; it does not exert itself adequately. In other words, not even a portion of the efforts and sympathy of our rulers for their own country can be spared for us. And yet everything that we can call our own belongs to them: we possess neither means nor material which can save us from annihilation.

Even if it were true that we were in the grip of decay because of our stupid social organization, the education and encouragement which could remove this ignorance must wait upon the exchequer of a foreign government and upon royal vagary. The calamity of country-wide ignorance cannot be averted by advice tendered by a commission: the government must face it, as the British Government

would, had this been a problem of the British Isles. Our question to the Simon Commission is, if it is true that the loss of India's vitality is due to her ignorance and long-standing social customs, why has there been no improvement during the hundred and sixty years of British rule? Has the Commission shown with statistics how much the British *Raj* has spent in this long period to maintain the policeman's baton and how much to educate the country? The policeman's baton is indispensable to the wealthy rulers from foreign parts, but it matters little to them to defer for centuries expenditure on the education of those whose skulls are at its mercy!

In stepping on the soil of Russia, the first thing that caught my eye was that in education, at any rate, the peasants and working classes have made such enormous progress in these few years that nothing comparable has happened even to our highest classes in the course of the last hundred and fifty years. And yet eight years ago they were as helpless, hungry, oppressed and illiterate as our Indian masses: indeed, in certain respects their misery was even greater, not less than ours. The vain picture of national education, our heart's desire, which I dared not draw even on the canvas of mirage is here a reality stretched from horizon to horizon.

Again and again I have asked myself: How has such a great miracle been possible? The answer that I have received in my mind is that here there is no barrier of greed. To think that by education everybody will become adequately competent seems so natural. The people here are not at all afraid of giving complete education even to Turcomen of distant Asia; on the contrary, they are dreadfully earnest about it. They have not relapsed into indifference after pointing out in their report that the root cause of all the misery of the people of Turcomenistan lies in their traditional ignorance.

With reference to the expansion of education in Indo-China, I have heard of a certain French pedant who advised France against repeating the mistakes the English have committed in the education of the natives of India. It must be admitted that there is a certain nobility in the English character in

that there should be occasional lapses in their policy towards the subject races : that there should be occasional faults in the close web of their rule ; or else who knows how many more centuries we would have taken to become articulate ?

It cannot be gainsaid that in the absence of education weakness becomes immobile, so that ignorance is as effective as the policeman's baton. Of this Lord Curzon seems to have had an inkling. The French pedant judges the needs of his own country by an ideal not considered necessary for those of the subject peoples. Its only reason is greed. To the greedy the humanity of the object of greed loses its reality ; it becomes natural to minimize its demands. India has grown small in the estimation of those with whom her lot has been cast for a century and a half. This is why the indifference of the authorities towards India's profound needs never changes. What food we eat, with what water we quench our thirst and what dense ignorance clouds our mind escape their notice even today. The main thing is that we are indispensable to them : it is unimportant that we too have our vital needs. Besides, we have become so very futile that it is not even possible to respect our needs.

The grim problem that has been sapping our body and mind in India all this time exists nowhere in the West. It is the fatal division of India's rights, the cause of which is greed. Thus when I saw greed humbled in Russia, it gave me joy such as others may not normally feel. Indeed the thought that is uppermost in my mind is that not only in India but throughout the world today, wherever one sees the net of a major disaster cast, its main motive is greed, accompanied by fear and suspicion and supported by war preparations, lies and cruel politics.

Dictatorship is another topic of argument. Personally I am not enamoured of dictatorial rule in any sphere. In my own field I have never in the least tried to further my opinion by threat of harm or punishment or by use of bullying language or manner. There are undoubted dangers in dictatorship. The harmony and constancy of its action are uncertain ; the imperfect contact between the wills of the leader and the led becomes a

constant source of revolution ; besides, the habit of passive following weakens mind and character ; its very success defeats itself.

The destiny of the people unrelated to its united will is like a cage ; even though there may be a plentiful supply of food and drink it cannot be called a nest : in it the wings are paralysed. There is no more unmitigated nuisance to one's manhood than authority, whether of scriptures, *gurus*, or political leaders.

The emasculation of our society has gone on for decades and its result is familiar to all. When Mahatmaji called foreign cloth impure, I protested and said that it might be economically harmful but could on no account be impure. But our blind scripture-led mind must be bewitched or else nothing gets done. What can be more eternally humiliating to one's manhood than this ? Thus is a dictator-led country hypnotized : one magician takes leave to be replaced by another with a different formula.

I admit that dictatorship is a great nuisance and I also believe that in its name many persecutions take place in Russia. Its negative aspect is compulsion, which is sin. But I have also seen its positive aspect, and that is education, the very reverse of force. If the mind of the people is one in the making of the country's fortunes its activity becomes creative and permanent. To the zealots of authority the only means of obtaining their ends is to keep everybody else's mind paralysed by ignorance. In the reign of the Tsars the people's mind deprived of education was under a spell and round it like a boa-constrictor coiled religious superstition. The emperor could without difficulty put this ignorance to his own use. It was then easy to provoke orgies of frightfulness in the name of religion between Jews and Christians, between Musalmans and Armenians. The loosely knit country weakened by ignorance and religious superstition fell an easy prey to the external enemy. Nothing could be more favourable to the perpetuation of autocratic rule.

As in former Russia, this condition has existed for ages in our country. Today, the country has yielded to the leadership of Mahatmaji, but when he is no more, pretenders will spring up as suddenly as do *avatars* and *gurus* everywhere before our religious fanatics.

Today in China, leadership is the object of continuous and destructive struggle among a number of ambitious militarists, lacerating the whole country into pieces, because the education that could guide the destiny of the country by united will is absent. I cannot credit the opinion that we shall not also have our share of the grim struggle for leadership; then it will be the turn for the grass, that is the public, to be trampled on, because it is grass and not tree.

In recent years Russia has witnessed the vigorous rule of the dictator. But to perpetuate itself it has not chosen the path of the Tsars, namely, the subduing of the people's mind by ignorance and religious superstition; the impairing of their manliness by the lash of the Cossacks. I do not believe that the punitive rod is inactive in the present Russian regime, but at the same time education expands with extraordinary vigour. The reason is that greed of individual or party power and of money is absent. There exists the irrepressible will to convert the public to a particular economic doctrine and to make a man of everybody, irrespective of race, colour and class. Had it not been so, one must needs agree with the French pedant who said that to give education was a great mistake.

Time is not yet to say whether the economic doctrine is completely valid, because so long it has tottered among books; never before has it enjoyed freedom so fearlessly and over so vast a field. At the very outset they ruthlessly banished the powerful greed which would have jeopardized this economic theory. Nobody can definitely say what final shape it will take as it passes through one experiment after another. But this much is certain that the education, which at long last the Russian masses are so freely and abundantly enjoying, has improved and brought honour to their humanity for all time.

One always hears rumours of cruelty of the present regime in Russia—which is not improbable. It is unlikely that her long tradition of cruel administration will disappear suddenly. At the same time the Soviet Government is untiring in its efforts to inculcate by means of pictorial and cinematographic interpretation of history the horrors of the system of government and oppression

under the old order. If the present government as well should adopt a similarly ruthless policy, it must be called a strange mistake, if nothing else, to create so strong an aversion to cruel treatment. At any rate, to defame Siraj-ud-daula for the black hole tragedy by cinema and other means and at the same time to perpetrate the Jalianwalabagh (Amritsar) affair would not unfairly be called the height of stupidity, because in this case the weapon is likely to turn against the thrower himself.

It is obvious that a violent effort is being made to cast public opinion in Soviet Russia into the mould of Marxian economies; out of this obstinacy free discussion on this topic has been deliberately stifled. I believe accusation on this score to be true. A similar attempt was made during the last European War to muzzle public opinion and to crush the independence of opinion of people opposed to the government policy by imprisonment and hanging.

Where the temptation for quick result is too strong, the political leaders are loth to respect man's right to liberty of opinion. They are wont to say: "Let us attain our objectives first; we shall attend to other things later." The situation in Russia resembles wartime conditions. She is beset with enemies at home and abroad. There is no end to manœuvring all round to wreck the entire experiment. The foundations of their structure therefore must be strengthened as quickly as possible; hence they have no qualms about using force. Nevertheless, however insistent the necessity may be, force is one-sided. It destroys, but does not create. The process of creation is twofold. Its raw material has to be assimilated not by coercion, but by the recognition of its inner nature.

Russia is engaged in the task of making the road to a new age; of tearing up the roots of ancient beliefs and customs from their ancient soil; of penalizing the luxury of time-honoured habits. When man finds himself in the whirl of destructive frenzy, he is carried off his feet by its intoxication. Conceit grows; he forgets that human nature has to be wooed; he thinks that it is enough to tear it up from its old moorings. Who cares what happens afterwards? Those who have not the patience to wait for human

nature to come to terms in its own time believe in persecution; what they finally build up overnight by violence cannot be relied upon; it cannot support the burden of permanency.

Where theory is ready, but not men, I repose little trust on unbridled autocrats. Firstly because it is not good sense to take one's opinion for granted: the test of its validity lies in experience. It is curious how those who have no faith in the scriptural authority of religion are the very people who are unmoved in their belief in an economic doctrine. By means fair or foul they try to reconcile people to the latter without realizing that, even were it possible to do so by compulsion, it does not prove the truth of the teaching; indeed its truth is inversely proportional to the use of force.

When Europe's faith in the teachings of Christianity was intense, the attempt was made to prove the truth of religion by breaking men on the wheel, by burning them at the stake and by crucifying or stoning them to death. Today, both friends and enemies of Bolshevism are indulging in similar unrestrained dogmatism. They accuse one another of abusing man's freedom of opinion, with the result that human nature in the West is being harried to death from both sides.\*

I have already stated my opinion on popular education in Russia and also discussed how, since politics there ceased to be tainted by the greed of profit-seekers, every Russian citizen, irrespective of race and colour, has been exalted by the equal enjoyment of rights and superior education. Being a subject of British India myself, both have given me profound pleasure.

I believe, I will now have to answer one last question. Many people have asked my opinion about Bolshevik economics. My only fear is that in a scripture-ridden and priest-led country the natural bent of our ignorant mind is towards accepting a foreign

dictum as biblical truth. Guarding ourselves against this danger, we must say that a doctrine can be tested only by application: the end of the experiment is not yet. Any teaching concerning man must have human nature for its chief element. How far it will harmonize with human nature is a matter of time. One must wait before fully accepting the principle. Nevertheless it is possible to discuss the matter, not only as an exercise of logic or statistics, but by always keeping human nature in the foreground.

Man has two sides--the individual and the social. One is unreal without the other. When man in a sudden impulse rushes headlong in one direction, and losing balance causes all manner of trouble, the counsellor wanting to cut short the crisis advises chopping off one side altogether. When individualism turns into downright selfishness and runs foul of society, the lopping off of "self" at one stroke from self-interest is the proposed remedy for all trouble. Trouble may thereby be lessened, but it is not improbable that society will cease to move altogether. A horse without reins is apt to drag the carriage down into the ditch, but the carriage is not likely to behave merely because the horse is shot down: it is necessary to think of the reins.

Men fight because they are physically distinct from one another; hence to propose to create only one huge body in the world by binding all men hand and foot with a rope is only worthy of a boastful economist of a Tsar. To try to excel the law of Providence shows more stupidity than courage.

Once Indian society was mainly rural. In this intimate environment there was harmony between personal and communal property. Public opinion was so strong that the rich man was ashamed of enjoying his wealth alone. He felt honoured when society accepted favours from him; in short in this relationship there was nothing of what is called charity in English. The wealthy took his place by the side of the destitute. To maintain his status in society he had to contribute very liberally in many indirect ways. Pure water, medical aid and education, temples, entertainments and village roads were provided out of private means flowing into

\* Here the Poet quotes a Baul (a member of a mendicant religious sect) song dwelling on the futility of forcing truth upon an unwilling world and comparing Man's impatience to realize his ultimate object with God's infinite patience in creation. . . . "the realization of our ultimate object is waiting for us. The Baul likens this fulfilment to the blossoming of a bud. . ." (Cf. *Creation Unity*, p. 76).--The Translator.

social channels and not out of royal revenue. Here individual and communal will could co-operate. It was spiritually creative because its basis was voluntary and not political agency; in other words, it implied not merely the external success of law, but personal improvement as well. The latter element indeed is the lasting living refuge of human welfare.

The position of the merchant community whose main business is the earning of profit by investment was low in our society, because in those days wealth was not held in much esteem. Consequently, the great difference between the rich and the poor was then non-existent. Wealth acquired its status in society not by huge accumulation, but by fulfilling its noble responsibility: otherwise it was ashamed of itself. That is to say, not wealth but virtue was honoured. Nobody felt humiliated in doing this honour. It is because those days are gone that signs of impatience towards wealth without social responsibility are evident in many forms, because wealth brings no offering to man: it humiliates.

From the very outset European civilization has sought to consolidate itself in the city. In the city man's opportunities grow while his social relations narrow. The city is big; men live dispersed; individualism is extreme and the whirl of competition intense. Its prosperity accentuates the gulf between the rich and the poor and what little is done to bring them together by charity is devoid of comfort and respect. There the possessor and producer of wealth are related to each other by material ties: their social relations are either disrupted or non-existent.

The advent of the Age of Machinery was heralded, profits increased inordinately. When this epidemic of profit-making began to spread all over the globe, the helplessness of the distant stranger and the poor knew no bounds. China was made to eat opium; India had to part with her all; the suffering of Africa, the victim of age-long oppression, went on increasing. But this concerns the non-European world only; even within the Western continent a grim division separates rich from poor today; the ideal of life being enormously costly and its trappings manifold, the differences between the two

appear all the more striking. In the old days, at any rate in our country, the pomp of wealth consisted mainly in philanthropy and other social services, while now it consists in personal enjoyment. It dazzles, but does not please: it causes envy, but raises no praise. The main thing is that in those days the use of wealth did not depend on the wish of the donor alone; it was subject to the strong pressure of social will. Hence the benefactor had to make his gift humbly; the maxim, "give reverently," held good.

In short, the tremendous power that wealth gives to the rich today can never dignify nor please everybody. It arouses infinite greed on the one hand and profound envy on the other, raising an insuperable barrier in between. Competition grows inordinately more powerful than co-operation in society. It rages between one class and another within the country and between one country and another. Thus on all sides suspicion forges fierce weapons whose growth nothing can check; while those strangers engaged in the task of appeasing the hunger of the far-off demon of greed grow leaner and leaner age after age for want of blood. Those who proudly imagine that the world's unrest cannot thrive on this widespread emaciation are blinded by obstinacy. These unfortunate wretches who eternally suffer are the main allies of the messengers of the god of Sorrow: the fire of revolution is being laid in their hunger.

Bolshevism originates in this inhuman background of modern civilization. It is like the storm which rushes in all fury flashing its lightning-teeth when the pressure is low in the atmosphere. This unnatural revolution has broken out because human society has lost its harmony. It is because the individual's contempt for the community has been growing that the suicidal proposal of sacrificing the individual in the name of collectivity has arisen. It is like proclaiming the sea to be the only friend when the volcano is causing trouble on the shore. It is only when the real nature of this shoreless sea is known that one becomes impatient to get back to the shore. Man will never tolerate for all time the unreality of individual-less collectivity. The strongholds of greed in society must be conquered and controlled, but who will protect society, if

the individual is to be banished for good? It is not improbable that in this age Bolshevism is the treatment, but medical treatment cannot be eternal; indeed the day on which the doctor's regime comes to an end must be hailed as the red-letter day for the patient.

I pray for the victory of the co-operative principle in the production and control of the wealth of our villages, for it recognizes human nature in not scorning the desire and opinion of the co-operators. Nothing succeeds by antagonizing human nature.

In this connection, I must stress one point. When I wish our villages to revive, I never wish for the return of rusticity. Rusticity is a species of superstition and education, intellect, belief and activity, which is unrelated to anything outside the village limits. It is not only distinct from the spirit of the modern age, but opposed to it. The scope of modern knowledge and mind is universal, although the sympathies of the modern heart are not as wide. Villages must be infused with life which is neither trivial nor narrow; which neither dwarfs human nature nor keeps it in darkness.

Once I happened to stay at a farmer's house in England. I noticed that the girls of the house were restless to go to London. In comparison with all the glories of the town the resources of the villages are so poor that the hearts of the villagers are not unnaturally constantly drawn towards the town. Even in the heart of the country the villages feel like so many places of exile. I have seen in Russia the attempt to do away with the contrast between the village and the town. If this attempt succeeds the unnatural expansion of the towns will be checked. The country's vitality and intellect will spread and be active throughout the nation.

I want our villages to enjoy full human dignity and wealth instead of being content with the leavings and surplus of the towns. It is my firm belief that by co-operative methods alone the village will find it possible to salvage its sinking strength. The regrettable thing is that until now co-operation in Bengal has lost itself solely in money-lending—a slight improvement on money-lending rusticity; it has been of no service to the task of production and consumption.

The main reason is that co-operation has come to our country official-ridden, under the patronage of an administrative system which is blind, deaf and indifferent. At the same time we must perhaps shamefully admit that the qualities which make co-operation easy are lacking in our character. Mutual trust is feeble in those who are themselves weak. Indeed absence of self-esteem is the basis of disrespect for others. Loss of self-respect from long servitude has culminated in this degradation. They will accept with bowed head the rule of their masters, but cannot tolerate the guidance of their own class; it is easy for them to cheat their own people and to treat them cruelly.

One learns from Russian story books that the condition of the long-suffering Russian peasantry is similar. However difficult the solution, there is no other way; nature must be corrected by creating opportunities for combining the forces of mind and body. It is not by granting co-operative credit, but by combined effort, thereby making the villagers co-operation-minded, that we shall save the villages.

*Translated from the Bengali by Dr. Sasadhar Sinha, Ph. D.*

Revolution is impossible without an all-national crisis, affecting both the exploited and the exploiters.—  
*Lenin.*

# THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR VILLAGE GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY SERVICE : PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

BY MISS USHA BISWAS, M. A., B. T.

**B**EFORE determining the steps to be taken to train teachers for village schools and community service, we shall do well to think out the type of education that is most suitable for village girls. We must also be quite clear and definite as to the aim and purpose of the education that is to be provided for the girls of the rural community. Barring a few isolated experiments in a new type of rural education that are being carried on, here and there, in this province by some of the Christian Missions and private agencies, a uniform system of education is generally in vogue both at the rural and urban schools. Efforts are seldom made to adapt the rural schools to the peculiar needs and conditions of the villages where they are located. Consequently, village schools fail to meet the real needs of the community, and thus alienate the sympathy of the local people. Unless a rural school can satisfy the requirements of the locality, it cannot be expected to be looked upon as an integral part of the community. Naturally enough, the parents are inclined to think that their children derive very little benefit from the schooling they receive. They, therefore, grudge to spare their children, for so many hours every day, for what seems to be a mere waste of time, energy and money. At the present time, the imperative need of modifying the entire educational system is being keenly felt by many, inasmuch as it seems to be too much dominated by what Bertrand Russell terms "the desire for sex equality." Indeed, the current curriculum is hardly designed to respond to the special needs of our girls. The little provision that has been made in it for a few special subjects for the girl pupils, such as cookery, domestic economy, needlework and the like does not suffice for the purpose. The village Primary Girls' Schools being mostly staffed by men, at the present time, very little facilities can be

provided for teaching even needlework to the girls. So the education that the village schools generally impart is of a purely literary and academic character. This course is intended to be a preparation for College and University education. It is needless to add that this type of education is anything but a misfit in the rural community, where 99 p. c. of the girls get married after a short career at the schools and are not likely to go in for higher University education. So these prospective wives and mothers of the rural community need to be "trained not only in books but in the art of home-making also." The bookish education that the girls receive at the average village school does not help to prepare them for their main occupation in life. After leaving school, the average village girl lapses into illiteracy, as the work that she had to do there is totally unrelated to the activities of her later life. Thus the rural school becomes entirely divorced from rural life, and the children, too, seldom care to improve the conditions around them. This maladjustment to rural conditions stands in the way of the progress of village education. School education thus tends to be looked upon with distrust, and is regarded as a sort of luxury that can be dispensed with. The view of Bertrand Russell that "some part of the female education should be a technical training for motherhood" seems to be a very sound one. The village girls, especially, are badly in need of this training. Another grave defect that is generally noticed at the village schools is that handwork and manual training are neglected there. But the majority of the pupils of the rural schools are the children of farmers and artisans. They are, therefore, destined for a homely career in their later life. So the over-emphasis of an academic education befitting gentle women, is likely to engender a lack of respect for manual labour among the school girls, who



may thus feel inclined to look down upon the calling and occupation of their own class. But education, to be worth the name, should consist in training people to be good citizens and useful members of the community. So organized efforts need to be set on foot in no time to give a new orientation to the rural schools for girls which have been neglected so far. Nothing short of thorough overhauling of the present curriculum and the method of instruction will be of any avail in making the schools function. The subjects to be taught to the village girls have to be selected with special reference to the needs of the rural community, inasmuch as the schools should aim at training the pupils in the work that will prove helpful to their own community. Our main problem is, therefore, how to turn out better housewives and more useful members of the rural community.

In a word, the girls should be taught how to make better homes and better villages, when they leave school. Consequently, special stress should be laid upon health (including hygiene, sanitation and first aid), household management, cookery, dietetics, mothercraft and care of children, home industries and needlework. School gardening, educative handwork, practical nature study, music and games should also be included in the curriculum. Occasional lessons may well be given in poultry-raising, care and improvement of live-stock, dairying and the rudiments of agriculture. In fact, the curriculum ought to be properly adjusted to the needs and conditions of particular villages and localities. Girls may be trained in a few useful handicrafts too. If they can thus help the male members of the community in their agricultural and industrial pursuits, the economic problem of the villages may be partly solved. Thus the village schools can be made more responsive to the needs of the rural community. If the instruction imparted at the village schools is to be sounder and more lasting, the project method may well be resorted to with a view to linking the lessons of the class-rooms to the everyday experiences of the children's life. At the village schools, everything may be taught on a project basis. Thus the "situations of real life" can be introduced into the

class-rooms. For example, the problems relating to cleanliness and sanitation may be worked out in the hygiene classes. Practical Arithmetic may be taught through the shop project, in connection with buying and selling. So the facts that the pupils learn are the results of their practical experience. The method is a tried one, and the principle underlying it is "learning by doing." The pupils are thus taught to develop initiative and resourcefulness, and are also trained in co-operation, self-reliance and "purposeful activity." In this way, a practical bias can be given to the whole of their education.

A village school can be a vital agency for rural uplift in various ways. It should constitute an important community centre, and, as such, its function should be to disseminate sound educational ideas and healthy ideals among the public which will make for a better and healthier life of the village people. With this end in view, entertainments, social gatherings, parents' and teachers' meetings, baby clinics and baby shows, midwives' classes, health campaigns and the like may well be held at the school. Excursions, exhibitions and *melas* are also of great help in promoting a public spirit and stimulating community interest. The school can thus provide for the education as well as recreation of both the children and adults of the village. The school authorities may also co-operate with the sanitary and agricultural officers as well as the Co-operative Society Secretaries in organizing, from time to time, lantern lectures at the school, for the benefit of the villagers, both young and adult. A circulating library, too, containing a choice collection of good books, may well be maintained at the school to which the literate section of the village population should have easy access. Thus the school and the community can be brought closer together, each helping the other. The school may serve as a model to the whole village, in respect of sanitation, gardening and farming. An ideal rural teacher needs to be a strong community leader, the noble mission of whose life should be to serve the village people and to contribute her share to their betterment. She should have the best interests of the community at heart, and

should eagerly participate in all the activities, pertaining to village welfare. She cannot, therefore, afford to neglect adult education, the importance of which cannot be stressed too strongly. She can well undertake this work, out of school hours at night, provided her time and circumstances permit. She can also take up the instruction of adult women in sewing, elementary nursing, hygiene, village sanitation and the care of infants at her spare moments, by cutting down her own leisure hours. For this part of her work, she will need a special training. If she herself is not sufficiently equipped and qualified for the task, she may secure the help and co-operation of some outside agencies. Now and again, she may, also, arrange for special demonstrations, showing how to improve upon the sanitary arrangements of the village houses, how to make these more comfortable and beautiful with the minimum of expense.

It is no use formulating a programme of rural education, unless it can be carried into practice. All our efforts in this direction will prove futile, if an adequate number of trained and qualified teachers do not rise to the occasion and come forward to carry on an extensive reform in this field. To secure suitable teachers for the rural schools seems to be one of the most difficult problems of the day which has baffled all solution up till now. The average city-bred woman is both to be employed as a teacher in the rural areas, where she is incommoded in more than one way, being cut off from the amenities of town life. The scale of pay that is generally offered as the village schools is hardly attractive enough to induce the right type of people to undertake such an important work. Consequently, in many of the village schools the teaching has to be entrusted to the people, with little or no professional training, who are quite ill-equipped for the task. Due to the paucity of teachers as well as of funds, in many cases, four or five classes have to be run by a single person, at the sacrifice of efficient teaching. Sometimes, even, if qualified teachers can be secured with great difficulty, they seldom care to stick to their jobs, as the lure of town life often proves too much for them. This is one of the reasons why the rural teachers should be recruited

from the villages, where possible. The village women are expected to be more capable of a sympathetic understanding of the rural problems than their urban sisters, who often find it difficult to enter into the life and needs of the rural community. An ideal teacher ought to know not only the children but their entire background also. She should be keenly alive to the moral, intellectual, social and economic needs of her pupils. Hence the necessity and importance of the study of civics and rural science for the prospective teachers of the village children. Those who will, in future, be the custodians of the educational interests of the rural community, should, by all means, be afforded ample opportunities of studying the village problems, at first-hand.

They must also be acquainted with the functions of the various rural agencies in charge of village welfare work, with whom they are expected to co-operate in bettering the social conditions of the people. For this, they need to go through a special course of training, which will enable them to equip themselves properly for the purpose. They must also possess the necessary skill and ingenuity to tackle the rural problems that they may be faced with. So an ideal village teacher is expected to be something of a social leader as well as a social reformer, who should throw herself heart and soul into her work. She must have the zeal and ardour of a reformer, and her selfless devotion to her cause should inspire her fellow workers with courage, enthusiasm and confidence. She also needs to have such a great personality as will enable her to command the respect and goodwill of all. She must, also, be something of an idealist, and must always strive to live up to her ideals. She should take a very keen interest in the village social problems and in the progress of her students and their people. She must also be an expert teacher, possessing ample initiative and resourcefulness as well as a strong capacity for service. If the village teacher is expected to fulfil such an important function, the selection of teachers for the rural schools seems to be of primary importance. If the teachers are to command a wider respect, their status must invariably be raised. The standard of recruitment needs

to be much higher than what it is at present, and the quality of training should also be improved upon. More respectable and adequate salaries are absolutely needed to add to the social position and prestige of the teacher and the dignity of her profession. The missionary spirit cannot be expected of every one of the qualified persons.

The rural teachers are seriously handicapped, due to their rather self-imposed isolation from the other educational thinkers of the day. They are badly in need of adequate training and sympathetic supervision. Their own environment is no source of inspiration to them, it being exceptionally narrow and conservative. So the question of providing for an adequate and effective training for them should be one of vital import. It is a pity that the training schools have done very little as yet to meet the educational needs of the rural community in the way of preparing efficient teachers for the village schools of the Province. These training institutions hardly stimulate and encourage independent study and thinking on these lines. Suitable vernacular textbooks are also wanting. That the teachers of the training schools are rarely conversant with the rural conditions, under which the students are likely to work in the village schools constitutes one of their serious disadvantages. So it is desirable that the training schools should keep in close touch with the ordinary rural conditions of Bengal. These institutions may well be connected with the social welfare centres, located at central points in each district. Facilities can be provided in various other ways to enable the training schools, preparing village teachers, to have easy access to villages. The training students may occasionally be taken on excursions to villages, thus enabling them to study the rural conditions at first-hand. On these occasions, they may be given plenty of opportunities of doing social service among the rural people. The training schools may also enter into an agreement with some of the ordinary village schools, so that the students under training may be sent there, for the purpose of practice teaching with reference to the rural conditions. The training course, too, needs to be revised, and the

study of rural science should be made compulsory for the prospective rural teachers. The number of training schools being too small to cope with the work, other deserving educational institutions should be allowed ampler scope for making experiments with the training curriculum, with a view to turning out more efficient rural teachers. Even trained and qualified teachers need a good deal of supervision and guidance. Very often, teachers are not loyal to their vocation.

They have a tendency to "slip back into the old grooves", if left to themselves. Besides, they are liable to get antiquated and thus to deteriorate, if they are quite out of touch with the modern developments. To prevent this sort of thing, short courses for further training may well be arranged during the vacations. The training school teachers will also do well to pay occasional visits to the village schools, where their former pupils are employed so as to guide their work on the right lines. Special conferences can also be arranged at the training institutions, for the benefit of the village teachers. There are other ways in which the training schools can ameliorate rural education. It cannot be expected that all the rural teachers will be trained in no time. So the training schools should try to devise ways and means to improve and guide the untrained teachers. They can send out trained supervisors of village schools, conduct teachers' and supervisors' institutes, arrange for brief courses for the teachers in service, and run educational journals for the instruction of teachers, just as the Moga School in the Panjab does. Care must be taken that efficient and competent supervisors are always appointed. The supervision, too, needs to be well-planned and well-regulated. The supervisors should aim at bringing about some definite results, by means of their sympathetic and intelligent guidance. Demonstration schools may well be set up in centrally-situated places for a limited number of schools. Demonstration lessons should be organized under ordinary village conditions. The teachers of the neighbouring villages should be required to attend these, so that they may profit by observing good teaching methods and sound educational experiments. They may also avail themselves of these opportunities

to discuss their common problems, and to arrive at definite standards, to which the village schools should conform. Health lectures, illustrated with slides, may also be arranged for, with the help of a hygiene expert, on some of these occasions. It is not possible here to lay down exhaustive suggestions as to how the untrained rural teachers can be guided along the right lines.

Now to sum up. I may be accused of putting forward some utopian ideas, which can never be put into practice. The tremendous success achieved by the American Community Schools and the "folk schools" of Denmark in the field of rural education may not be easy of attainment in our country. But we must not, therefore, conclude that such a scheme of rural education will not even partially materialize in Bengal, and that all our efforts in this direction are foredoomed to failure. There is no denying the fact that we shall have to fight against heavy odds. The deplorable conditions obtaining in the villages of Bengal are likely to unnerve many a sturdy worker. Appalling poverty, conservatism, social and religious antagonism, ignorance, superstitions and various other causes prove a serious stumbling-block to all the progressive

movements of the country. But the admirable work, done by some of the educationists, even in Bengal, inspires us with hope and confidence, and testifies to the immense possibilities of rural education even in our country. What they have been able to accomplish seems to be an earnest of what may come about in future. In Bengal, the Ushagram School at Asansol and Tagore's Sriniketan are two of the notable experiments in rural education that I know of. The example set by these two institutions is worthy of imitation by others. It is desirable that more schools should be started on the lines of the Ushagram School. The training schools may well co-operate with this institution in training teachers for village schools. It is high time that co-ordinated efforts should be put forth to overcome our difficulties, which should, by no means, dishearten us. Let us brace up our energies for the uphill work that is ahead, and at the same time, sound a note of hope like Shelley—

"If winter comes, can Spring be far behind?"\*

\* Read at the Bengal Women's Educational Conference, 1934.

## FIERCE VEXATION

By VERRIER ELWIN

My elder brother came to me,  
His age had made him burdensome,  
Importunate and suppliant, he  
For pity's paltry boon had come.  
But I with harsh discourtesy  
To his poor pleading said him nay,  
And sad he turned to go away.

Then saw I on his ancient brow  
Fresh drops of blood, on his old hands  
Marks of hard nails, while scarcely now  
Upon his wounded feet he stands.  
I looked into the awful Face  
Of love, while with uncertain pace  
My Master stumbled from the place.

Argument is as a desert and as a wilderness wherein one loses his way and comes to grief. Realization is everything.—*Buddha*.

# ENDOWMENT OF CULTURE

By O. C. GANGOLY

IF the agitation for an economic *swaraj* succeeds, and the power of taxation and control of public fund is transferred, in the future democracy in India, to popular control, it is a matter of great speculation to what extent, the uncultured masses, or the successful trader, or factory owner will be inclined to vote for decent sums of money being set apart for the cause of higher education and of expensive research works in all departments of knowledge; and for the preservation and development of the artistic heritage of India in its various aspects. It may be assumed that if the necessity of maintaining an expensive Police Force is removed, and the salaries of public servants are reduced, certain amount of public funds may be released out of which adequate provisions for primary education may be voted. But primary education is only the base, not the crown of the Pyramid. We have already some amount of primary and secondary education, with bases of very slender length, on which we have already built higher education of fairly respectable altitudes. If the length of the base of our primary education is indefinitely extended, in case universal primary education is achieved, within a few years, it does not follow that higher education, the point of the Pyramid, could be reached within a reasonable time. For, it is a piece of mathematical truth, the greater the base of a triangle, the greater is the height of the perpendicular. In fact, the demands for universal primary education are likely to exhaust the available public funds so as to leave nothing available for higher education and research work. The "Depressed" classes may be well expected to say that no grants need be provided for development of higher education, before all members of the "Depressed" classes had primary education given to them. What is really expected to happen is that there will be a tug-of-war between the claimants of primary education and the advocates of the higher education. There is a popular belief that higher education can afford to wait until primary education has grown to a respectable size, and that it is sheer waste of money to endow or subsidize institutions of higher culture and research—if the mass welters in a sea of illiteracy and ignorance. It is, even now difficult to convince not only the *intelligentia*, but many of our public men, our Councillors, and a large section of our educated brethren, that *primary education is no substitute for higher education*, and the latter cannot be and should not be made to wait until universal primary education has become an accomplished fact. To understand the gravity of the situation it is necessary

to examine critically the position of Education, and of the provisions for culture and research in a democracy, and what 'mass education' really means. Indeed, some of the best thinkers on the theory of Education have come to the conclusion that hardly any good, if any at all, is likely to come out of universal education. In any given society, it is impossible to find more than a fraction of the whole, fitted with the real equipment or the thirst or desire to acquire knowledge in the true sense of the term. Before we come to the views of educational philosophers, one is tempted to refer to the instructive Satire, by which Dostoevski hints at the kind of education that democracy demands. In his *The Brothers Karamazov*, he makes the Inquisitor say: "What the masses need is not freedom of the spirit, but mystery, miracle, and authority; some one to take their bread from their hands, bless it and give it back to them; some one who will permit them to sin, and take the responsibility on his own soul, some one who *will guard the secret* and deceive mankind every step of the way as he leads it down to death." In his lecture on "The Future of our Educational Institutions," Nietzsche puts a similar value to mass education. He believed that to the degree that education is universalized, it is weakened and minimized. That is to say, extension leads to want of depth and quality. The pseudo-culture in a democracy, according to Nietzsche, "endeavours either to bring the leaders down to the level of its own servitude, or else to cast them out altogether." He again remarks: "What is called 'the education of the masses' cannot be accomplished except with difficulty and even if a system of universal compulsory education be applied, they can only be reached outwardly. ... The education of the masses cannot, therefore, be our aim; but rather the education of a few picked men for great and lasting work. We well know that a just posterity judges the collective intellectual state of a time only by those few great and lonely figures of the period." If we analyse his writings on this subject, we find that Nietzsche came to the conclusion that education is *difficult* and *dangerous*, and that only the rare, strong and courageous spirits may attain it. According to Nietzsche, many do not really want education at all, but only that cheaper knowledge which will give them success and enable them to take their places in the rank and file; seeking such education, the herd *tramples culture under foot*, like cattle in growing corn when the fences are down. All his writing on this subject is a warning cry that

*the cultural values of civilization are in danger of being lost in an education for democracy.*

Mathew Arnold is another of the thinkers whose views on Education are entitled to respect. In his own way, he thus characterizes the level of culture of a prosperous democracy: "Consider these people, their way of life, their habits, their manners, the very tones of their voices; look at them attentively, observe the literature they read, the things which give them pleasure, the words which come forth out of their mouths, the thoughts which make the furniture of their minds; would any amount of wealth be worth having with the condition that one was to become just like these people by having it?" Like Nietzsche, Arnold also insists that education must struggle for its values if it is to survive in a democracy. In terms of his own socio-political environment, Arnold calls this new democratic force Jacobinism which he defines as "violent indignation with the past, abstract systems of renovation applied wholesale, a new doctrine drawn up in black and white for elaborating down to the very smallest details a rational society for the future . . . Culture is the eternal opponent of the two things which are the signal marks of Jacobinism—its fierceness, and its addiction to an abstract system." According to Arnold: "plenty of people will try to give the masses, as they call them, an intellectual food prepared and adopted in the way they think proper for the actual condition of the masses. The ordinary popular literature is an example of this way of working on the masses. Plenty of people try to indoctrinate the masses with the set of ideas and judgments constituting the creed of their own profession or party. . . But true culture works differently. It does not try to teach to the level of inferior class."

The misgivings and suspicions of these learned theorists may be said to have been disproved by the extensive spread of education in the so-called democracy of the United States, in Fascist Italy, and in Soviet Russia. In the States, the enormous subsidies given by the State, and the cities, (both by private endowments and grants, and also by appropriations from municipal funds,) to the growth and extension of educational facilities, have enlarged the boundaries of the means of education, by including large sections of the "lower strata" of society, which but for these facilities would be left out of the zone of educational benefits. In the States, more than in any other part of the world, the duties of the State and the cities in the matter of providing educational facilities on a democratic basis, have been given practical shape. Education, says our socialists, should not be confined to the few, but must be made available to the many. Education and culture must not remain the preserved privilege of the few and shut up in the cloister or the *chatuspathis*—it must be made to flow outside the clique of the

cultivated and the learned, outside the coterie of a few professionally trained scholars. Every member of a democracy must have the opportunity to share in the 'Cultural Goods of Civilization'. Education is not culture unless outside college halls it is a permanent and widespread interest which makes a difference in the tastes and habits of thought of the community. Huxley gave an unconscious compliment to the value of dissemination of culture and education when he deplored the fact that much of the intellectual leadership of Victorian England was found outside the University faculties. While this may have been a just criticism of the universities, it was a sign of intellectual vigour in the nation.

In the United States, while the demands of the education of the community have not been neglected, the demands of the facilities of a truly aristocratic culture have not been lost sight of. Education, knowledge and culture have not been dragged down from its aristocratic height, to pander to the mediocre level of the democracy to the downward slopes of the lesser needs of the community. A very happy balance has been maintained between the demands of higher education and culture and the mass education of the community in the United States. Without neglecting primary education, very generous and rich endowments have been provided for maintaining higher education and culture at a very high level and enormous funds have been provided not only for research work in the laboratories, and the museums, but also for expensive research expeditions, for excavations and field works, to distant countries, for gathering new data and materials for knowledge of every department of human activity. The universities and the museums have been equipped with adequate funds to pay for the service of the best experts of the world with library and laboratory facilities of the highest efficiency that money can buy. These expensive provisions have come, not only from the public purse, but also from the purses of generous private donors—members of a cultured democracy, from industrial magnates, railway and bank directors, from Rockefellers, Carnegies, Pierpont Morgans, and Otto Kahns. The writer is not familiar with the details of the provisions made for other departments of knowledge. His informations and experiences are confined to the steps taken in the States for disseminating knowledge of the Fine Arts and for providing for all members of the community opportunities to come in contact with Art, in all its phases, ancient and modern. Art is regarded as a vital factor in education, and is not neglected or relegated to a place after primary education. Education and culture 'through the eyes' is considered a most efficient form of primary as well as higher education. This is accomplished by providing richly endowed museums and collections of masterpieces

of Art, established by block grants from the States and from the Municipal funds, and kept up by recurring grants from the city corporation and by enthusiastic supports of the citizens who pay large amounts of subscriptions, through annual, life and sustaining membership. Almost all the important cities of the States have such museums maintained by public and private endowments. It will be enough to quote the figures available for three typical museums to illustrate the public support given to these typically democratic institutions of education and culture for the community. The Indianapolis museum in Indiana, the poorest city in the States, has an endowment fund of about 800,000 dollars (Rs. 32 lacs) and a recurring annual income of about two lacs of rupees, out of which Rs. 80,000 come from the State Education Department and the municipal funds in equal shares and the rest are contributed by the citizens as sustaining and associate members. The Art Institute and Museum of Chicago, a typically industrial city, has an endowment fund of two crores and twenty lacs of Rupees (5,700,000 dollars) and an annual income of eight lacs of rupees. The Boston Museum has a total endowment fund, roughly estimated at four crores of rupees, with an annual income of rupees twenty lacs. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, spends annually a sum of thirty-six lacs of rupees (nine lacs Dollars) out of which the city of New York contributes, from municipal funds, about nine lacs (3 lacs Dollars). The service that these municipal museums render to the cause of education is invaluable. They are intimately connected with the local universities, and students from schools and colleges are frequently brought to study in the museums with the help of expert guides provided by the staff of the Museum. Besides special series of lectures for boys and girls, technical lectures for teachers and professors are given at regular intervals, not only by the permanent staff on the Museum which include some of the foremost authorities on the various subjects represented, but also by visiting experts and special lecturers invited from abroad. Research scholars from the schools and universities are provided with facilities for studies, not only with the priceless masterpieces of the objects of Art and Culture belonging to the permanent exhibits (which are frequently added to every year by new acquisitions) but also with the help of a rich library of books, periodicals and photographs of monuments and objects pertinent to the studies of these scholars. In addition to these facilities, travelling fellowships, scholarships for study abroad, and research expeditions for excavations are provided for by the Museum from the general as well as from especially endowed funds. In addition, a training school for artists and designers are maintained with an expert teaching

staff, provided by each of these museums. For the general public, a competent staff of *docents* are provided for explaining to visiting members of the community the objects of the museum and for furnishing correct and expert opinion to enable the visitors to enjoy their contact with works of art and ancient monuments. For special groups of the public, or the members of clubs in the city, 'Sunday Afternoon Talks', and 'Gallery Talks' and 'Museum Tours' are given by members of the staff for the benefit of groups or particular sections of the public desiring to enlarge and broaden their culture, through intimate contact with art under expert guidance. Special exhibitions are held at frequent intervals, of ancient and modern work of art, in all their phases, Western as well as Eastern; and in connection with these exhibitions, lectures are delivered to draw the attention of visitors to the merits and characteristic qualities of the works exhibited. In museums on an average twenty four separate exhibitions are held every year, in addition to the permanent objects exhibited. Purchases and acquisitions of new work of art to the various departments absorb a large part of the income. And there are expert acquisition committees who critically examine works of art submitted to the Museum for purchase or acquisition by gifts. The Metropolitan Museum acquires on an average, every year, about two thousand new objects carefully selected on account of their artistic, historical or antiquarian merits.

In the States, responsibility and control of education have been shared equally by the State and the municipal or civic administration, a fair share being also left to individual and private enterprises. This division of responsibility has been based on the principle that good education begets good citizenship, and both the political and civic authorities are equally interested in the making of good citizens.

"In the nation as a whole both the elementary and the secondary schools are predominantly under public direction while in the realm of higher education private institutions still carry the larger burden. Thus, less than ten per cent of the elementary and secondary school pupils are attending private schools whereas the corresponding percentage in the institutions of higher education, excluding normal schools and teachers' colleges, is well above sixty. If the influence of the religious factor be disregarded, private enterprise remains strongest in those portions of the United States and at those levels of the educational system where the more favored social classes have sent down their deepest roots. In support of their policy of tolerating and encouraging private enterprise in the field of education, the Americans advance two major arguments. In the first place, they say that there are limits to which the State should go in determining the content of education. They seem to feel that parents have certain rights over the education of the child which the State must respect. Another argument is the contention that it provides an excellent opportunity for men of great wealth to devote a portion of their substance to the service of the public. Sometimes

the argument takes the other form that a society should have rich men in order that it may secure patrons of great universities, art galleries, and other cultural undertakings *which the people themselves would be unwilling to support*. According to the assumption underlying this theory, in the absence of millionaires the arts and the sciences would languish. Certainly in America the tradition of turning private funds to such uses has developed great strength, and huge fortunes are given to educational enterprises every year." (G. S. Counts: *The American Road to Culture: A Social Interpretation of Education*. 1930, pp. 35-37.)

The passage italicized above is very ominously significant, as it suggests that Democracy left to itself *would* neglect higher education and real cultural undertakings. The assumption that in the absence of millionaires, the arts and sciences are sure to languish, has been somewhat discounted by the programme of Soviet Russia.

Long before the advent of the Soviet Republic, Russia has paid its tributes to the cause of higher culture by collecting valuable works of art, relics of old civilizations, and remnants of antiquarian monuments of great aesthetic, historical and scientific values. The Hermitage Collection of Old Masters has a world-wide fame and reputation. The same museum contains unique examples of Sassanian and Islamic art. The well-known collection of Buddhist relics, made by Prince Uchomskij, which includes a remarkable series of metal sculpture of the Lamaistic School, (now housed in Leningrad,) has provided invaluable data for the study of Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhism. Recent scientific expeditions of Russian scholars and learned academies to Caucasus, South Russia, and Siberia (*e. g.* those led by Kondakoff, Kozlov, Boroffka and others) have added to the Russian museums unique and invaluable relics which throw a flood of new light on Scythian, Sarmatian, and later phases of Hellenistic culture. While preoccupied in solving economical and social problems, the Soviet Republic has not been unmindful of their duties as custodians of valuable works of art and priceless antiquarian remains and the need of affording opportunities to the larger public to establish contact with art and to liberalize their outlook on life. From this point of view, the impressions of Dillon, a trained journalist, are of great interest. In commenting on the facilities afforded by the educational authorities to the public to benefit by contact with valuable works of art collected in the museums, the author remarks:

"In truth, the Hermitage has not shrunk in extent or lost any of its treasures since the fall of the Empire. They are all safe and sound, and possibly more helpful to the general public today than ever before. On Sundays and holidays crowds of eager art worshippers, divided into numerous groups of about thirty visitors each from schools, clubs, and political associations all over the country, pilgrimage to the museums accompanied by masters or expert mistresses who

explain to them in simple, clear, and expressive words how a picture should be intelligently viewed, or else familiarize them with the characteristics of an old master, or a school. Hundreds of these children and adults travel from afar after having spent weeks, or months in preparation for the great day of their acquaintance with the famous painters of Italy, Spain, Holland, and Germany..... On week-days, however, the Leningrad Galleries were mostly empty, at least during my visits, and looked somewhat neglected. Occasionally, however, I met country people there in their rough costumes, and school children putting searching questions and uttering naive criticisms of the old masters in a low tone of voice" (E. J. Dillon: *"Russian Today and Yesterday"*, New York, 1930, pp. 244-45).

Indeed, art occupies an important flank in the 'cultural offensive' of the Soviet educational plan. The curriculum of the first cycle of the school of the second grade has a compulsory time-table, which, in addition to language and literature, Mathematics, Geography, Gymnastics, etc. include, six hours for "Drawing and Painting," and five hours for Singing and Music, every week. (Hans and Hensen: *Educational Policy in Soviet Russia*, 1930, p. 109.)

The evidence of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, on the facilities of culture values in Soviet educational policy, is of great interest and significance. In the course of a remarkable series of letters recording his impression of educational activities of the Republic [since published by the *Visva-Bharati* under the title: "Letters from Russia" (Bengali) 2nd edition, 1938]. Dr. Tagore has commented on the topic:

I am sure you will be interested in the report of how Museums of Art function here. In the city of Moscow there is a famous collection of pictures known as Tretyakov Gallery. Between 1928 and 1929, in the course of a year, about 3 lacs of visitors have come to see the pictures. It has been impossible to find room for the crowd of visitors anxious to come to see the pictures. To regulate crowds on holidays, it has become necessary to register previous applications for such visits. Before the establishment of the Soviet Government in 1917, visitors to this gallery came from the monied, educated and respectable classes,—the section of the people whom they call *bourgeoisie*. Now, the visitors are innumerable labouring classes, such as masons, mechanics, grocers, tailors and so on, and also Soviet soldiers, military captains, students and the agricultural classes.

The poet goes on to observe:

It is necessary to arouse in them, gradually, a consciousness for Art. For tyros like them, it is impossible to apprehend the secrets of pictorial art at first sight. They wander about gazing listlessly on the stretches of walls, and their powers of apprehension lose their way. For this reason, docents have been provided in almost all museums. These docents are recruited from the educational section of the Museums or from trained scientific hands in the Departments of the State. The visitors get their services free. The docents should be careful that the visitors do not run away with the fallacy—that to know only the contents and subject-matters



of pictures is all that "seeing" pictures means.... As I have stated in my previous letter, that they have started strenuous campaigns to make the whole country alive in strength and power, at a reckless speed, through intensive agricultural and machine-power organizations, this is an out and out practical scheme. This represents a supreme effort to attain absolute economic independence challenging the competition and rivalry of other and more prosperous nations.

In our country, whenever there is any talk of such comprehensive political efforts, we begin to say that in order to feed the red flame into one supreme conflagration, all other lamps in all other departments of life must be put out, otherwise, distractions may discount the values of our work. Especially, the culture of the Fine Arts is the enemy of all manners of stoic resolutions. In order to strengthen the national character, a hard and strenuous programme of acrobatics is essential. The *Vina* of Saraswati, if it has to be saved from banishment or extinction, can only be utilized as a regulation *lathi*, but not otherwise. One can only realize the hollowness of these false heroics, when one comes to Russia. Here we come across elaborate arrangements—to train the minds of those labourers, intended to function as efficient operatives in comprehensive schemes of factories and machineries, to approach with educated sense the spiritual flavours, the *rasa*-values of pictures. They have realized that those who are not sensitive to spiritual flavours are barbarous savages, and savages notwithstanding their sturdy exteriors, are actually feeble in spirit. (Pp. 77-82).

Yet, in spite of an apparent anxiety to keep open the doors of higher education and culture, the Soviet programme of public instruction has not been able to maintain a liberal outlook. For the sake of the demands of a communistic republic and those of vocational education necessary to solve the 'bread and butter' problem, the ideal of an education for its own sake, an education for the realization of the higher values of life, had to be shelved. On this point, the evidence of Albert P. Pinkevitch, President of the Second State University of Moscow, is very clear and outspoken.

The significance of the aesthetic interest in the education of man has never been questioned, yet that this field has been sufficiently developed or studied, particularly by students of Soviet pedagogy, *cannot be maintained*. There are, to be sure, a considerable number of small works dealing with the problems of aesthetic nurture, and the volume published by the Scientific Division of the State Scientific Council, entitled *Artistic Nurture in the School*, gives much concrete and highly valuable information, but nowhere do we find presented even a tolerably complete theory of aesthetic education. In our scientific literature a similar condition prevails. Aside from articles by Plechanov, Lunacharsky, and Friche, articles which do not aim at a systematic review, we have, as a matter of fact, practically nothing. Comrade Pelshe therefore is only stating the truth when he says that in field of artistic creation the international proletariat has nothing even approaching the material which it possesses in the fields of economics and politics in the form of the classical *Capital* by Marx, the

works of Engels, or the writings of Lenin. (A. P. Pinkevitch, *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*, 1930. P. 318.)

That in spite of scanty attempts for opportunities for development of the finer faculties the aesthetic side of education is being neglected is hinted at by the same authority :

In contrast with the old School, a school of books and words, our school strives to become a labor school, a school of life. Because of reaction against tradition, the word, particularly the artistic word, very frequently receives relatively little emphasis. Such a result is of course unfortunate. (Ibid, p. 329.)

For political reasons, the teaching of music, in preference to the other forms of plastic arts, receives greater emphasis in the educational curriculum.

The programmes of the State Council place chorus singing at the foundation of the musical studies; and their explanation for doing so is that "Chorus singing is an excellent method of social collectivistic training. It habituates the child to blend his own personal experiences with the experiences of others, to feel and act *en masse*, and at the same time to carry on his own individual work in connection with the work of the group and to feel himself a part of a complex organized whole." (Ibid, p. 328.)

Music is given an important place, not for its own sake as a valuable expression of higher phases of human culture, but as a useful instrument for developing the communistic ends of a political democracy. Yet, some of the Russian authors (e.g. Kurpsakia) has emphasized the function of all the forms of art, not only music, for developing a sound collectivism. "Art can contribute enormously to the development of a collectively-minded individual."

Nevertheless, the freedom of research and academic teaching had to be subordinated to the needs of the new Department of Vocational Education.

The vocational policy of the Soviet Government in trying to connect academic work with economic life of the country succeeded only in destroying the old organization of Universities, but failed to create any new methods of academic study. This policy rather resembles more the policy of Napoleon, who established a centralized "Université Impériale" which consisted of many vocational institutes subordinated entirely to the needs of the Government. Here, as elsewhere, the Soviet Government has followed the example of absolute rulers of the past. The number of higher institutions in the Soviet Republics is hardly comparable with the number of Universities and Technical Colleges in Imperial Russia. ... Russia possessed 11 Universities, 22 Higher Courses for Women, 16 Higher Technical Institutes and about 20 State and Private Colleges and Schools of University rank. The total number of students in these institutions was about 90,000. The Soviet statisticians give quite different figures. They give the higher institutions as 99 with 110,000 students, including under this heading higher institutions

of Music and Art, Veterinary Institutes, Archaeological Institutes and some private institutions not chartered under the old regime . . . . But the evident failure of this policy, which deprived Universities of their best Scientific forces and materials, has been recently acknowledged by the authorities (*Educational Policy in Soviet Russia*, pp. 165-166).

It must be evident that higher education and culture have somewhat scant prospects in a popular democracy. And if in the coming reforms in India, education continues to be a transferred subject, under the absolute control of popular voting, it is very unlikely that any money would be available for the needs of higher researches in history, art, archaeology, science or medicine. It is possible that existing educational institutions and universities may be socialized for the benefit of *harijans*, and universities may be replaced by primary schools to liquidate illiteracy. In Russia illiteracy has been abolished at the expense of and by sacrificing higher education and culture. For, from the democratic view of education, it is better that every man and woman in the estate should but learn the three R's, than that a few scholars and research students should be allowed facilities for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and permitted to enlarge the boundaries of the same. The discoveries of Science, or of historical data, or the creation of Art must wait, till universal primary education has been an accomplished fact. The Bose Research Institute, the Bangiya

Sahitya Parisat, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Tropical School of Medicine, or the Science College and all the Universities may have to close their doors, or to store away their stock of books, apparatuses, and equipments and be compelled to lend their halls for *harijan pathshalas*, or night-schools for factory hands. Already, the existing universities have earned much unpopularity for failure to provide vocational education or to solve the economical problems relating to poverty and unemployment. With the enlargement of popular control in education, the universities are likely to be subject to severer assaults. It will be argued with great vehemence and some logic, of what earthly use is the Chair of Comparative Philology in a country seething in illiteracy, what fraction of economic misery has been allayed by the lectures of the Minto professor?

It is incumbent on those who have a sensitive conscience for education, it is the duty of those who believe that the claims of higher education and culture must not be subordinated to vocational training, it is the responsibility of those who believe that *primary education is no substitute for higher education*, and *knowledge is no substitute for culture*, to demand for adequate endowments in the new constitution, for liberal provisions for higher education and cultural institutions, so as to make the pursuit of the higher forms of knowledge and research work in all its branches independent of popular caprice, or the accidents of party politics.

## WOMEN'S POSITION IN THE WORLD AND INDIAN WOMEN

By MRS. KIRON BOSE

### THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

**T**HE women of the United States have struggled to gain their present status. Miss Perkins has been made a Cabinet Minister (Dept. of Labour). Miss Ruth Bryan Owen has been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in Copenhagen. There are Senators, Congress Women, Professors, Bankers, Medical Women, etc.

Mrs. Julia Woodroff Wheelcock, who was entrusted with the diplomatic representation of the United States in Yugoslavia, has now taken over her new duties in Belgrade. She is a staunch feminist and firmly believes in woman's ability to serve her Government in any station of life.

But there are social inequalities and evils in the U. S. A. and the women are to change them, especially Divorce Law, and the right to secure information on birth-control.

### THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

In Great Britain Margaret Bonfield was a Cabinet Minister. There are M. P.'s, Professors, Lawyers, Doctors. It will not be out of place to mention that only a few years ago a group of progressive women under the leadership of Lady Astor was fighting for crimes against children and was arranging to raise the marriage age of girls to sixteen.

The position of women in other parts of the British Empire is growing more favourable, but the following news items must be of some interest to Indian women and to those who feel happy in vilifying Indian Womanhood.

(SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE, *The New York Times*,  
OCTOBER 29, 1933.)

Auckland, N. Z., Oct. 2—By a bill introduced in the House here John G. Cobbe, Minister of

Justice, seeks to raise the marriage age for New Zealand girls from 12 to 16.

The measure would remove what social workers have recently stigmatized as "a disgrace to the British Empire, and a state of affairs which would not be tolerated, even in India." Indian law demands that a boy be 18 and a girl 16. In New Zealand it has been possible for boys of 14 and girls of 12 to wed.

Social workers object to the present situation because of the fact that men held on charges of offences against girls often escape the police by marrying before the case comes to Court.

#### (TRIBUNE PRESS SERVICE)

Cape Town, Oct. 27 The Congress of the South African Women's Agricultural Union today passed a resolution in favour of raising the marriage age for girls from 12 to 16.

Mrs. Siebritz said that such early motherhood as caused by these marriages resulted in physically defective and subnormal children. She mentioned the case of a woman who at 42 years of age was the mother of 17 children.

Other speakers declared that very early marriages often protected men from a criminal charge when it would be more fitting if they should receive a life sentence.

#### THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SCANDINAVIA

As the direct outcome of two women M. P.'s proposal that the present constitution should be changed so as to allow women to become members of the Cabinet, the Government has now decided to introduce a Bill granting women access to all positions under the State, with the exception of the Army and Navy (including the various Departments of Military Administration) and the State Church.

By an Act in 1912, Norwegian women were granted the right to hold positions in the Civil Services and other State Departments under the same conditions as men, but they were expressly barred from appointment as members of the Cabinet, Diplomats and Consuls and as preachers of the Gospel in the Service of the State Church. If the new Bill goes through, women will be able to hold offices as Cabinet Ministers, and Diplomatic and Consular careers will be open to them.

In Norway a shipping firm has been successfully run for twenty years by two women. The two partners, who also personally supervise the repairing of the boats, have successfully steered their business through the stormy waters of post-war conditions. They own six steamers with a tonnage of 23,560.

#### WOMEN POLICE IN COPENHAGEN

The Municipal Council of Copenhagen has unanimously decided to increase the police force of the Capital, and in that connection to appoint five more police women. This will bring the number of police women in Copenhagen up to fourteen. The decision of the Municipal Council goes to show that the fathers of the town have

become conscious of the public utility of women police.

Norway, Sweden and Denmark send three women representatives in their delegation to the League of Nations during the Assembly. In Mexico a women police force was organized in 1929 and started with fifty members. Their chief duties are the protection of children, the prevention of women's offence and the prevention of public immorality. Police women are chiefly on duty in public parks and gardens and in picture houses, theatres and hospitals, but can be on duty in any other place to which they may be appointed. The police woman is naturally endowed with kindness and love towards children, with a complete knowledge of the character and weakness of her sex and with a high conception of desire for morality and righteousness.

#### WOMEN IN SWITZERLAND

The Swiss women are profoundly attached to the ideal of democracy. Because they love their country, they claim increased influence in the government of the State in which the citizens enjoy the maximum of civic rights. There is a woman lawyer on the "Swiss Committee for the combat of the war industries."

#### FIRST CUSTOMS EXPERT IN FRANCE

For the first time in France a woman has been appointed "Customs Expert" for the valuation and determination of the origin of carpets and tapestry. France also for the first time included a woman in the delegation to the League of Nations at Geneva.

#### BELGIAN WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

Women are members of Parliament in Belgium (where women are permitted to stand for Parliament, but may not yet vote at political elections), one of them occupying a seat in the *Chamber de Deputes*, and the other in the *Senat*. Both belong to the Socialist party. On the provincial Legislative Assemblies women were represented by four members; The number of women members of Municipal Council is 171, that of women Mayors 13. Fourteen women hold office as Sheriffs, 16 as Town Clerks.

#### WOMEN IN GERMANY

The position of women in Germany has been the reverse of progress. All the women organizations have been dissolved. The Minister of the interior, Dr. Frikj has undertaken the protection of the new organization, the "Deutsche Frauen front" which was composed of the different feminine groups. Mrs. Siber (who is one of the few women in a higher position in the Civil Service) was appointed the Vice-Chairman. Miss Lucie Hofflich, the well-known German Actress, has been appointed Director of the State School of Dramatic Art which was recently opened in Berlin. Another woman, Mrs. Edit Von Coler, serves on the Board of the new State Institution. Among the 38 members of the German

Academy of literature, which has been reorganized in harmony with the literary conception now prevalent in Germany, four are women.

### THE FASCIST ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN IN ITALY

In Italy Feminism has taken a backward step in the fourteen years of the Fascist regime. Great stress is being laid on the home and wide aid is provided to fit them for the bearing and rearing of children, but for no other career.

#### WIRELESS TO THE NEW YORK TIMES BY ARNALDO CORTESI

ROME, Oct. 28.—Fascism, from its foundation in 1919 to today, has been such a purely masculine phenomenon and has laid such stress on the development of the manly virtues that one occasionally loses sight of how women fare under the present regime.

Women, who hardly ever appeared in the picture of Italian public affairs even before the advent of fascism, certainly play a distinctly secondary rôle today. Indeed, from some view-points feminism has taken a step backward rather than forward.

Soon after Benito Mussolini's accession to the Premiership he appeared about to concede to women that equality of political rights with men which already existed in most progressive States but in which Italian women always displayed only a very lukewarm interest. He granted to them the vote in municipal elections, and this was generally interpreted at the time as the first move toward universal suffrage. Soon afterwards, however, elected Mayors were replaced by government-appointed "Podestas," with the result that women lost the newly acquired right before having time to exercise it. Since then woman's suffrage has hardly been mentioned in Italy.

The exclusion of women from politics is in perfect harmony with the Fascist outlook on women and the Fascist conception of their proper place in the scheme of things. The Fascists believe women were created by God for the specific purpose of bearing, rearing and educating future generations, and they hold that this mission is so profoundly important and absorbing that women should have little time left for other occupations. They believe, in other words, that woman's kingdom is her home and everything should be done to induce her to dedicate herself exclusively to it, this being the only method to insure that Italian stock shall continue to grow healthy and strong.

Within the narrow limits set by these principles, much has been done for women by the present government, especially with a view to fitting them to become good wives and mothers. At an early age, girls enter youth organizations of the Fascist party, which teach them the rudiments of the prevailing conceptions of their duty toward the State.

At a later stage, when they are about to become mothers, the nationwide organization provides ample facilities for their advice and assistance. Opportunities for learning the domestic arts and modern methods of caring for children are made available.

The outstanding development in the Italian women's existence is that they are now for the first time encouraged to take an interest in sports. Such activities are under strict control by Fascist authorities, who frown on violent and fatiguing games, which are believed likelier to injure a woman's delicate frame than to strengthen it. Nevertheless, the milder sports, such as tennis, swimming, riding and gymnastics, are now definitely on the normal curriculum of Italian young women. The motive that prompted this departure from traditional usage was the same as that underlying the greater part of the changed outlook towards women, namely, belief that a moderate amount of the right kind of sport fits their bodies for motherhood.

In the United States and Britain, the status of women in Italy perhaps is considered somewhat old-fashioned. That status is probably influenced somewhat by the opinions of the Vatican, which is even more conservative than are the Fascists where women are concerned. It will be recalled, for instance, that the Pope more than once has publicly protested against even the limited amount of sport for women advocated by the Fascists.

### THE MARCH OF PROGRESS OF THE WOMEN OF ASIA

The Turkish women are progressing fast and are holding their head high. They have taken full advantage of a decade of freedom from Moslem tradition. They are facing life unafraid. Now that the first thrill of liberty is over, they are tackling sober problems of everyday life.

The women of Japan and China are taking a prominent position in medicine, education, etc.

#### *The Associated Press*

Istanbul, Oct. 28. Ten years have been sufficient for Turkish women to run the gauntlet of a newly acquired freedom and settle down soberly to education and work.

With its tenth anniversary occurring tomorrow, the Turkish Republic celebrates also the end of the adjustment period of its women's emancipation.

One of President Mustapha Kemal's most sensational reforms was his liberation of women from the traditional veils, harems and the seclusion of Moslem tradition.

"Show your faces to the world and look the world in the face," the Ghazi told them, and a million city women dropped their veils with zest.

Their first look at the world was fairly startling. Women of the upper classes who had long nibbled at romantic novels behind lattices, found at last an opportunity to be their own heroines. The new education opened to them by American motion pictures added sophisticated touches to their ambitions and they swung with gusto into the business of being socially modern against a brand-new background of cubistic apartments.

Marriages decreased, divorces increased. One Istanbul merchant won a divorce from his wife because of her poker debts.

Millions of Turkish liras went to France for imported champagne, Paris gowns, perfumes and lipstick. The society women of Istanbul and Ankara came to be among the best dressed in Europe, the most skilful of modern dancers and

the most insouciant of cocktail drinkers. They drank because it was "chic" to drink, but have never developed a real taste for liquor. Even in the most flamboyant days of the new freedom it was rare to see a Turkish woman inebriated.

Young men and women who had been brought up to expect the usual Turkish fate of marriages arranged by parents, with not even a glimpse of each other until the marriage day, now had the luxury of freedom in matters of the heart and made tragedies of a good many of them. Stories of the death pacts among the youth became so prevalent in the Turkish press that finally the government ruled that no mention of suicide should be made by any newspapers in Turkey.

A recovery of their native good sense, momentarily shaken by the merry-go-round of Western liberty, coupled with the economic crisis, is now making Turkish women swing round to normal in matters of the heart, poker, fox-trotting and Paris gowns.

The younger generation is actually turning up its nose at the imported frivolities of its mothers. Girls and boys alike have to face a future of work conscious that the present crisis is theirs to solve.

The number of girl students in primary schools throughout Turkey has increased fivefold since 1913. Many women have become prominent as professors, lawyers and writers.

The new decade has produced a woman banker, Hatidje Hanım, who both looks out for a family of five children and holds down the job of subdirector of the biggest Turkish bank, the Ish Bank, in Istanbul. —*The New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1933.

The Japanese people see in the International Red Cross Conference which is to be held in October, 1934, at Tokio, an event calculated to promote world peace and better understanding among the nations. Prince Tokugawa, President of the Japanese Red Cross and for 25 years President of the House of Peers, told American newspapermen at the Hotel Meurice yesterday.

"I am glad to think," the Prince declared, "that public opinion in my country strongly echoes the hope of the Japanese Red Cross that the International Conference in Tokio may make a real contribution, not only to the development of the Red Cross movement throughout the world, but also to the cause of better understanding between all the peoples of the world in that humanitarian work, which lends itself perhaps better than any other to close and friendly international co-operation."

Prince Tokugawa has utilized his visit to Europe to make personal contacts with the headquarters of the League of Red Cross Societies in Paris, whose secretary general is Ernest J. Swift, and with Red Cross leaders in other countries. As president of the Japanese Red Cross, he will welcome to the Tokio Conference the delegates of all governments that are signatories of the Geneva Convention and the representatives of 58 national Red Cross societies.

"The Red Cross in Japan is a very vigorous and active body," he explained. "Besides keeping in readiness for the work which it—like all national Red Cross societies—may be called upon to do as the auxiliary of the army medical services in war time, it has an extensive peace time programme, conducting many hospitals and dispensaries, training and utilizing nurses on a

great scale, and possessing a junior Red Cross membership that approaches 2,000,000."

The Prince, who received a delegation of the French Junior Red Cross yesterday afternoon, is leaving for London today. —*Chicago Daily Tribune*.

Indian women should send their representative sisters in the coming Congress.

#### WOMEN POLICE IN CHINA

Hankow, where eight women were trained for the policeforce in 1931, had the honour of being the first Chinese town to introduce women police. Recently another town, Peiping, which already has the reputation of possessing one of the finest forces of the country trained by a Norwegian Officer, is to be still further improved by the co-operation of a large number of women who are now undergoing three months' training by Chinese Officers who have studied the American method. The majority of the women are students; they will, as is usual, perform all duties in connection with women and girls.

#### THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN FRANCE

For the second time in the history of French Medical practice, Dr. Papillon, a woman doctor, is to hold the position of head of the department, the first woman to occupy such a position having been Mm. Bertrand Fontaine. Mme Papillon, a specialist in diseases of the throat and mouth, declared, "there is an anomaly with regard to us, women doctors in France which, to express it mildly, has always amused me. I hold the life of patients in my hands and if I apply for a passport I cannot get it without my husband's authorization." Countess Anna de Noailles, the French poetess, was one of the few women to hold the high rank of the Commander of the legion of honour.

In Ireland three women were returned to the Dail at the last Parliamentary election.

#### THE DIPLOMATIC CAREER OPEN TO SPANISH WOMEN

Among the advantages which the Spanish women have derived from the new regime is access to the Diplomatic career. Twenty-seven candidates out of two hundred and seventy were successful at the recent examination for the Diplomatic service, one of them being a woman, Senorita Margarita Sallaveria. There are five women who have secured seats in the Spanish Parliament.

#### SUFFRAGE FOR THE WOMEN OF THE PHILIPPINES

Women of the Philippines have been granted Suffrage on the same condition as men. To exercise their new rights they must be twenty years of age, able to read and write, and possess property worth at least \$ 250.

#### THE FIRST WOMAN ARCHITECT IN POLAND

Hedvige Dvyrzyska is the first Polish woman to choose Architecture as a career. Though she is only 33, already she holds a prominent place

among architects in her country, having designed and constructed important buildings. She has taken part in numerous architectural competitions, national and international, can boast of no less than thirteen first and an even greater number of second and third prizes.

#### WOMEN IN LUTHANIA

Magdalene Brazyte is the first woman judge in Luthania. She has been attached to the Mariopole Law Court since 1920. She became a temporary member of the court in 1920 before she was nominated a judge in 1931. The number of law students is growing steadily. Quite a number of women are deviling for Barristers previous to being called to the Bar and many are attached to Law Courts, where, according to legal practice in Luthania, they have acquired practical knowledge of juridical procedure, before they can enter the judicial branch, first as Substitute Judge, and finally as regular member of the Bench.

#### WOMEN IN INDIA

Contrary to the popular belief in the West, the women in India have always occupied a place of respect and veneration. Both in ancient and modern times Indian women have contributed much to science, religion and social welfare. Organized activities on the part of Indian women is, however, of recent origin.

The most important work undertaken by Indian women at present lies in the political field. In the struggle for national emancipation women have been fighting side by side with men. The women suffrage movement may be dated to the year 1917, when the All-India Women's deputation waited upon Mr. Montagu, who was the Secretary of State for India and who visited India in that year. The women demanded equal suffrage, and although they failed to secure representation in the National Legislature, Provincial Governments were empowered to enfranchise them and over a million of women were granted suffrage as far as provincial legislature was concerned. As a result Dr. Mrs. Reddy became the Vice-President of the Madras Legislative Council.

At the Round Table Conference, Indian Women had three representatives. According to the present arrangements, about six million women will be enfranchised and some forty-four women will occupy seats in the provincial legislatures under the new constitution. It must be mentioned that Indian women, irrespective of caste or religion, have been from the beginning opposed to the communal representation, and the present award of

representation has been thrust upon them in spite of their vehement protest.

The activities of Indian women are not confined to the political field alone. They are interested in education, social reform, social service and similar other work. Many are being qualified as lawyers, doctors and professors.

Mrs. P. K. Ray, the well-known educationist, is a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University. In the year 1927 two women magistrates were appointed in two of its largest cities, *viz.* Bombay and Madras. In England the first magistrate was appointed in 1920. And only recently a similar honour was conferred on Calcutta when eleven women magistrates were appointed simultaneously. There are about sixteen women magistrates in Bombay and many more in the Madras Presidency. Two women were elected as Councillors of the Calcutta Corporation by the general electorate and a woman was appointed an Alderman.

In 1920 two of the Native States, Cochin and Travancore, not only granted franchise to women, but soon after that nominated two women to their respective Legislative Councils, the lady member in Travancore holding the portfolio for Public Health.

Sarojini Naidu, the famous poetess, presided over the Congress Sessions in the year 1925. Recently a few women have entered banks.

Indian Women have realized that they have their own special mission in life and a contribution to make to the evolution of humanity. And in spite of the tremendous obstacles in their way, they are striving by every means in their power, to stand shoulder to shoulder with their sisters in other lands and to make their contribution as efficient as any.

This year, for the first time, an Indian woman has been appointed to represent India on the Committee at Geneva dealing with "Traffic in Women and Children." The two Committees dealing with traffic in women and children consist of representatives of twelve Governments and of those International Organizations which are directly interested in the questions dealt with by the Committees. The Committees consist of thirty-one members, of which thirteen are women, seven being representatives, five assessors and one a *liaison* member. Three Eastern countries have been asked to join the Commission of Enquiry into the traffic in children and women. The Committees which had delegated women either as their sole representatives or substitutes were Denmark, Great Britain, Poland, Roumania, Spain and the United States and they are elected for the period of five years.

Sex equality is the law of nature and therefore it is the law of God. In all the vegetable and animal kingdoms until they come to man the law of sex equality is as firmly established as the law of sex difference.—MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.



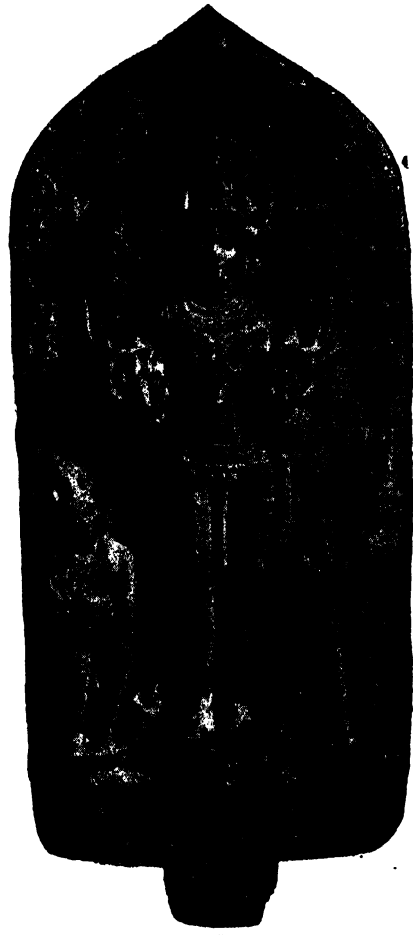
## VIKRAMPUR ARIAL MUSEUM

By RAMES BASU, M. A.

**D**URING the reign of the Palas and Senas as also of the other less-known dynasties of local chiefs Bengal had attained a great celebrity in art, religion and other branches of culture. And as we have no connected history of that glorious period from the eighth to the twelfth century, we are to remain satisfied with the stray historical materials lying scattered here and there. Owing to the recklessness of man and ravages of nature we are to search out even the names of the vestiges of ancient time which are now lost to us. And it is all the more unfortunate that the manuscripts which contain these vestiges could not very often maintain their existence within the four limits of Bengal—for that we had to go to Nepal or other neighbouring provinces. The only source of our consolation is that the relics of ancient temples, images and stone and copper inscriptions have not completely vanished. The relics of most of the temples are recovered after much exploration or excavation, and from time to time the images and inscriptions, all on a sudden, come to our sight. But old coins of gold and silver suffer most owing to the fact that ordinary people do care for their metallic value and not the historical. In our times old relics are discovered only to be transferred from their original sites; these are procured either for the big public museums or for rich private collections. In the last century the finds from a certain well-defined cultural region have travelled far from their original sites; now in most cases, we do not even know the names of the find-spots. This is a great obstacle to the clear understanding of the cultural tradition and general history of a particular region.

Another fact also is worthy of our serious consideration. The common people of the country at large go to the museums of the cities and wonder at the images or some other

exhibits; they cannot feel or claim any sort of intimacy with them—they cannot even think that they are the descendants of those who had worked those wonders. It is for this



Suryya—Dacca Sahitya Parishat

reason that if local museums are established in the regions considered to be the central places from historical point of view then the

ordinary people not merely wondering at the things of the past will feel a particular connection with them. We have had enough of bookish history, now it is time that we should look to the practical application of history in the matter of training the masses. They will not stop short merely by worshipping

have now gone beyond the limits of the *pergana*. Only those who care for historical research or carry on investigation themselves know their whereabouts. It is desirable that a regional museum should be established in



Ganes—Ariai Museum

the images and other relics—as they are wont to do—gradually along with the spread of education they will be up and doing so that those invaluable treasures may not be either lost or removed. That such a mentality can really grow we have noticed practically in the upbuilding of a village museum which is still in its nucleus stage. As a case to the point we should like to give a very short account of the preliminary stage of the formation of a museum in a very old village of Vikrampur in Eastern Bengal.

The *pergana* of Vikrampur was a very well-known centre of culture in ancient times. This was connected with the names of the Palas, Senas, Chandras, Varmans and Khargas of Bengal history. From almost all the old villages of this region, images and other relics have often been discovered. Most of those finds



Kalkin (horse-faced)—Ariai Museum

Vikrampur itself for the special study of Vikrampur centre. Even a short time ago whatever came from within the limits of Vikrampur was known to outsiders as being found at Rampal, reputed to be the capital of Vikrampur. So the original places of many of the finds could not be known. But the finds should be connected with the name of the place from where they come. And as the cultural products of Vikrampur they have a special claim for inclusion in the proposed Vikrampur Central Museum. With this purpose in view the *Palli-Mandul* (Village-union) of Ariai has decided of late to found a museum for Vikrampur. This will facilitate connected research-work about Vikrampur on scientific lines. And, as to the matter of collection, even now many relics can be preserved and unearthed if only the sympathy and co-operation on the part of the villagers can be secured; otherwise, if we are to sit idle looking for the attention of the Archaeological Department of the Government it is sure that many of the things will either be lost or transferred. The inhabitants of



Vikrampur are well known for their local patriotism, so it can be hoped that they will not hesitate to show enthusiasm in the project.



Garud. Arial Museum

We propose to give below a list of the images with a short account of each collected from Arial itself.

(1) A new type of Vishnu image (Visvarupa)—This is one of the rare types of Vishnu images. It has four heads and twenty hands. We find no mention of such an image in the Bengali book on Vishnu images called *Vishnu-murti-parichayaya* by Pandit Binode Behari Bannerjee. In Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* there is a *dhyana* of Visvarupa but there is no mention whether any such image has ever been found anywhere. I have seen one in a

Bengali magazine we published details of this image with its identification which seems to be quite satisfactory. The image was a very good specimen of Bengal sculpture, but, unluckily all the hands on the right-hand side and both the legs down the knees have broken off.

(2) A Vishnu image of the Bengal school of the usual type.

(3) The head of a Vishnu image.

(4) A new type of Kalki image (horse-mouthed)—Of the various *avatara*s of Vishnu Kalki has this peculiarity that he rides on a horse. This our image reminds us of Revanta, the son of the Sun-god, to some extent, but on close observation the former will be found to be nothing else than that of Kalki. He has four hands and is riding a horse; there is the



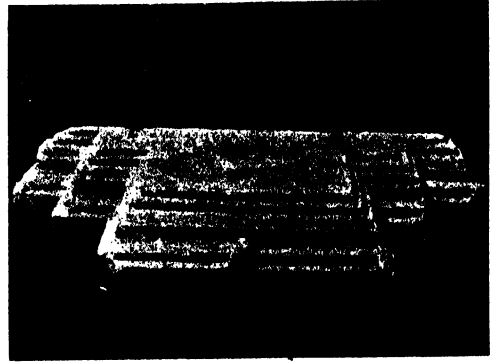
Vishnu (Visvarupa)—Arial Museum

*sri-vatsa* mark on his breast. The chief peculiarity of the image is that the face is horselike and that can be clearly detected even in its broken condition. There is the

*dhyan* of the image in Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. But it is not known whether any other specimen of this particular type has elsewhere been found. The face, one of the left hands, the left leg of the god, and the head and leg of the horse are broken.

In order to show clearly that this is an image of Kalki, we quote the special *dhyan* of the god which helps identifications :

कलिः कने मध्यमं दशतालनितमश्वाकारं मुखमन्द्यजराकारं चतुर्भुजं  
चक्रशङ्खधरं खड्गखेटकधनुस्त्रिरूपं भयानकमेवं देवरूपं कृत्वा कौतुकं  
विष्णुं चतुर्भुजमेव कारयेत् ।—वैखानस आगम ।\*



Pedestal—Arial Museum



Karttikeya—Arial Museum



Uma-Mahesvara—Arial Museum

(5) It was a piece of good fortune that the collectors of Arial got such a fine image. Very few images of Garuda are found to be any match for this one from the artistic point

\* *Elements of Hindu Iconography*—by T. A. Gopinath Rao, Vol. I, pt. II—appendix C. प्रतिमान चणानि p. 49.

of view. Its special merit is this that the sure touch of the artist's fingers has combined

liveliness and godliness. Even the folding of the hands is artistically treated. It is bound to be considered a finished and matchless specimen of Bengal art. The image is unbroken.

(6) Uma-Mahesvara—This is an *alingana* type of image, having all the marks of the type. It is unbroken. There is a little peculiarity in the features which may be marked in many old images.

(7) Uma-Mahesvara—Another of this type is in the collection.

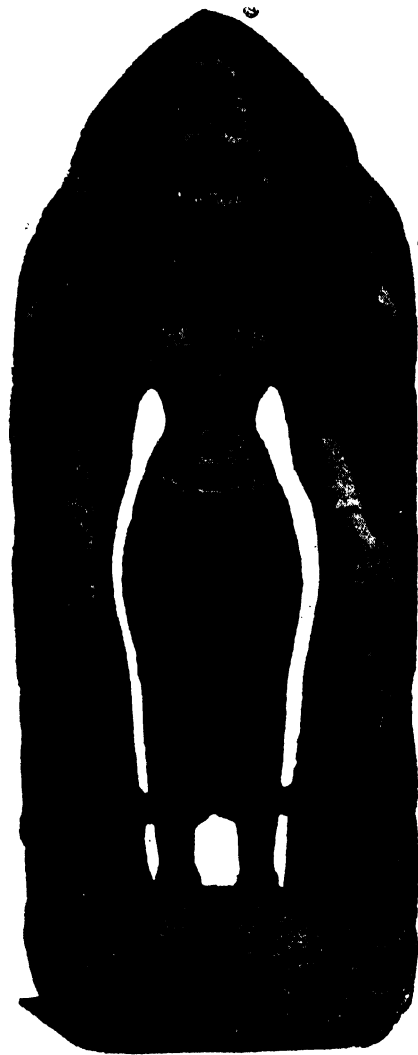
(8) Nataraja—This Siva image is of the Bengal type which is different from that of the Deccan. The image is broken.



Vishnu—Arial Museum

(9) Karttikeya—A fine image of Karttikeya. Unluckily the face and a hand are broken. The god is riding on peacock, his *vahana*, in the *maharaja-lila* posture. This

type of Karttikeya image is found in the Bharat-Kala-Parishat of Benares and the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi. This



Gauri—Dacca Museum.

image is very rare in Eastern Bengal. In the illustrated catalogue of the Dacca Museum Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattacharya, M. A., remarks, "The only image of Karttikeya that has come to the writer's notice in the Dacca and the Chittagong divisions, is preserved in the Vaishnava monastery at Abdullapur, district Dacca (*Iconography of Buddhistic and*

*Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* p. 147). The image has six hands.

(10) Ganes—A Ganes image with the entire lower portion missing. It is very like the Nataraja Ganes of Outshahi (found at Ranihati) and Munshiganj, both in Vikrampur.

(11) Surya—A miniature Sun image has been collected. It was discovered by a boy of the village aged only ten years.

(12) Only the lower part of a huge Sun image has been acquired—the seven horses are distinctly carved.

(13) A broken Marichi image is in the collection.

(14) Over and above the images a huge *asana* for an image has come into the collection. It is of the *pancha-ratha* style. It is made of a kind of graphite stone which does not seem to be very much used in Bengal. The surface is smooth. There are two small holes for setting the image for which it was built.

(15-16). Two huge blocks of sandstones—These are shaped, which, at the very look, seem to be the relics of the basement of some old stone-building. This fact by itself is significant enough, because stone buildings are very rare in alluvial Eastern Bengal.

(17) A part of wooden door-jamb—about four cubits long. On it is carved two serpents embracing each other—scales are very clearly carved on these serpents. At the other end of the same surface, a finely finished woman is standing in the *tribhanga* pose.

Besides images and sculptures, other old relics have been collected. About 700 old

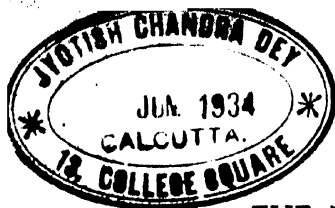
manuscripts of the village have been taken charge of. A small coin-cabinet has also been the look out of the workers—for which one coin of Akbar the Great, one of Shah Jehan, one of Alamgir II, one each of Lakshmi Singh and Gaurinath Singh, the Ahom Kings, and four or five of the British and French East India Companies have already been acquired.

From what has already been said one can judge about the possibilities of this village museum which is still in the nucleus stage. Considering the fact that a great many of the images of this village discovered in the nineteenth century have been transferred to other places, it is no mere idle speculation on the part of the organizers of this museum to form one. Already through the indefatigable and praiseworthy attempts of Mr. Jayshankar Bannerjee, B. Sc., who is a resident of this village, we know of a score of images which are now either in the village or neighbouring villages, in the courtyard of the Dacca Collectorate, Dacca Museum, Dacca Sahitya Parishat, at Belur or with private persons. The inscribed and dated image of Chandi, of the reign of Lakshman Sena, which is now at Dacca, in a private house, was taken to that town by the late Mr. Baikunthanath Sen along with a number of other images from this village on the back of an elephant. This is remembered by all the old people of the village.

This museum was started only three years ago. It has already attracted the imagination, sympathy and co-operation of the villagers, young and old. It has the good fortune of acquiring some very rare and fine specimens of Bengal art.

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A high level of armaments is no substitute for general security. At best, it only creates the illusion of security in one quarter while at the same time it is aggravating the sense of insecurity in another. The security which set before us as our ideal is security for all, and security for all fundamentally depends on armaments reduction.—*Sir John Simon.*



## THE REDEMPTION OF THE BRAHMAN

(A Review)

BY JNANCHANDRA BANERJI

THE "Redemption of the Brahman" is a short novel by the eminent American scholar and authority on the Sankhya philosophy, Dr. Richard Garbe. It was published so far back as in the year 1896 in Chicago as one of the volumes of the Religion of Science Library by the Open Court Publishing Company. It tells the story of a caste- and custom-ridden Brahman and how he was redeemed, and thus gives us an insight into Dr. Garbe's ideal of what constitutes true Hinduism. The penetrating vision, the deep wisdom and foresight, and the love of Hinduism of Dr. Garbe may be gauged from the fact that the two lessons which he has sought to inculcate in this simple love-story deal with the two vital problems of Hindu Society which, thirty-seven years after he wrote, have now been thrust into the forefront by the aggressive and riot-loving section of the Moslems on the one hand, and by the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the agitation among the so-called depressed classes and untouchables on the other.

The scene is laid at Benares, in the year 1840, in the house of a merchant (evidently a Vaishya by caste) Krishnadas, a widower, living with his young widowed sister Lilavati and his married daughter Gopa, aged 18, whose husband is engaged in trade in Cashmere where he is a boon companion of the young prince in his sports and dissipations and has not visited his wife for years.

The story opens with two processions to celebrate the Muharram and a Hindu religious festival, the Mahomedans moving toward the mosque of Aurangzeb 'whose slender minarets tower high above the holy city of the Hindus' and the Hindus proceeding toward the neighbouring temple of Visveswar. They had to pass from opposite directions through a narrow lane.

"It was but a few moments and the two processions met before the very door of Krishnadas. Involuntarily the shouts and prayers ceased, and for a moment a deep expectant silence ensued.

"Then from the front rank of the Hindus, a tall young man with firm energetic features, of a strongly-marked foreign type, stepped forward and spoke: 'Make way, and let us pass!'

"But scarcely had he spoken when a howl of anger arose in the ranks of the Mohammedans: 'Will you fall back, you unbelieving dogs!' and the foremost of the Moslems leaped forward swinging the clubs with which they had provided themselves in anticipation of a conflict.

"The Hindus began to fall back muttering; but the youth who had appointed himself their spokesman turned upon them a glance of boundless astonishment, drew himself up haughtily, and cried to his yielding comrades: 'How now? Will you give up the field for the cowslayers, the unclean herd? Stand, and force them back!'

"A howl of rage from the Mohammedans was the reply, and in a trice they had surrounded the bold youth and separated him from his companions.

Then with a swift movement he seized the club from the nearest of his assailants, smote him to the ground and before the Mohammedans could recover from their astonishment at the unprecedented occurrence with lightning speed he struck down a second, third and fourth. A cry of surprise escaped the lips of Gopa looking out of the window with breathless attention: 'Look! look! it is Mahadeva who has come down to destroy all enemies of our faith!'

"At this very moment she cried out anxiously, for the supposed God had received a fearful blow on the breast, and sank against the door of the house. A redbearded Mollah with glittering eyes shouted above the tumult, 'Let me through to kill the dog!'

"Willingly they made room for the fanatic in whose uplifted fist a dagger gleamed but before he reached his victim something unexpected happened; the house door flew open, the unconscious Hindu disappeared and in a few seconds the cross-bar grated behind the closed door. The Mohammedans were indignant and endeavoured to break down the door, but the well-joined timbers withstood them. A few moments longer the uproar continued, until the guards of the public order appeared, led by the English officer under whose supervision the police were placed. The sight of the much-feared magistrate, who was seen in the interior of the city only upon special occasions, had a quieting effect upon the excited throng. Several arrests were made and the remainder dispersed..."

The hero of the story, Ramchandra, who was thus rescued from the clutches of a fanatical mob of Moslems and brought back to life by the lovely and beautiful Gopa and her father and aunt was a Brahman from Rajputana who had come to Benares to study 'not the subtle teachings of logic, which the acuteness of the Hindus is wont most to enjoy, but the deeper wisdom of the great Indian pantheism.' He had learnt with shame how cowardly the Hindu was. With the aid of Krishnadas, for Ramchandra was very poor, he began to prosecute his studies, and in a few years the fame of his learning, young as he was, filled the whole town. He was now engaged by Mr. White, Judge of Benares, to instruct him in the wisdom of the Hindus. Mr. White had entered the Indian Civil Service as the first scholar of his year expressly with the object of studying Hindu philosophy. Being suspected by his friends as a Government spy, owing to his intimacy with Mr. White, Ramchandra replied, in words which no doubt reflected Dr. Garbe's own views, as follows:

"If the wisdom of the Brahmans is promulgated in the West, is it better that it should be a cloudy mass of indistinct ideas, at which all wonder and shake their heads, or that it should shine as the brightness of the sun, so that the thinkers of the sunset lands shall point to India and say: Thence comes our light?"

Then follows a pathetic chapter on the death of Lilavati whose *ekadasi* fast fell on the day when she

was suffering from high fever and whose parched lips cried out for a drop of water, but when Gopa wanted to offer it, it was the Brahman Ramchandra who, with his implicit faith in the injunctions of the *shastras*, prevented her.

But his faith in popular Hinduism and the ritualistic laws of Brahminism and in his own pride of birth was rudely shaken by the puerile and inhuman practices which he saw at Benares. The Pujah festival at Durgabari, where great herds of cattle were slaughtered and at the same time monkeys were worshipped, the unmeaning and inhuman sufferings and indignities which widows had to undergo, the vile treatment meted out to the untouchable Aghori by all but Mr. White, even the hint thrown out by him as to the purity of Ramchandra's Brahminic blood, whose fiery and brave temper he attributed to a strain in his blood derived from a female ancestor of the soldier caste at a time when the *autnom* form of marriage, sanctioned by the law books, was still prevalent, all combined to make him feel the Justice of Mr. White's retort to his remark—redemption is beyond your reach for all time.

"The redemption, that is, the emancipation of the individual soul from the pains of mundane existence, all your systems which I have studied with you, propose to attain through the medium of the intellect, through this or that knowledge. I seek redemption by morality, and I believe that everyone may attain to it in this life. The disciples of Buddha, the enlightened one, whom you Brahmans have driven out of your land, have approached nearer to the true understanding of redemption than you."

But argue with the Judge as he might, Mr. White's friendly remonstrances had struck home, and we find Ramchandra thinking to himself thus :

"Your laws ? Your commandments ? And what if it be true, as the Sahib says, that the sacred laws are not given by the gods, but are the work of men ? No, no, it is not possible that by human laws millions of creatures are condemned to filthy misery, despair, and starvation ! I shall go mad if I think of it !"

And the wise English Judge observing the workings of his friend's mind, said :

"Believe me, Ramchandra, you are in the true path to enlightenment. It will not be long before you, too, can distinguish between the will of God and the laws of Brahmanism."

Meanwhile Gopa's husband also died in distant Cashmere and Krishnadas, with the memory of his deceased sister still fresh in his mind, refused to shave her head and take away her jewellery, and was outcasted in consequence and his business was ruined.

This was too much for Gopa, who, in her wrath, gave Ramchandra a bit of her mind :

"In the short time that has elapsed since Lilavati's death, this has become perfectly clear to me. The divine laws, of which you Brahmans are always talking, and whose most distinguished conservator you desire to be, are nothing but lies and deceptions ! The pitiful existence to which you condemn the poor Pariahs was formerly established as a law by your class through base selfishness. And the mass, the ignorant mass, has believed your words and has languished in these fetters from century to century. You Brahmans are not the protectors, you are the

scourges of our people....,with your solemn faces, you stand there unassailable and say : 'it is the will of the gods that the widow must live in misery and despair'. I tell you, more tears have flowed from the eyes of the widows of our land, than waters from the Ganges into the sea ! But that does not move you ; sooner will the lofty glaciers of the Himalaya melt, than the icy coat of cold indifference round a Brahman heart..."

"Sobbing, she left the room."

"The Brahman stood there, deeply agitated, but at the same time a feeling of freedom came over his heart. 'From the lips of this woman,' thought he, 'the truth has been shown to me, and the truth will conquer and must conquer. I see redemption dawning upon us. But she does me an injustice. From this hour I am no longer a Brahmin, but a man'.

The first thing he now did was to take his meal with Krishnadas a thing which he had so long scrupulously avoided ; then he confessed his love for Gopa and asked for her hand :

"I always loved you, Gopa, but I know it only a few days ago."

"The maiden lifted her happy eyes, leaned upon his shoulder, and whispered, 'I always loved you, and always knew it.'"

The last thing that Ramchandra did was to break his sacred cord, as the last outward sign that bound him to his caste. This did not mean, however, that he renounced his religion. To the priest who said "Next we shall hear that Ramchandra, the learned Brahman, has accepted the Christian faith," he replied, "Oh no, rest assured I shall not become a Christian."

But when the priest, whom he had so far shown the greatest deference, commanded him to leave the outcaste Krishnadas and his house, with a calmness quite unexpected he replied :

"Only those should give commands who have power to compel their execution. You weaklings have allowed this power to be taken from your hands ; the Sahibs rule the land."

Then the priest cursed him and said, "May you never find redemption."

"Redemption ?" Ramchandra cried. "I have found it. There is but one in India, the redemption from the fetters of your delusion, from the soul-smothering bonds of Brahmanism."

Krishnadas was now the happiest of fathers, for Gopa was to be married (evidently under the Civil Marriage Act) by the Judge with Ramchandra whom he so dearly loved. He said :

"You are young....and may live to see things change in our land, I shall not ; and it is not necessary. Having once partaken of such happiness as has been mine today, I have not lived in vain."

And the Judge Mr. White, turning to Ramchandra, said :

"You do not know yet what I owe *you*. You have restored in me the belief in your people, which I had lost. In you I see the future of this country."

This brings the story to an end, leaving the reader to ponder, in the year 1933, how far Mr. White's best wishes for the future of Hinduism have been fulfilled since Dr. Garbe wrote the book in 1896, and how many Brahmans since then have been redeemed, in the sense in which the author uses the word.

# HENRY DEROZIO : THE TEACHER-PATRIOT

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

## I

**H**ENRY Louis Vivian Derozio died in Calcutta on December 23, 1831, at the age of 23. In this short period he rendered immense service to Indians. Though of mixed descent, he always regarded India as his motherland. His poetry breathed deep love for India and her ancient culture and muse.\* To the world outside he is known as a poet and a journalist.† His services to India, however, consisted chiefly in his work as a teacher in the Hindu College of Calcutta (1826-1831). His teachings moulded the life and character of the boys of the College. Some of these boys became pioneers of religious, social, political and intellectual movements in the country in after life.

Derozio was a brilliant alumnus of David Drummond's Dhurruntolla Academy in Calcutta. In annual examinations he often stood first in recitation, reading, geography and other general subjects.§ In those days examinations were conducted with great pomp. The elite of the city, including the editors of newspapers, were invited to these functions. In the annual examination held on December 20, 1822, in the Academy, Derozio's recitation was very successful and excited the applause of the audience. The editor of *The India Gazette*, who was present on the occasion, wrote :

The English recitations from different authors, were extremely meritorious, and reflect great credit upon the scholars and the teacher. A boy of the name of DEROZIO gave a good conception of Shylock; and another time, little fellow, named EDWIN TURNBULL, gave Portia's appeal, and the speech on Mercy, with appropriate gesture.

\* His sonnets "Why hang'st thou lonely on you withered bough?" and "My country! in thy 'days' of glory past" are illustrations to the point.

† Henry Derozio edited two papers *Hesperus* and *East Indian*.

§ Two advertisements about Drummond's school appeared in *The Calcutta Gazette* of Dec. 25, 1817 and *The Government Gazette* of Dec. 31, 1818 respectively. In them were described the successes of the pupils at the annual examinations. About Henry Derozio we have :

Henry Derozio—First in Recitation, Reading, Geography, and general extraordinary acquirements at 8 years of age.

A Gold Medal

Henry Derozio—First Reader in the School and remarkable powers in recitation, etc. (9 years of age)...

Walker's Elocution (prize)

feeling, and correctness of accentuation. Colman's humorous Vagary of the Poetical Apothecary, was recited also by DEROZIO, and with capitally ludicrous effect... It was an interesting sight to behold the Native children sitting side by side with the sons of Europeans. This is as it should be. The Natives begin to duly estimate the value of education. Those who are educated together must contract kindly feelings towards each other, and this must in the end prove generally beneficial.\*

It should be noted here that Derozio's kindly feelings towards his pupil—all Indians, were nurtured in his *Alma Mater*, the Dhurruntolla Academy.

## II

Derozio left Drummond's school in 1823. He then went to Bhagalpur, and became clerk in a mercantile firm. During his stay over there he pursued his studies further in English literature, history and philosophy. A poet by nature, he culled themes from what he saw around him and composed beautiful poems. He was still in his teens when he returned to Calcutta to serve as a teacher in the Hindu College. Derozio was amiable in nature, and had a sweet voice. His exposition of things was also excellent. He was not far above his pupils in age. It is no wonder then that soon after his appointment in the Hindu College, he became the beau ideal of its young learners.

Derozio's services in the College commenced in May, 1826.† In the pay-sheet of its teachers for January 1827 I find him stated as the fourth teacher and Rs. 100 against his name.§ We learn from the diary of Radhanath Sikdar that he took lessons from Derozio in English grammar, composition and poetry while he was in his fourth form.\*\* This Radhanath Sikdar rose to be the Chief Computer of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India and discovered that Everest was the highest peak on earth. It is probable that Derozio later taught the boys of the second and third classes English literature and history.§ Besides Radhanath there were among his pupils such eminent persons as Sib Chandra Dev, Ramtanu Lahiri, Ramgopal

*The India Gazette* (Supplement), December 23, 1822.

† *Sambachar Darpan*, May 13, 1826. Cf. *Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. 1, p. 28

§ *Hindoo College Proceedings*, Unpublished.

\*\* *Arya Darshan*, Kartik 1291 B. S.

§ *Henry Derozio*. By Thomas Edwards, p. 30.

Ghose, Raja Dukshinarranjan Mukherji and Pyarichand Mitra. The Rev. K. M. Banerji, Rasik Krishna Mullik, Hara Chandra Ghose and Tarachand Chakravarty, though not strictly his pupils, were imbued with his teachings and became his friends.

Derozio loved his pupils dearly. He was impressed with the rapid progress they were making in their studies. He built high hopes on them. He believed that this noble band would one day bring honour and glory to their country.

Derozio wrote a beautiful sonnet on his pupils, which shows, in vivid colours, the ideal teacher that he was :

Expanding like the petals of young flowers,  
I watch the gentle opening of your minds  
And sweet loosening of the spell that binds  
Your intellectual energies and powers, that stretch  
(Like young birds in soft summer hour),  
Their wings to try their strength. O how the winds  
Of circumstance, and freshening April showers  
Of early knowledge, and unnumbered kinds  
Of new perceptions shed their influence,  
And how you worship Truth's omnipotence !  
What joyance reigns upon me, when I see  
Fame in the mirror of futurity  
Weaving the chaplets you are yet to gain  
And then I feel I have not lived in vain.\*

### III

In teaching Derozio followed a method which was not only interesting but also proved beneficial to the young learners. They have borne testimony to it in their writings. Radhanath Sirdar wrote in his diary :

Mr. Derozio was a very kind and indulgent teacher : though often vain of his attainments, he was nevertheless a learned man. He first taught us the whole class the object and end of knowledge, an information which cannot be too highly valued ; and implanted that ambition of literary fame in my bosom which I am glad to affirm directs and actuates all my effort even to this day. He first directed my metaphysical studies and gave us those moral and liberal principles which I hope will ever influence my actions. Cut off in the prime of life, amidst innumerable projects for the reformation of India, his untimely death must ever be a matter of regret ; and it may be safely affirmed also that he has been the cause and the sole cause of that spirit of enquiry after truth, and that contempt of vice, which are so fashionable among the enlightened portion of the community, and which cannot but be beneficial to India.†

Derozio always aimed at instilling the spirit of enquiry into the minds of his boys. He wrote on one occasion :

Entrusted as I was for sometime with the education of youth, peculiarly circumstanced, was it for me to make them pert and ignorant dogma-

tists, by permitting them to know what could be said upon only one side of grave questions ? Setting aside the narrowness of mind which such a course might have evinced, it would have been injurious to the mental energies and acquirements of the young men themselves. And (whatever may be said to the contrary) I can vindicate my procedure by quoting no less orthodox an authority than Lord Bacon. "If a man," says this philosopher, "will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts." ... One doubt suggests another and universal scepticism is the consequence. I therefore thought it my duty to acquaint several of the college students with the substance of Hume's celebrated dialogue between Cleanthes and Philo, in which the most subtle and refined argu-



H. L. V. Derozio

ments against theism are adduced. But I have also furnished them with Dr. Reid's and Dugald Stewart's more acute replies to Hume--replies which, to this day, continue unrefuted.†

### IV

Derozio did not instruct his pupils in the classroom only. Out of the college hours his

\* Originally published in the first number of *The Kaleidoscope*, also reproduced in *The India Gazette* of August 10, 1829.

† *Arya Darshan*, Kartik, 1291 B. S.

† *Henry Derozio*. By Thomas Edwards. 1884. Pp. 83, 84.



pupils and friends flocked to him to hear his discourses in the Academic Association or in Mr. Hare's school (now called the Hare school). The Academic Association, a debating club and perhaps the first of its kind in India since the advent of the British, was founded by Derozio, in 1828 or 1829. The Association met at first in Derozio's house; later it was transferred to Srikrishna Singh's Maniktala Garden-House. Derozio's discourses in the Association on such subjects as fate, faith, the sacredness of truth, the nobility of patriotism, exerted immense influence on the minds of his pupils. These young learners started *Parthenon*, the first paper in English, ever conducted and edited by Indians. *The Bengal Spectator*, conducted by some of these pupils, wrote in its issue of September 1, 1842:

About this time [early 1830] the lamented Henry Derozio by his talents and enthusiasm, by his unwearied exertions in and out of the Hindoo College, by his course of lectures at Mr. Hare's school, by his regular attendance and exhortations at the weekly meetings of the Academic Institution,\* and above all by his animating, enlightening and cheerful conversation, had wrought a change in the minds of the native youth, which is felt to this day and which will ever be remembered by those who have benefited by it. It was then that the first native paper in English the "Parthenon," was put forth under his auspices. The first No. advocated the cause of colonization and that of female education. It condemned the superstitions of the Hindoos and prayed for cheap justice. It started the orthodox Hindoos, and their might and influence crushed it in the bud. The second number was in type, although it was never circulated. But the spirit of enquiry was not, could not be checked... Half a dozen of Derozio's boys caused a fervent in society and gave the first shock to Hindooism. A strict and reverent adherence to what they were taught as their principles, an almost romantic attachment to what they deemed the spirit of truth, characterized these young men. There was indeed such a singleness of purpose, such a devotion to the cause of truth, such unflinching attachment to principle and such burning and pervading enthusiasm, that one might have predicted without extravagance, a revolution in the manners, the morals and religion of the Hindoos.

Derozio's pupils stood for truth, right and justice. They wanted to fight dogmatism to the finish, no matter from whatever quarter it came. The enthusiasm of some, however, ran to excess. They ate things publicly from forbidden quarters in defiance of Hindu orthodoxy. They went a step further. They became sceptics and lost all faith in established religions. Neither Hinduism nor Christianity was spared. In his autobiographical sketch, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee wrote:

The opposition they manifested to Christianity was nearly as decided as their antipathy to

Hindooism. Several nights the subject of our sketch rambled in company with large bodies of friends in the principal streets in town, in order to throw the missionaries into ridicule, by feigning to preach the gospel, and imitating their mispronunciation of Bengalee and their incorrect use of words and phrases in their language.\*

Such conduct of the pupils was naturally resented by the orthodox people. They made Derozio responsible for this. An agitation was set on foot in the Hindu community against him which virtually caused his dismissal from the Hindu College. This happened on the 25th of April, 1831. Derozio wrote in reply to a letter from Horace Hayman Wilson, Vice-President of the Managing Committee of the College:

If the religious opinions of the students have become unhinged in consequence of the course I have pursued, the fault is not mine. To produce conviction in their minds was not within my power; and if I am to be condemned for the atheism of some, let me receive credit for the theism of others. Believe me, my dear Sir, I am too thoroughly imbued with a deep sense of human ignorance, and of the perpetual vicissitudes of opinion, to speak with confidence even of the most unimportant matters. Doubt and uncertainty besiege us too closely to admit the boldness of dogmatism to enter an enquiring mind and far be it from me to say that "This is" and "That is not" when after most extensive acquaintance with the researches of science, and after the most daring flights of genius, we must confess with sorrow and disappointment that humility becomes the highest wisdom, for the highest wisdom assures man of his ignorance.†

## V.

The period during which Derozio served the Hindu College was afterwards known as the "Derozian Period." With his departure from the college, its efficiency in teaching also fell. A person with the initial "W" wrote a letter to *The Calcutta Courier* in April, 1833, complaining of the miserable condition of teaching in the college. This led to a controversy in the paper, some supporting and others refuting the statements of "W." In the course of a letter, "A friend to the College" gave an account of the condition of the College in the time of Derozio. His estimate of Derozio's services to the college was almost thorough. He wrote:

Your correspondent W. has drawn his conclusions from the state of things, not as they were but as they are. Let him for a moment take a retrospective glance of what may with propriety be termed—the Derozian period of the college. The master-spirit of this young man, whose premature end will be deplored by every friend of humanity and of literature, called forth all the energies of the human breast. The charm of his eloquence nerved his young disciples to the most daring—yet

\* A debating club.  
Derozio presided for

† H. L. V.

\* *The India Review* for October, 1842. Also reproduced in *The Bengal Hurkaru*, November 1, 1842.

† *Henry Derozio*. By Thomas Edwards. 1884, p. 84.

the noblest acts, doing what is unparalleled in the annals of any college, or even in the history of mankind. He infused into the infants the sternness of manhood, and taught them to sacrifice home and every kindred tie at the altar of Truth. Those who were near felt the violence of the times, and though his best friend applauded, yet that applause was not altogether unqualified; yet this one good was achieved—the Rubicon, that great moral barrier of Hindoo refinement, was crossed, and the triumph of reason and philosophy over ignorance and superstition may now be regarded as fixed and irrevocable.

To appreciate in a correct manner the rapid advances that education has made within the last few years, we need only to revert to other prominent facts connected with this eventful *Derozian period*. I shall point out a few of these. The *Parthenon*, a weekly moral and literary periodical, was got up under his auspices, and but for the friendly interposition of Dr. Wilson, who lamented its being a rather too premature production (a direct avowal this of an advance too rapid for the state of things), it bade fair to flourish, supported entirely by the contributions of the young students of the College. The *Academic Association*, another extremely useful institution, which has attracted the attention and elicited the applause of the first gentlemen of the place, was founded and fostered during his time and by him; and despite the various efforts made to crush it at its bud, the spirit that animated its founder, continues to guide its operations to this day. A third work of his hand was the

*Weekly moral and intellectual Lectures* given by him to the Students of College and other sister Institutions. I remember with feelings of pleasure the glow of enthusiasm visible on every countenance assembled on these occasions. Love, gratitude, truth, honor, appear to have been the prominent features of his short but brilliant career; and the spell that bound his pupils around him, served alike to animate them to almost super-human exertions. Those who benefited most by his instruction have brought themselves conspicuously forward: some editing respectable periodicals, others aiding by contributions; while a third class, moved by a congenial spirit, have spread themselves abroad and are benefiting their fellow countrymen by the establishment of gratuitous Seminaries, devoting thus not only their heads but their purse in the glorious cause of moral improvement...

One word more and I shall have done. In drawing our attention to the merits of the Hindoo College, I have been insensibly led into an eulogy of the late much lamented Mr. Derozio; these have been so identified that, in dwelling on the one, I have not known how to separate from it the other.\*

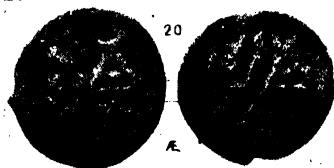
The spirit of enquiry Derozio infused into his pupils has come down to us and led us to acquire fresh knowledge every day with an open mind. Herein lies the greatness of Derozio the teacher-patriot of the early nineteenth century.

\* *The Calcutta Courier*, June 5, 1833.

## COIN OF SAMPRATI MAURYA

BY K. P. JAYASWAL

CUNNINGHAM in his *Ancient Coin of India* has published a coin of the Taxila mint (Coin No. 20 on Plate II, opposite page 60). This coin has not been attempted to be read.



On the *reverse* the legend is in Kharoshthi and reads

(Line 1) स म्प्र (Sampra)

(Line 2) दि (di)

There is a *moon-on-hill* monogram of the Maurya dynasty placed on the top of a standard. The other symbol is of the four-quarters (चतुर्गन्त) denoting Empire by the standard the letter *di*. On the *obverse* side the coin has the same

moon-on-hill symbol which started with the reign of Chandragupta and was a monogram on his name (*Chandra*, moon). There is a svastika below the monogram, as on Asoka's inscription at Jaugad, where it is placed on a standard. By the side of these symbols, there are two *aksharas* in Brahmi मी and यौ (*Maurya*), but the *gyo* is placed above *Maur*.

We have thus a second signed coin of the Mauryas. The earlier Mauryas gave only initials of their names on their coins which have been discovered at Pataliputra (Excavations). I am showing this in my book on Maurya coins.

I may add that the form *Sampradi* is correct, while *Samprati* of the Puranas, meaningless. The Divyavadana gives *Sampradi*.

*Samprati* (corr. *Sampradi*) was a grandson of Asoka. This coin and that of Dasaratha (already published) prove that both Dasaratha and Sampradi ruled, one after another, just as the Puranas state. That their empire included Taxila, like that of their grandfather, is now established by these frontier coins of Dasaratha and Sampradi, bearing legends in Kharoshthi, for circulation in Afghanistan and the neighbourhood.

# ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN KINDRED VERNACULARS

By DIWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI, M. A., LL. B.

**H**IS Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda has recently sanctioned a scheme for holding, every year, a Conference in Baroda of Marathi and Gujarati writers of repute, for the benefit of the public. In accordance with it, the Vidyadhikari invites five scholars of each language to Baroda, and along with several other officers of the State, connected with the Educational Department, discusses with such scholars subjects bearing on the different branches of literature. The scholars are further invited to deliver lectures on some subject of their choice out of those determined at the Conference. Provision has been made for paying travelling and halting charges of the person invited to attend the Conference and also an honorarium to the lecturer. The scheme furnishes one more instance of the generous encouragement given to literature by His Highness. This year the time selected was the week beginning with 28th February, when His Highness' birth day celebrations were being held. Five subjects were selected for lectures, one of them being "Establishment of closer relations between kindred vernaculars." The others were: 1) Some thoughts on Gita: Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University; (2) The critical edition of Adiparva: Prof. B. K. Thakore, B. A., I. E. S., (Retd); (3) Ideal of Indian Universities on linguistic basis: Mr. K. M. Munshi, B. A., LL. B., -not delivered owing to illness; (4) Main tendencies of modern Gujarati literature: Mr. Ramanlal V. Desai, M. A.

The lectures were delivered in Gujarati.

The following is a translation of what the present writer said on the subject of the title of this article.

Out of the many vernaculars current in India, those that belong to the same gotra, i. e., those descended from the same parent, have come to form allied groups. Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati, for instance, have their origin in Sanskrit, and therefore form an allied group. The resultant advantage is that an individual speaking any one out of these four vernaculars finds it easier to pick up a working—if not an intimate—knowledge of any other or all the vernaculars of that group, than one speaking the vernacular of an alien group, e. g., a Madras. A Gujarati or a Dakshini would more easily pick up Bengali or Hindi than a Tamil or Telugu speaking person from the south. The reason for this is that many words are common to each of the allied

vernaculars, besides similarity in syntax, modes of thinking and expression of thoughts and ideas. On account of this element of commonness and similarity it is easier to establish closer relations between such vernaculars *inter se*, for literary purposes amongst others, than between them and those belonging to an alien-non-allied group, which have no common origin and lack contact, linguistic and spotal.

Indians have an innate aptitude for studying foreign languages. Study of foreign languages has been their destiny for centuries. During the time of the Muhammadan rule, they had to study Persian, as that was the Court language and the language of their rulers. Indians learnt it so well that they became experts. They could write poetry, carry on correspondence in cultured style, and discuss such highly philosophical subjects as Sufism, most creditably in that foreign language. That was so all over the country, specially in the north, east and west. Then, with the decline of the Mogul rule, our destiny became linked to the British rule, and for the last century and a half we have taken to the study of English and produced scholars of the calibre of Sir Surendra Nath Banerji, Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Shastri and the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, whose command of the language is unique and unquestioned. Aptitude for the study of languages, therefore, exists in us by nature. If we can study foreign languages so well, there could be no doubt that we can study Indian vernaculars with equal ease. The only question to consider is, what should be the means taken to facilitate their study. A few thoughts which have occurred to the writer, in connection with it, are set out here.

Out of the four vernaculars mentioned above, two are near neighbours: Gujarati and Marathi: while the other two, Hindi and Bengali, though near neighbour to each other, are distant geographically from the first two. Hindi had close contact with Gujarati in olden times. It possessed *Mss.* written in Vraj. Poets like Lallu Lal and Dayaram could write verses in Vraj. Dadu Dayal preached his Vani in Vraj, and the saints and sadhus who came to Gujaral in large numbers from the north also used Vraj. But that contact gradually disappeared. As for Marathi and Gujarati, their contact dates from the days when the former language began to be heard by the inhabitants of Gujaral on account of the constant

military expeditions undertaken by the Marathas to subdue the province. They constructed a fort at Songhad Vyara, their deputies began to take up residence in Surat, they created Thanas (military posts) at Baroda, Dabhoi and Petlad, in the heart of Gujarat : they began to dwell in Ahmedabad ; and lastly due to their *Mulkjiri* and *Ghasdani* raids in Gujarat and Kathiawad, echoes of Marathi began to reach the ears of the Gujarati. Although Persian was the medium of correspondence in political matters, and although Maratha officers stationed in Gujarat corresponded with the authorities at Poona and Satara in Marathi, still as they had to remain long in Gujarat, and as the language of the province was Gujarati, they could not ignore the existence of the language and had got to be acquainted with it. It is for this reason that many Dakshini families resident in Gujarat use very good Gujarati both in speech and writing. Similarly those Gujaratis, who have gone to the Deccan, for trade and other purposes and live in places like Poona, Dhulia and Nandbarbar, and those who live in Thana and Bassein as natives of the district—specially the Agri Lad Banias of there write and talk Marathi as well as the Dakshinis. Thus contact had long been established between these two vernaculars due to political and economic causes. In cities like Bombay where Gujaratis and Dakshinis reside in close proximity of one another or serve as colleagues in the same offices, they naturally pick up each other's vernacular. However, what they talk is neither correct Gujarati nor correct Marathi. Gujaratis mostly employ Marathi servants, and a working knowledge of each other's language, such as would make his servant understand the master's needs on the master's part and such as would make the master understand the servant's needs on the servant's part, suffices for all practical purposes. It resembles the correct speech as much as the Pigeon English of the Chinese resembles the correct English of the Englishman.

This state of things shows one of the means to the end of the establishment of closer relations between the two vernaculars. It is a self-evident point, still requires noting, *viz.*, that if close relations between two vernaculars have to be established, then the speakers thereof should be brought into closer contact spatially and mutual intercourse for exchange of learning and ideas has to be established.

The fall of the Maratha power in Gujarat and the rise of the British power resulted in the termination of close contact between the Gujaratis and the Dakshinis. Excepting for those Dakshini families that settled in Gujarat and made places like Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad their home, those other Dakshinis who used annually to visit Gujarat and return to the Deccan at the end of the fair season, ceased to come, and thus the field of contact became circumscribed. Marathi found a permanent home only in one place,

Baroda, and that also an isolated home, surrounded on all sides by Gujarati. Thus close contact between the speakers of the two vernaculars came to an end. It remains to be considered how it can be re-established.

Still the one means that is considered the chief and most important means of establishing closer contact between the two near vernaculars applies with equal force to all the four, is common to them all. It is the suggestion that books, newspapers, periodicals, etc., published in these four vernaculars should be printed in Balbodhi or Devnagri script. Marathi and Hindi have still adhered to that script, Gujarati has completely gone off it and Bengali partially. There is great advantage in having a common script. As mentioned above, there is commonness of words between these four vernaculars and also similarity in syntax and thought expression ; therefore, if the script be such as could be read by all then it would not be difficult to follow the subject-matter of the writing. Bengali poems printed in Devnagri can be understood by Gujaratis and *vice versa*, Gujarati poems printed in the same script can be understood by Bengalis. Those Gujaratis who have settled in Calcutta and other places in Bengal, can testify to this. Gujarati quotations in the two books (1) *Milestones in Gujarati Literature*, and (2) *Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature*, published by the present writer have been printed in Devnagri with the object that those who can read Balbodhi script may understand them. Diwan Bahadur Keshavlal H. Dhruva, who recently delivered a series of lectures in Gujarati under the auspices of the Bombay University has printed them in Devnagri script, as the subject of the lectures, **परवर्तनीयविहामि. आलोचना**, is from a literary point of view of importance not only to Gujarat but also outside the province of Gujarat. His object was that those outside Gujarat should avail themselves of the result of his researches, and as a matter of fact, such outsiders have been making use of the scholarly publication. Old writers like Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodhbhai Udayram also followed the same plan, and the Baroda State, so far as some of its publications, *e.g.*, the *History of Education* by the late Manishankar R. Bhatt, are concerned, uses the same medium. Further, the *State Gazette* (*Agna Patrika*) is printed in Balbodhi. The argument advanced against the use of this script, is that thereby the vernacular loses its individuality ; Gujarati printed in Devnagri is not Gujarati : it is so. Change of appearance does lead to some defect in its original form or shape : but that should not outweigh the resulting advantages. Writers, therefore, in these four vernaculars would certainly be able to help the cause greatly by following the suggestion made in this direction.

H. H. The Maharaja Saheb has now made Hindi the court language, and thereby taking a most important step in the direction of establishing

very close contact between Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi. His Highness' subjects, if they happen to be Dakshinis, have necessarily to study their mother tongue, Marathi, if Gujaratis, then Gujarati. In addition, Hindi being the court language, they both will have to study Hindi for reasons of state. The experiment, therefore, if successful, will certainly bring the three vernaculars very close.

If opportunities are afforded to those who speak these vernaculars to meet often, for exchange of thought, that would be an additional advantage. The present Conference is a concrete instance of it. They can at such Conferences, very easily find out, the common features between the vernaculars, their similarities and dissimilarities, and then consider, whether there is any room, and if so, in what way to bring about the desired object. They can take decisions on literary, social, scientific and other cognate subjects : further, prejudices harboured by one against the other would be removed.

Every province now holds its literary Conference (Sahitya Parishat). Marathi, Bengali and Hindi Literary Conferences have done and continue to do praiseworthy work. The permanent offices of the Bengali and Hindi Literary Conferences are doing great service to their own language and literature. If authors and writers of allied vernaculars be invited to be present at the sessions of the Parishat of any particular vernacular that would do great good, but for that purpose the invited authors must make it a point to attend the sessions. To illustrate this, I would give only one instance. At the time the Gujarati Sahitya Parishat was in session at Lathi in Kathiawad during last (1933) Christmas holidays, the well-known Hindi speaker and writer Pandit Ram Naresh Tewari happened to come there. He was requested to attend and give the Parishat the benefit of his scholarship ; he agreed and for fifteen minutes held the audience spell-bound by his discourse on certain features of Hindi folk-lore, of which he is a deep student. He spoke in Hindi and drew a vivid picture of the poignancy of the grief of a doe whose mate had been shot and eaten by a King and of her appeal to the Queen to return at least the skin of the deer to her so that she might console herself by looking at it. The hearers followed him completely. If, therefore, this suggestion be adopted, it would result in some gain. Some such suggestion was once made at one of the previous Sessions of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishat, but nothing tangible came out of it. The suggestion, if adopted, will not surely lead to any harm. Such invited representatives may either discuss this very subject, of closer contact, or may deliver separate lectures and therein discuss the subject and invite exchange of views. If nothing else, the presence at least of such representatives would create curiosity, in the minds of the persons assembled, to know something about

their language and literature. Even this awakening of interest would be a gain.

A common meeting ground can be arranged for persons living in the same town or city, passing through it. In Baroda there is the Central Library. In Bombay the Forbes Gujarati Sabh Mandir or the Dakshini Brahman Samaj Hall. The difficulty, however, is to create in people a desire to utilize such means, as, at present, one finds complete indifference thereabout.

Ideas and ideals of morality and immorality, liberty of thought and action, figure in different literatures in different ways. There is a clash between old notions and new, on these subjects. Realism is now coming into prominence. The portrayal and evaluation of historical and Pauran characters has also raised a controversy. Within what limits and to what extent can portrayals depart from the original source or materials, and where should they stop—these are some of the questions at present agitating both Gujarati and Marathi literatures. A common meeting ground would help their solution, as the original source would be common.

The difficulty experienced owing to absence of suitable scientific (परिभाषिक) terms in these vernaculars is a long-standing handicap to the spread and popularizing of education in scientific subjects through vernaculars. If scholars of these vernaculars can come to an agreement in this respect and prepare a vocabulary, it is bound to prove authoritative and can be easily used by all. In this way, something more than close relations would be established, as then there would be unity. The Hindi, Nagari Pracharini Sabha had prepared and circulated such a vocabulary sometime ago. The Bengali Sahitya Parishat had done something on identical lines. I do not know about Marathi. The late Prof. T. K. Gajjar had undertaken the task in Gujarati, with the help of His Highness' Government and seen it through. What is required is a sustained and systematic effort towards co-ordination.

Responsible literary bodies belonging to each vernacular should publish lists of their classics, so that the other vernaculars may know exactly which works are worth translation and which not. Mutual arrangements for translation of such works can be made.

In the Deccan, even though the States are not as large or rich as those in Gujarat and Kathiawad, their enlightened rulers wholeheartedly help the cause of literature. In Gujarat, H. H. the Maharaja of Gackwad's generosity and wide outlook stand pre-eminent and act as a beacon light to others. If a leaf is taken out of H. H.'s book by other rulers in helping the fulfilment of this object, much can be accomplished.

These are a few suggestions which at present occur to the writer. Time alone will show how many of them can be or are acted upon with success ; but, still, if an attempt be made to print books etc., published in the four related vernaculars in

## SO-CALLED SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM OF ORIENTALS

Devnagri, it would facilitate the carrying out of that noble object, *viz.*, finding out a *lingua franca* for India, and making Hindi take the place of that common language.

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb cannot be thanked enough for devising such means as these to bring scholars of different languages together.

## SO-CALLED SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM OF ORIENTALS

By DHIRENDRA NATH ROY, PH. D.,

*Head of the Department of Philosophy, University of the Philippines*

OF the various characteristics which have been ascribed to the people of the Orient—many of them designed to be in the form of criticism—the one that seems to be most appropriate is the lack of what is known as the scientific spirit. But in view of the usually admitted fact that orientals are in general philosophically inclined, this may sound rather paradoxical, unless the term “scientific” is proved to connote something antithetical to philosophical. If the end of science is to become philosophy, it is obviously impossible to establish any antithesis between the two. But if science is regarded as an end in itself, there may be some such possibility, and the apparent paradox of the orientals being philosophical but unscientific may disappear.

Accepting the popular Spencerian meaning of science as partially unified knowledge, anyone may perceive its hypothetical nature from its own limitation. Scientific knowledge is rightly held as partially unified, because the collection of facts upon which knowledge is based can hardly be regarded as complete. Moreover, the facts that are thus collected give only a partial knowledge of them until they are studied in their relation to the whole reality. Each science builds its own little world of facts upon which it seeks to generalize. The truth of such a generalization may be established by the facts of this little world, but when one considers that these facts bear richer and fuller meaning in their relation to the facts of the vast outside one invariably finds it difficult to accept it as really established. This is why science leads

to philosophy and does not oppose it. But science may oppose philosophy when its little world is all that it likes to recognize in testing the truth of its own generalization. Philosophy certainly admits the great value of scientific studies, but it cannot understand science when the latter claims its decision to be final.

The scientific spirit as revealed in such an exorbitant claim is clearly antithetical to any philosophical disposition. This spirit is found sometimes to go so far as to make itself positively harmful to the real cause of science.

In the case of any natural science such spirit, however, may not be so readily perceived, inasmuch as its generalization is based upon some facts of nature, and nature does not care as to what sort of opinion is passed upon it. Nature did not say anything when Ptolemy upheld his generalization about planets—the generalization which had long been the gospel truth. It was equally unconcerned when Copernicus proved that generalization to be false. But did not that peculiar scientific spirit reveal itself in that astronomical generalization which proclaimed its certainty and despotically sought to maintain that position?

In the case of a social or rather humanistic science the so-called scientific spirit may be clearly visible. This is because its generalization affects men and men do not choose to be wholly indifferent to what is said about them. But science has an advantage peculiar to itself. It gives facts for its generalization and facts are very powerful for immediate influence over one's

decision. Few are prepared to see through the game. For, these facts are very often collected with a hidden purpose and manipulated in a manner so as to compel the generalization already intended. The quaint and fantastic race theories of some 'distinguished' anthropologists might have been "scientific", because based upon physical differences, *viz.*, skull formation, skull content, facial bones, shape of the head, colour of skin, hair, and eyes, etc., but these have served very little of the real cause of science, inasmuch as physical characteristics are the most unreliable determinants of race divisions. On the other hand, when some person of that scientific spirit notices that those theories are merely convenient devices to flatter the theorists themselves and their kinsmen and to feed their national bigotry, he may try to uphold, with the same purpose, some counter-theory by means of equally scientific data. Of the many psychological theories of race qualities the one that is much talked of is the theory that maintains levels of race intelligence. Some races are generalized as superior in intelligence to some other on the bases of intelligence-quotient and statistics. When a person affected by this theory finds that the generalization invariably includes in the former group the theorist himself, he may become equally sensitive and try to prove the contrary, to his own advantage, in the same scientific manner. The sociological theories of cultural levels, progress, and civilization have been upheld as scientific, while these may show to all reflective minds how each theorist has ingeniously collected facts to persuade others to feed his national egotism. While he recognizes some sort of natural divisions of mankind, he does not seem to feel shy of dogmatically upholding his own likes and dislikes as the sole criteria of other people's achievements and his own standard as the only measuring rod of all types of progress and civilization. There are certain fundamental ethical principles which, on account of their intrinsic value, have universal application. These are the acknowledged criteria of high moral life. So the same scientific spirit is found to play its part in the fatuous generalization about a whole people or race as morally depraved from some individual

instances of failure to observe such principles. On the other hand, to please itself it may naively generalize about a people as highly moral from the instances of its individual members observing those principles, to a certain extent, within their own little group.

The absurdity of such theories or generalizations does not seem to strike those for whom these have some pragmatic values. On the contrary, they may try their best to uphold them neglecting or even hiding all facts that may be advanced against such theories. Reason fails because their will is determined. Only persons of similar scientific spirit may make them listen to another story,—persons who may collect, in an equally glaring manner, another set of facts to justify a contrary theory. They may listen and be temporarily silent about their own pet theories, but they will not like to admit that their theories are wrong until and unless they have tried all possible means to disprove the contrary and found themselves unsuccessful. Evidently, what is passing at present for scientific spirit is that confirmed habit of generalization upon facts without due regard to their adequacy. Science may thus define itself as an unusual attempt to generalize and to generalize, in a good many cases, with a hidden motive.

A little reflection upon the points described will show that science in this sense is a misnomer and the so-called scientific spirit is positively dangerous, if not suicidal. No real scientific spirit can ever think of admitting in the laboratory the idols of Bacon.

If we have hitherto endeavoured to describe the points in the abstract, it is because many ugly things are being done in the name of science,—things whose awful meaning may not be clear to all of us until the true nature of this science is exposed, and because it will now be easy for us to understand the mighty problem with which the Orient has been grappling.

And nowhere in the whole Orient is the problem so relentlessly exacting as it is in India and China. This is because these two countries represent two splendid civilizations which never yielded to the ravages of time and still refuse to yield, in their intrinsic values, to any upstart civilization. These two

great countries have been turned into veritable laboratories in which any type of ~~foreigners~~ may come and investigate facts about the people or rather "natives,"—often without their knowledge and sometimes in spite of their protests—for some "scientific discoveries" most of which are usually more self-pleasing than scientific. The facts they collect are not what they find but what they look for and these too often without due regard to their quantity, time, place, and other circumstances so that the intended generalization may be justified. But even these facts may not have the same meaning for the foreigners as for the native people and hence, the former cannot be in a position to form a generalization representing the latter. Yet, hundreds of generalizations are ungraciously formed about the Orientals and then sedulously spread all over the world through books, newspapers, magazines, cinema shows, platform speeches, and pulpit orations. So the world has been educated to know the Oriental peoples and their civilizations in ways which are not only misleading but even insulting.

But in every case of such misrepresentation the glaring array of facts, however magnified, gives it a scientific colour and hides its true nature. This is the age of science. The world likes to believe in anything that may be presented in the name of science, for science is the modern Pope, supposed to be infallible. This is why no amount of protest from the Orientals against such misrepresentation has been enough to impress the world. But the Orientals see and suffer from the injustice of it. They wonder how the world can accept the false stories of the foreigners who do not understand the meaning of the facts collected by them.

To give more concrete facts, it has been said and spread throughout the world that the Oriental people are very low in morals, superstitious, cruel, mean, treacherous, timid, conservative, and so forth. These ugly generalizations have been held before the world for a long long time and facts have always been available to support them. If at the beginning the facts were very few, the imagination was not lacking to make these highly sensational and thus impressive. Where imagination failed, the vastness and variety of

the population helped, for no instance of human frailty is absolutely impossible to find in such a vast area of land with more than half of the world's population consisting of large heterogeneous types. Where even that failed, the long history of the Orient helped, for no people, however advanced in civilization, can, for all times and under all circumstances, keep itself free from some moral lapses or other, and the history of some of the Oriental countries being the longest known to the world may supply any required facts at some period or other. When all these ways are thus considered, one can easily understand how these generalizations have been supported by facts to make them scientific,—facts which the Orientals probably cannot deny and yet they sincerely believe that the generalizations are not true. But the world is given facts and it wonders why the Orientals should still venture to contradict.

While these generalizations have been thus working for a very long time in the mind of the world, no pains are being spared to discover, from time to time, new facts to preserve intact the world's impression already created. These new facts may be very few and far between but are certainly useful in confirming the old beliefs. Some of these facts may be picked up from those advertised a long time ago but are made fresh by new artistic skill in brilliant colouring, and the impression of the people is re-quickened. One can, therefore, well imagine what it really means to the Oriental people to convince the world that it has totally misunderstood them.

Take, for instance, the belief that the Orientals are of very low morals. This belief has become so deeply ingrained in the mind of some foreigners that it is clearly discernible in all their dealings with the Orient. We may mention in this connection the view of one of the world's most widely read European poet Rudyard Kipling as typical. Referring to the Oriental people to the east of Suez this honourable poet very impressively said that "there ain't no Ten Commandments." The motive of excluding the regions west of Suez from his pious attack is that these Ten Commandments are said to have originated somewhere on that side and he could not conscientiously attack



the people of that sacred part of the Orient. The Ten Commandments, whether Mr. Kipling knows it or not, have never been unknown and unpractised in the land of the Buddha and Confucius, but they have been more in the form of principles than commandments. The Oriental people are by tradition not so used to commandments. A commandment, no matter from where it comes, has an autocratic significance—something imposed from outside, and is necessary only where people are morally crude and incapable of self-discipline. Mr. Kipling is, of course, both an effect and a cause. He was certainly not in all the countries he hits, but his sweeping statement is the result of his false education. As he has become very distinguished, although probably because of the nourishment derived from the same land of immorality, his statement has a great influence upon his readers. How can the world disbelieve a man whose literary craftsmanship has won him a Nobel prize? The Orientals naturally find it most difficult to convince the world otherwise. They know it is false and regret that a man like Mr. Kipling should say it. The only way they can consider him as not a liar is that "there ain't no Ten Commandments" for him and for other men of his type when they are east of Suez or speak of things east of Suez. The Orientals know it very well that there are foreign people who come to live among them without ever feeling the necessity of observing what they call their Ten Commandments. If Mr. Kipling means anything by his statement it is that he is one of these foreigners.

The same may be true of the other beliefs. It is said that the Orientals are superstitious. Of course, in a sense all people are more or less superstitious. But to specify the Orientals, especially the Indians and the Chinese in general, as very superstitious,—people who have given the world some of the profoundest types of philosophy, studying freely, persistently, and deeply all the rich varieties of cosmic mysteries and social problems, people who still cultivate such studies with unflagging enthusiasm,—is most ungenerous, puerile and ridiculous.

The Orientals are said to be cruel. But the facts of history do not seem to support

it. They are not the descendants of the Vikings or Buccaneers. They have never sought to immortalize any bloody conquerors, tyrants, or marauders. Their tradition has not been desecrated by holy crusades and inquisitions. They have never sought to exterminate smaller and weaker races. On the other hand, they proudly trace their descent from saints and wise men. They have uncompromisingly sought to discard violence in thought, speech and action. They have sincerely acknowledged other people's right to believe and worship in their own way. They have always discountenanced oppressing smaller tribes and that is why these are still so plentiful in the Orient. Why, they have shown the world that by cultivating good feelings even the fierce denizens of the forest could be made to forget their cruel habits.

Are the Orientals mean and treacherous? If they really are or used to be, no foreigners could ever think of establishing themselves in the Orient. The proverbial hospitality of the Orientals is inconsistent with any kind of meanness. It is rather the indiscriminate generosity of the Orientals that has brought about their present misfortune. Time and again the foreigners, under the very shelter of some Orientals, proved faithless and intriguing and yet they were forgiven because they were guests. It was the spirit of extreme generosity, almost bordering on imprudence, that could trust a foreigner with a most responsible official position upon which rested the welfare of the people, and that was why an Italian Marco Polo could be a Governor in China. Had the Orientals been a little more inhospitable, it would certainly have been a real blessing for them. They would have been, then, suspicious and cautious in their dealings with the foreigners and thus prevented the latter, while there was time yet, from carrying out their wicked designs. The result is that the Orientals are now the pariahs even in their own lands. The foreign guests have shown their gratitude for the generous hospitality of the Orientals by seeking to rob them and having robbed by going even so far as to put the Chinese and dogs together out of their pleasure park built in China. Why, the Orientals must

obligingly receive in their own countries ~~those~~ foreigners and never interfere with their free movements,—the very foreigners who, in their own generous spirit, may proudly shut their doors against all Orientals by openly branding them as undesirables.

Similarly, it is not difficult to show the various other humiliating generalizations about the Orientals as unjust and cruel. If they are regarded as timid, it is because they have shown an undue spirit of patience and tolerance in the face of deliberate interference and brute aggression. A long tradition of cultured life invariably chastens the man and consequently he hesitates to express his violent passion even when bitterly annoyed or wantonly attacked. This spirit may be aptly described by the popular Indian saying, "If the dog bites you, you must not bite the dog in return." But this very spirit of self-restraint in the case of extreme provocation has been misinterpreted. Besides, the moral value of humility, as recognized by the Orientals in their daily life, cannot be understood by those for whom the greatest heroism lies in the exhibition of violent spirit.

And lastly, the Orientals may be considered as conservative, if by it is meant firmly and tenaciously adhering to those principles which are honestly held as very ennobling. They have a sort of traditional dislike for that hypocritical show of "civilized" life in which practice and profession are consciously set at variance. If certain principles are undeniably recognized as good, why should human life be ever lived contrary to them simply because they happen to be old? But probably the term "conservative" is taken here in a negative sense, *i.e.*, unprogressive. Yet, to generalize a people as unprogressive without first satisfactorily defining progress is no sign of scientific thinking. And who can give a standard definition of progress knowing it well that the progress of a people is determined by its own ideal and different peoples may have different ideals? Whether or not the Oriental people are progressing can be determined only by the fact whether or not they are struggling to realize more and more their own ideals. If it must be admitted that the Orientals have failed, in this sense, to

progress at the present time, it is because of the countless hindrances placed before them by those who are pleased to call them unprogressive. The Orientals have been using the best of their energy to resist these hindrances in the path of their progress or it could certainly have been used in the direction of greater realization of their ideals.

There is hardly any need of taking up some more generalizations of the kind we have just studied to show how unfairly these have been used to describe the Oriental people in general. But this is just what the authors of those generalizations do not like to understand. On the contrary, they seek new facts, which, if available, are presented in lurid colour so as to divert the mind of the world from such explanations against them. The unfortunate Orientals are quite inexperienced in this peculiar game. Besides, there are two characteristic virtues in their life which seem to serve as obstacles in the way of their desire to counteract the effect of misrepresentation. Firstly, they are extremely shy of advertising themselves and singing eulogies of their own qualities. When they have to advance facts in support of their own qualities they seem to feel rather small and as such very hesitant. Secondly, they do not see any virtue in the profession of looking for other people's faults, since they know that they themselves are not perfect and should spend their time in freeing themselves from their own faults. They do not like to judge others as bad, for they do not like others to judge them in the same way. So they have observed silence for a long time, even though they have been aware of such worldwide misrepresentation. But this very silence has worked against them, for it has been misconstrued as the impossibility of the Orientals to deny those generalizations. The world has, therefore, taken them as true. And when in their dealings with the world they find how awfully and egregiously it has been impressed and prejudiced against them through misrepresentation, they can no longer help being restless and seeking some way to counteract its effect.

Nor is this all. They notice to their great helplessness that this persistent policy of misrepresentation has made the greatest possible contribution toward minimizing in the

eye of the world the enormity of what may be rightly called as the most relentless aggression in the various spheres of Oriental life, especially political, economic, and religious. Every act of aggression or rather oppression is so skilfully whitewashed with the pretext of "carrying civilization" that if there happens to be any Oriental courageous enough to raise his voice of protest he is regarded as a silly agitator or as a dangerous extremist and if he gives real facts describing the incredible sufferings of the people these are regarded as nonsense.

What should the Orientals do then? They have tried every way consistent with their high ideals of life to correct those false and humiliating ideas about them, but none has proved successful. The cruel spirit of aggression has found these too useful to be given up. On the other hand, the long practice of vilifying the Orientals has so hardened the Occidental spirit that it no longer makes any secret of maintaining that the Orientals are not civilized. So the "carrying civilization" policy is justified even though it is causing awful sufferings to them. With miseries at home and humiliations abroad they find it now all but impossible to observe those noble principles which constitute the very essence of civilization. They find it impossible to observe them any longer in their relation with those who take advantage of their goodness and strike them without the least humane feeling. By long cultivating the inner goodness of life in all its outward manifestations the Orientals have become so good that they are about to be good-for-nothing. They know that *Ahimsa* (non-violence) of the Buddha, *Wu wei* (non-assertion) of Lao-Tze, and *Jen* (universal good feeling) of Confucius are undoubtedly the highest principles of civilization. Having known them as such they have been struggling, for more than twenty-four centuries, to realize them in life and have certainly made considerable progress in that direction. But it is this progress of the Orientals which, instead of inspiring the people who are still very crude in the inward refinement of life to emulate, has rather encouraged them to indulge in the worst crudities in their relation with the former inasmuch as there is little danger of being served in the same manner. That progress has

necessarily stopped. But the Orientals could not immediately descend to the crude state of life and so have tried in vain all the peaceful ways of persuasion. Can they still continue to act in this way? How can they? Their increasing miseries and humiliations are making their lives almost impossible and it is simply the natural law of self-preservation that suggests to them that they must turn back and rebarbarize themselves.

This seems to be inevitable, however the wisdom of the Orient may deprecate it. For, the Orientals have learnt from long experience that the higher values of life acquired by them, through a long cultural tradition, cannot be appreciated and assimilated by those people who first began to talk about civilization not very long ago and are still guided by the principles of tribal life. The difference between the life that seeks to realize all great principles in their universal application and the life that satisfies itself by trying to apply them only within the little group of its own kind, is rather too great. It seems the Orientals have not thought of considering this difference in their dealings with others. Naturally their ways have been misunderstood and abused. To make themselves understood, therefore, they have to turn a little way back and adopt the old tribal spirit in all their international outlook of life. Then they will have so many things in common with others that there will be less difference and more understanding. This is quite in accordance with the common saying, "The beast understands others when they show their teeth." It may be called an unfortunate retrogression, but it seems to be the only alternative to living death.

Does it not seem quite assuring to the suffering Orientals? They have right before them a very glaring example,—that of Japan. This beautiful island country of the Orient was a faithful disciple of India and China. Like her teachers she was deeply engaged in the problem of realizing, in all her activities, the higher values of life—those upheld by the Buddha, Lao-Tze, and Confucius, when, all on a sudden, some uninvited guests appeared and in their characteristic manner told her she was uncivilized. This strange kind of treatment from those who hardly tried to understand her things naturally disturbed her and as she

turned around watchful and suspicious she noticed, to her great fear, the growing helplessness of her neighbouring countries on account of the awful treatment meted out by the same kind of strangers. In order to prevent such a fate from overtaking her she promptly turned her attention to the strangers to understand their strange nature. From the struggles of her unfortunate neighbours she learnt the need of assimilating the spirit of the strangers and when she fully demonstrated it in her bloody encounter with the Russian she was readily understood and recognized as civilized. She is now so overflowing with that civilization that she intensely feels the duty of carrying it to all other peoples and is already on her way to fulfil the task. There can be no more criticism against her, no unscrupulous generalization; for she is only following the trodden way of what has been carried on in the name of civilization. She is now a great country, her children are a great people, and the world is bound to listen to her. This is what she knows and nobody can openly deny it. Her success, indeed, is remarkable. The question is not whether it is for her ultimate good or bad nor whether she has become what she is by choice or necessity, —the question is whether or not she has averted the dire fate of her great teachers India and China.

Naturally the temptation is great, if not

irresistible, for the whole suffering Orient. Prostrate India still speaks of the spiritual values of life. China has too long been a sort of foot-ball to others and has been kicked enough to force her to lay aside, at least for some time, her Confucius, Lao-Tze, and Mencius and be prepared in the manner of Japan, to let herself be recognized as civilized.

And these, India and China, are the only two countries which have trodden for millenniums, on many a devious path of life-values to ultimately arrive at those that are universally applicable without prejudice to anyone. Other ancient countries fell in their journey, leaving footprints to warn future travellers against the pitfalls of a narrow tribal outlook. But neither the experienced voices of India and China nor the solemn warnings of the fallen ancient countries, like Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome seem to be impressive enough to stop the present madness of brutalizing mankind. India and China are being forced back to it under protest, for they still maintain that it is a sad reversion from civilization and once they get into it there is no knowing what would be the fate of the life-values which they still consider to be the best for mankind and for which they struggled throughout their history.

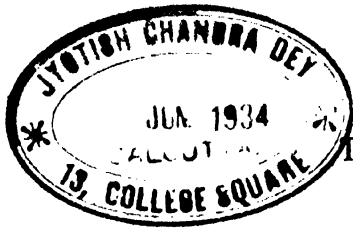
### KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

A battle took place between Ballal Sen, the King of Gaur, and the Yavana Chief Vayudumba in 1091 of the Saka Era. Ballal Sen took a pigeon with him. Before he set out, he said to the women of his family:

"If the pigeon returns before me, you shall know that I have fallen in the fight. Only then you may observe *Jahar* (that is, plunge into fire and die)."

Ballal Sen won. On his way back the pigeon suddenly slipped off his hand and flew away. Ballal rode as fast as he could, and reached home only to see the last flames of the fire. This proved too much for him and he died by plunging into it.





## THE WATERS OF DESTINY

BY SITA DEVI

### IV

**P** RATULCHANDRA'S home broke up, but the eternal current of life flowed on as before. Man's life and death are but bubbles on this stream. They appear and they burst, but who is there to notice it.

Three days passed. The three people in the house were busy, each with his or her own sorrow and problem and had no thought to spare for the others. Subarna wept and shrieked. She dashed her head now and then on the threshold of Narayani's room. The women from the neighbouring houses were there all the time, they looked her up, attended to her and tried to comfort her to the best of their abilities. Narayani's sister sat in a corner, wrapped up to her eyes. She seemed to have lost even hunger and thirst. Sometimes she would count the beads of her rosary and sometimes she would weep and now and then she would even discuss her return to her own home, leaving this abode of sorrow behind. What Pratul thought, none knew. He had no friend, no person to whom he could talk. Alone, in the house, his cheerless days passed on somehow. He tried to read, but his mind wandered. Now and then he would stare at his daughter with a strange light in his eye. But the sight of the child never seemed to give him any pleasure; for he would turn away his eyes very soon. He seemed to feel bitter to the very core of his being. The change in the girl was too much for him. Where was that beauty, which had led her grandmother to call her Subarna (gold)? He had cherished high hopes about her training and education. But to what a plight had the girl been reduced! She had neither health, nor education, nor any strength of will. She would cry out, if hurt beyond her endurance, otherwise she would suffer on in silence, like a dumb animal. Such was her life. She knew that there was such a thing as fate, but she had probably never heard of man's free will, which can fight against fate even. Such was Subarna, the only child of Pratulchandra, and such perhaps she was destined to remain to the end of her days. If the foundation is all wrong, one can hardly expect a magnificent edifice on it.

On the fourth day, as soon as Subarna opened her eyes, her aunt approached her and said, "You cannot go on like this for ever, my dear child. You must do everything that social usage demands. Today is the fourth day after your mother's death, you must perform your mother's *Sraddha*, you being her only child."

Subarna looked at her with eyes full of despair. "How can I perform it, aunt?" she asked. "I am penniless."

"Listen to the girl," said her aunt. "Nobody expects much pomp or magnificence from you. But you must do at least the minimum, enjoined by the Shastras. Call a priest and arrange about it and I shall ask your father to give you the requisite money."

"Very well," said Subarna, sitting up.

Her father at once supplied her with money, when asked to do so, but he did not express any opinion about the coming ceremony. A priest was called, and the last rites were finished very simply.

In the evening, as Pratulchandra was sitting in his room, his sister-in-law came in and sat down on the threshold. He got up in a hurry and said, "Why do you sit there? Get up and sit in a chair."

"Don't trouble yourself," said the lady. "I am quite all right here. We are not used to chairs much. But I have come to discuss things with you. What has happened, has happened, and there is nothing to be gained by grieving over it. You must think about your home now and arrange about it."

"I have not much of a home left now," said her brother-in-law with a sad smile. "Even when your sister was alive, my home had ceased to exist. I shall send back Subarna to her husband's and start for Calcutta myself. When do you want to go? If you tell me, I can arrange about it."

"First you must take Subarna to her husband's house, then I may go. Otherwise the house will remain empty. Besides you will have to arrange about your house and property here."

"I suppose, I shall have to," said Pratul, "but these things can wait."

They had not noticed Subarna, who had come in quietly and was sitting behind her aunt. Suddenly she cried out, "Father, please father, don't send me there." Her voice sounded like a wail of despair.

Her father was taken aback. "What ill-omened words are these?" cried her aunt. "You don't want to go to your husband's house? Where do you want to go then? Is there a better shelter for any woman, anywhere?"

Subarna began to sob aloud. "If you send me there, they will bury me alive," she said between her sobs, "they won't let me live."

Pratulchandra's heart burned with rage and remorse. To this plight had his only child been reduced! She was dazed with fear, and unable

defend herself in any way, tears her only weapon. Our girls receive only this training, the training to suffer. Their human strength to fight against odds is rarely developed.

But Subarna was still crying and her father's thoughts came back to her, instead of straying further. She never spoke much to him, but now she must be made to explain herself. He could not clearly understand why she was behaving like this.

"Why do you cry like that?" asked Subarna's aunt. "All women have to suffer something at the hands of their husbands' people. At first you have got to submit to it. Afterwards when you will become the mistress of the household, things will be different."

"But I have run away from their house," said Subarna, "they will surely kill me if I go back now."

"Why did you run away?" asked her father.

"Mother was dying, yet they would not let me come," said she.

"My mother-in-law said it was a lie. What else could I do? As soon as she sat down to count her beads, I ran away. The boatman knew me, he agreed to row me over, when I told him that you would pay him his fare."

"Really, what else could the child have done?" said Subarna's aunt. "Was she to refrain from seeing her dying mother even? Her mother-in-law is a real fiend. But my poor child, you must submit to your fate now. Perhaps they will abuse you. You must be patient and listen silently. But you must never think of staying away. Your father himself will take you, perhaps that might appease them a bit. Everyone wants to be on good terms with rich relatives."

Pratulchandra maintained an angry silence. So he would have to come down to the level of these people! Subarna went on sobbing. She did not say whether she would go or not.

"The time is inopportune," said her aunt, "or we would have tried to bring about peace, through rich presents."

"Don't think about these things now," said Pratul bitterly. "I shall take her there to-morrow. If they welcome her, well and good. Otherwise some other arrangement would have to be made."

"What other arrangement could you possibly make?" asked his widowed sister-in-law. "Since she has fallen into their hands, she must try to put up with them as best as she can."

Subarna left the room, still weeping. Her aunt followed her soon after. Pratulchandra sat alone in the darkness with his thoughts.

Next morning, preparations began early for Subarna's departure. Her face was swollen with continuous weeping, but she had no longer any strength to oppose her elders' will. When no one listened to her crying she submitted to her fate and prepared to go. Her aunt was cooking in the kitchen, Subarna sat by her, helping her with small services.

Subarna had come away only in the dress

she was wearing. So she had not much packing to do. But she had to take away some things with her. Pratulchandra called Subarna's aunt to him and said, "Sister, give Subarna all her mother's dresses and ornaments. They would be of no use, if left here, and would only get stolen. These things rightfully belong to her, so let her have them."

But the widow was a wise lady. "Do not give them all to her, at once," she said. "Those two trunks contain things that are worth a lot. The ornaments alone will fetch three thousand rupees. I propose to give half to her now, and half afterwards in instalments at opportune times. You don't know these people, they are not as simple as you think. But we have been dealing with them for years and know them thoroughly."

Pratulchandra smiled and said, "Very well, do as you think best. But the remaining half must remain in your charge, and you must send them to her, whenever you think fit. If I take them to Calcutta, they would get stolen all the same, as the place I live in is nothing but an inn."

"All right," said the widow, "I shall look after them. My house is a brick-built one, so there is not much danger from thieves. Besides, my nephew is a very strict man, and nobody dares to play any tricks with him. He can make the cow and the tiger drink at the same pond. Let me finish the cooking first, then I shall sort out the things and pack them."

The cooking and the eating too, were finished very quickly. Subarna's aunt opened Narayani's trunks and began to divide the contents into two parts. The more costly things she kept back, and packed others into one trunk, which Subarna was to take with her. Subarna put on a dress, belonging to her mother, and got ready to start. Her heart was full of bursting with sorrow and fear, still she was trying to gather courage in her mind.

Pratul had decided to come back in the evening, after seeing the girl to her home. His sister-in-law would remain in his house till his return and start for her home afterwards. Pratul had decided to leave his house and property in charge of some relative and to go back to Calcutta. The village seemed to stifle him.

A bullock cart was brought and the luggage piled into it. Subarna bowed down to her aunt and got in too. It was morning, still some of the darkness of night seemed to linger on the earth. The sun could be seen and felt very indistinctly. Pratulchandra refused to use the bullock cart. He took his umbrella in hand and began to walk by the side of the cart.

It did not take him long to reach the riverside. A boat was ready, waiting for them. They had to wade through knee-deep mud to get into the boat. Very few people could be seen by the river, as none cared to be too near that destructive current. Two or three persons, who happened

to be there on business, looked on silently at their departure.

The cremation ground of the village was situated close by. Certain portions of the bank had disappeared due to erosion. As soon as she saw the place, Subarna cried out in agony, "Mother, oh mother, where have you gone away leaving me alone?"

"Please stop," said her father. "What is the use of crying over something that is past and cannot be remedied? Better prepare yourself for the trials that are still before you."

The boat advanced slowly. There was nothing but water on every side, rushing past them, with terrific noise. It sounded like the din of destruction in poor Subarna's ears. But there was no one to whom she could unburden her heart. There was no one whom she could really call her own. Her mother was dead, her father was a stranger to her. The few people to whom she was bound by social ties, behaved like butchers to her. She was alone and helpless, the Bhairabi was not more terrible to her than the world. She had nothing to cling to, she did not know where the stream of destiny was carrying her.

It was nearly afternoon, when they reached Bhatgram. The sky had cleared up a bit by that time. Here too, the riverside was deserted. But a boy, belonging to the caste of fishermen, approached on seeing their boat. Pratulchandra got down and asked, "Can you get a palanquin for me, my boy?"

"There is no palanquin hereabouts," said the boy. "But if you want a bullock-cart, I can fetch Chhidam's. Where do you want to go?"

Pratul told him his destination. The boy grinned, and ran off to fetch the cart. Subarna got down from the boat, and stood on the slippery path with her veil pulled down over her eyes. Her father, with the help of the boatman, brought out all her luggage. "Please wait here an hour," he told the man. "I shall return by that time."

The cart arrived. Subarna got into it, and her father walked on by its side, as before.

## V

It was a cloudy day. So the village street was mostly deserted. Pratulchandra met only two or three people, as he walked on. Everyone looked at the cart with eyes full of curiosity. Nobody in the village knew Pratulchandra, and Subarna was sitting inside the cart, all huddled up, with head bent down, so that it was not easy to distinguish her features. So everybody went on conjecturing about them, after seeing them pass by.

The cart came to a stop before a house. Pratulchandra looked at it carefully. It did appear to be the home of a fairly well-to-do family, according to village standards. The outer room was brick-built, the rest having mud walls with thatches of straw. The straw had been

recently renewed. The front door was of strong thick panels. It was closed from inside.

Subarna got down from the cart with trembling steps and stood by her father. Pratul looked at her, the child's face had turned white with fear. He stroked her on the back soothingly and said, "Why are you so frightened? I am here with you, does not even that give you any confidence?"

Subarna gulped back the tears that were threatening to come out in a stream. The memory of her past sufferings were yet too fresh to be forgotten. Nobody had ever tried to protect her. So, though she heard her father's comforting words, she gained very little assurance from them.

Pratulchandra knocked at the door. Subarna seemed to feel the blow on her own heart. She felt faint, with fear and excitement.

The door opened with a jerk. A young woman, dressed as a widow, looked out from behind the half open door, with an enquiring glance. First she gazed at Pratul, who was standing in front. Next her glance passed on to Subarna, who was standing behind her father, veiled to her eyes. A crooked smile appeared on the woman's lips and she turned away her face, shouting to someone within the house, "Please strike up the band, the princess has returned from her travels."

Next moment she shut the door on their face, with a bang.

"Do you see, father?" asked Subarna, in a voice choked with tears.

Pratulchandra's face had turned red with anger. But he controlled himself somehow and said, "Very well. But don't get too much frightened. I shall see the matter through." He pushed the door open again, which had not been bolted. The woman had disappeared. He dragged in Subarna by the arm and pushed her towards the inner courtyard, saying, "Go in, you have the right to enter. You have paid dearly enough for it. They cannot cut through such ties, merely by shutting the door in your face."

Subarna advanced trembling. Pratul looked up and met the eyes of a young man who was standing by the outer room. His eyes were full of hostile curiosity. As Pratul looked at him, the young man lowered his eyes. This must be his son-in-law, thought Pratulchandra. He forced a smile to his lips and said, "Open the door please. Am I to stand on the road all this while?"

The young man looked a bit embarrassed and ran to open the door. Pratul pointed to the luggage inside the cart and asked, "Where are these to be taken to?"

"How shall I know?" said the young man.

"Are not you Shribilas?" asked Pratul.

The young man nodded in assent. "I am Subarna's father," said Pratulchandra, "and I have brought her back, as you see. Who is to tell me what I must do with these things?"

Shribilas looked at him foolishly. He did

not give any answer. He bowed down to his father-in-law sheepishly and muttered, "Sit down please."

A pair of wooden bedsteads could be seen in a corner of the room, covered with a white sheet. A few bolsters were scattered on it here and there. In another corner stood a small table and a chair. This was the room in which Shribilas studied. Pratul dragged the chair forward and sat down. He looked at his son-in-law and asked, "In which year are you now?"

Shribilas looked rather annoyed and muttered, "I am in the second year of my college."

Pratulchandra was about to ask him something again, but a sudden shriek of fear from Subarna interrupted him. He got up hastily from his chair and came out of the room. At the same moment, Subarna ran out into the yard, pursued by a woman who had a broom in her hand.

Pratul cleared the few steps from the verandah to the yard at one spring, and caught hold of the broom, which the woman had raised again to strike Subarna. "What is this? What is this that you are doing?" he cried furiously.

The woman made a face, and shrieked at him. "How did she dare to show her burnt face at my door? Get out of my house, at once, else I will cut her in two with my fish-chopper."

Pratul pulled away the broom from her hand and threw it away. He pushed Subarna behind him, thus covering her with his own body. Then he spoke to the woman again, "What are you saying? Was it such a crime to go to see her dying mother?"

Shribilas's mother, for the woman was none else, shrieked again like a lunatic, "Oh dear, dear! Like father, like daughter. So you have come to explain away her conduct and to show me the right and the wrong? Where have you been so long? I never saw any father of hers up to this time. A bride from a gentleman's family runs away at night, and you have the face to tell me that it was no offence? In which land have you been living?"

"That is immaterial," said Subarna's father. "I want to know whether you are going to take her back."

Subarna's mother-in-law waved her hands in his face, saying, "No, I won't. Get out of my house with your daughter. How dare you threaten me?"

Shribilas, too, had come out of the outer room, and had been standing on the verandah. Pratulchandra turned to him this time and asked in a tone of suppressed rage, "Is that your opinion, too?"

Shribilas looked at his mother. He was about to say something, but thought better of it, and remained silent. Subarna had collapsed on the ground and she was weeping. Shribilas looked at her, too, and frowned. "Have you got

nothing to say," asked Pratul again. "After all, it was you who married her."

"I have nothing to add to what my mother has said," said Shribilas. "Take away your daughter."

"All right," said Pratulchandra. "It will be a pleasure. If I had to leave her with you, I would have regarded it as a calamity. But understand that this going away is final."

He pulled Subarna up from the ground. The iron bracelet (the emblem of wifehood in Bengal) on her wrist scratched his hand. He looked at it for a moment. Then he pulled it out with a jerk and threw it at Shribilas. "I accept the fact that my daughter has no husband," he said; "a woman can never be married to a clod of earth."

Shribilas's sister shrieked wildly in rage as discarding the iron bracelet by Subarna symbolized the death of Shribilas. Pratulchandra passed out with his daughter. The cartman outside was nodding drowsily on his seat. Pratul gave him a push and said, "Get up. We must go back again."

Subarna got in, Pratulchandra followed her. The cart started with a jolt.

They reached the riverside in a few minutes. The boatman was amazed to see Subarna back again, but he did not have the courage to ask any questions. The frowning face of Pratul silenced him. The luggage was removed from the cart to the boat and the driver was paid off.

Subarna sat in the boat all huddled up and weeping. Only God knew what a storm raged in her heart. She felt with her immature mind that the greatest calamity in a woman's life had overtaken her. She had heard from her childhood and seen it too, that a gentlewoman could have no other home than her husband's home. She had lost this shelter for ever today. Where was she to go now, how was she to pass her days? She looked into the future and could see nothing but darkness. Her eyes filled against her will, and the terrible pain in her heart found relief in tears. A woman can only weep and blame fate.

Pratulchandra approached her and tried to comfort her. "Why are you crying, my little mother?" he asked. "Be glad rather that you are rid of those heartless butchers for ever."

"But what will happen to me, father?" asked Subarna.

"Why, everything can happen now," said her father with a smile. "If they had taken you back, that would have meant the end of all happenings for you. I shall try to give you that sort of education which I had hoped to give before your foolish marriage. We shall have to begin rather late, but that cannot be helped now. You must forget all these things, and try with all your power to build up your own future. You must not object to anything and must not fear anything, neither must you grieve about anything."



Subarna probably did not understand him fully. But this much she felt that her father was there and he was trying to comfort her. As long as he was alive, she would have a shelter. She wiped her tears and became calm. No tie of affection bound her to the family which she was leaving for ever. She was afraid only of social calumny, of being helpless and shelterless.

When they reached Jamral, the darkness of a cloudy evening had closed in round the village like a pall. Pratulchandra looked ahead in the darkness. "Can you get any sort of a light?" he asked the boatman. "It is impossible to walk in the dark."

The man had a broken hurricane lantern with him. It gave out more smoke than light. But as there was no other light available, this had to suffice. The man lighted it and they stepped ashore. It was too late now to hope for a conveyance. They called and shouted and at last got two men to carry their luggage. Pratul took his daughter by the hand and advanced carefully. The village lane was entirely deserted. Pratul felt glad of this. He was in no mood to talk to people, or to offer them explanations about Subarna's return.

Subarna's aunt was alone in the house. She had lighted a single lamp, with which to scare away all evil from the homestead. The greater part of the house was in darkness. She had eaten a frugal supper and had gone and laid herself down on her bed. She had kept awake, as she was expecting Pratul back. In the normal course of events, he would have been obliged to remain in his daughter's new home at least for one day. But here there was no such possibility. So Subarna's aunt had prepared some supper for her brother-in-law and had kept it by the kitchen fire so that it might remain warm. She was waiting for Pratul and was feeling a bit nervous. Only the other day, Narayani had passed out of this house for her last journey. The very thought was making her flesh creep. While in this world, human beings are tied together by the closest bonds of love. But once they step beyond its pales, the love is replaced by feelings of deepest dread. The widow could no longer dream of seeing Narayani again.

Suddenly somebody knocked at the door. Had Pratul come back already? What awful people were those? Probably they had not even asked him to sit down once. He had turned back the minute his work had been done.

"Wait a minute, brother," she called out, "I shall light the hurricane lantern and open the door. If I take out the other lamp, it will be blown out immediately."

She took out the matchbox from beneath her pillow and lighted the lantern. She wrapped her *sari* closely round her shivering body, and getting down into the yard, opened the outer

door. "Come in brother, come in, what a nasty" -- but she could not finish her sentence. She looked at Subarna, bewildered.

Pratul came in, followed by the two men, who carried the luggage. "Come this way," he said to them, "and put those things down there."

They deposited the luggage as directed and went away, after being paid. The boatman, too, went away with his broken lantern, after receiving his fare. Pratul entered and sat down in the big room with Subarna.

His sister-in-law now spoke for the first time. "What is this brother?" she asked. "Why have you brought Subarna back?"

Pratulchandra had been untying his shoes, with bent head. He did not raise his head as he replied, "They won't take her back."

"How absurd, good God!" said Subarna's aunt, with her palm on her cheek. "Such awful people! they are just like butchers! Now what is to become of the poor girl?"

"Something good, I hope," said Pratulchandra. "If she had been left there, she would have had nothing but a dog's life."

His sister-in-law did not understand him fully. Still she said, "you are quite right brother. They are called gentlefolks by courtesy alone. But what is done is done. Now wash your hands and faces and take some food. I hope the rice will be sufficient for you both. Else I shall give you some ripe fruit."

But the supper was enough for them. Both the father and the daughter were too exhausted after the day's happenings to desire to eat much. They just touched it, and retired for the night. Subarna herself swept the floor and made up the beds. She also prepared betel leaves for her father and fetched some drinking water, in case he wanted it during the night. "Shall I put up a mosquito net for you, father?" she asked.

"No, my dear," said her father with a smile. "I don't want it. I could never sleep inside one." "She is very useful for her age", he remarked, looking at his sister-in-law.

"So she is," she replied. "Else that demon of a mother-in-law would have killed her long ago. Strict mothers-in-law are a boon in one way, though they do torture the girls."

"But cannot one be taught to work through a more humane method?" asked Pratulchandra.

Subarna's aunt remained silent for a while. Then she said, "I must go away to-morrow brother. I only hope my home has not fallen into wrack and ruin by this time."

"I too shall start to-morrow", said Pratul. "So you can easily go away then."

"Are you going to Calcutta for the present?" asked the lady.

"Yes", said Pratulchandra.

## VI

Next day, the bustle of preparation began here from the morning, Subarna's aunt cooked

a hasty breakfast and served it to her niece and Pratul. She took some also herself, as one cannot start on such a long journey on an empty stomach. She had only a small tin trunk with her, so her own packing was easily finished. It took longer for Pratul and Subarna. As they were not coming back to their village home, they decided not to leave anything there. Everything that could be taken away to Calcutta was packed up by Subarna. The rest of the things, such as cooking utensils, furniture, etc., were deposited in a neighbour's house. Pratul wanted someone to remain in the house, but he did not manage to secure any one, in such a hurry. He decided to settle the matter from Calcutta. For the time being he engaged a man of the barber caste to look after the house at night. The man agreed to do so, when offered a salary of four rupees monthly.

Subarna's aunt started first. She did not have to cross the Bhairabi to reach her village, so a bullock cart was called for her. A woman of the village was to accompany her. She too arrived soon, ready for the journey.

Subarna burst into tears as she bowed down to her aunt at the time of parting. She was the last representative to Subarna of the familiar world, she was leaving behind. She had parted for ever from the other persons, she used to know. Her mother, the dearest and nearest, had left her for ever. Subarna did not know her father. His grave face, his serious words had made him an object of awe to Subarna. Still she was not a young child, she was thirteen and not a dull girl. She understood that her father was the only relative left to her, and he was the well-wisher of Subarna. Still her heart was ready to burst with grief at the thought of parting from her aunt.

Her aunt too wept. But she wiped her eyes soon and addressed Pratul thus: "I don't know what to say to you brother. I wonder what is in store for you with such a daughter in your hand. A girl is but an evil in the shape of a child, you can expect only misfortune through her. And her unfortunate mother, too, died at such an inopportune time!"

She turned next to Subarna and said, "Don't weep my child, it is no use weeping. If your luck is good, your husband's people will change their minds. Have your trust in the gods, and never let your father suffer any pain on your account."

Pratulchandra did not say anything. A cynic expression stole over his features, as he listened to his sister-in-law. Subarna parted from her aunt still weeping, and the bullock-cart started.

Then they prepared for their own journey. As they had a large amount of luggage, they had to call three carts. A few neighbours had collected there, to see them off. Pratul took leave of them shortly and got into a cart, with his daughter. The man, whom he was leaving in charge of the house, came and took away the key from him.

Subarna sat, with head bent down. The life with which she had been familiar was ending today. An unknown future awaited her. She did not want to look anybody in the face. Her breast heaved with suppressed sobs. Her father was her sole refuge now, but him she did not know. She had never even heard him spoken of by her own mother. Her mother and sister-in-law had mentioned him frequently, but in such terms that Subarna had not learnt either to love or to esteem him. She had heard that her father was not a good man, that he did not walk the way of the righteous. She did not know what he intended to do with her. But whatever his intentions, she would have to submit to them. She had no other option, as her husband's doors had been shut against her for ever.

They had a long journey by boat. This kind of travel was nothing new to her, so she did not even want to look around. Besides, the terrible aspect of the Bhairabi only gave rise to a feeling of dread in her mind. She was feeling sad enough, as it was, so she spread a mat inside and laid herself down on it. After a while, she fell asleep. Pratul sat at the same place, throughout the journey. Thoughts crowded into his mind from every direction and he did not know what to decide.

After a long while, they reached their destination, which was a village containing a railway station. They had to wait another hour here for the Calcutta train. Getting down from their boat, they hired two carts for their luggage and themselves, as the railway station was situated at a distance from the river. Before starting for the station Pratul asked Subarna if she was hungry. In that case, she could have something from the sweetmeat shop close by.

"No, father," said Subarna, "I am not at all hungry." So they started for the railway station.

Subarna had never been in a train. She had not even seen a train ever. The few years of her young life had been spent in the two villages—Jamral and Bhatgram. She had to go from the one to the other in boats. So she had never had any occasion for travelling by trains.

It was a small village station, and passengers were few. It had a platform, covered with red gravel, and a few tin sheds. Even this looked strangely beautiful to Subarna. "Good heavens," she thought, "what a crowd! I wonder where they are going. And what an uproar! What was that man in a turban? How strangely he was speaking. Was that Hindi?" Subarna had never even heard the Hindi language. And who was that woman with him? Perhaps his wife. What a funny way of wearing the sari, with such tucks in front!" It seemed very masculine to Subarna, and a smile appeared on her lips. Pratul was busy purchasing the tickets.

and disposing of the luggage. He had also a wire to send to Calcutta. After finishing all these, he came and sat down by Subarna. She was still staring at the upcountry woman. "From which land does she come, father?" she asked, as soon as she saw Pratul.

Pratulchandra smiled at the question, "Why? Haven't you ever seen a Hindusthani woman?" he said. "Well, let us reach Calcutta, then you will see all kinds of people that live in this world."

Subarna's eyes glowed with pleasure. Hitherto an iron-load had seemed to rest on her mind. She had even forgotten to smile. Many years ago, she had once laughed aloud, in her husband's house. She still remembered the furious flood of abuse that greeted her laugh. "Have you ever seen a gentlewoman showing her teeth like this?" her mother-in-law had shrieked at her. "You are braying like a donkey. What sort of a mother have you got? Didn't she ever teach you how to behave? If you again bare your teeth like that, I shall knock them out all." After that, Subarna had never smiled again. Not that she had very many occasions for doing so. Her mother-in-law and sister-in-law took good care of that.

Her heart was trembling with fear now, as she was standing on the threshold of a new life. Still, she could not but feel that the load on her mind had become much less heavy. Her father was a serious person, but he answered her, whenever she asked a question. If she laughed, he never threatened to knock out her teeth for that. She hoped that she would lose all feelings of fear and diffidence about him, after a while, if they stayed together.

The train was seen advancing towards them. So she had to go by this? Her heart seemed to freeze with fear, as she looked at the huge iron monster. She had never seen such a thing. She never knew that a vehicle could move so amazingly fast.

Pratul shook her by the arm and cried out, "What are you gaping at? Get in at once. It stops only for three minutes here."

Subarna came to herself and ran along with her father. Each car looked full to overflowing. Where were they to get in? The train stopped only three minutes. Alas, alas! they would never be able to get in this time.

Her father pulled open the door of a compartment and said, "Get in, quick." She got in somehow with his help. The coolies began throwing in their luggage in great haste. Subarna was suffocating with anxiety and dismay. Oh God, what was going to happen? The wretched coolies barred the way and would not let Pratul enter. Was the train starting? Subarna was the only girl in the compartment, the rest being male passengers. Oh, what was going to happen to her, if, perchance, her father was left behind?

But at last the suspense was over. Pratul got in after pushing a coolie violently out of his way. The train started the same minute. The coolies ran along the platform, shouting for their money. Pratul gave them whatever they wanted, without haggling over it. He was too busy then to think of such small matters.

The compartment was only half full. Two of the benches were full, on the third there was only one old gentleman, lying down. As soon as he saw Subarna getting in, he sat up and gathering together his bedding, made room for her to sit down. Subarna sat down, but she remained silent and motionless like a statue as long as her father did not come in.

"Why do you crouch like that?" asked her father, sitting down by her side, "There is plenty of space, why don't you stretch your limbs a bit? You will have to remain in this carriage till ten at night."

Subarna now felt more at ease. The old man asked Pratul, "Are you going to Calcutta, Sir?"

"Yes", replied Pratulchandra. The old man perhaps wanted to continue the conversation, but Pratul was not a talkative person. He spoke very little even with acquaintances, while before strangers he was totally dumb. So replying to the old man in a monosyllable he turned his back on him, and stared out of the window. He remained in this position for nearly two hours, without moving. Once only he turned to Subarna and said, "If you are feeling hungry, tell me. You had only a hasty breakfast in the morning."

But Subarna did not need any food. She had forgotten hunger and thirst in her first thrill of looking at a new world. She leant on the window, gazing with all her soul in her eyes. She had heard of the world, but had hitherto, seen very little of it. Only two small villages, and Bhairabi the terrible, these comprised her world. She did not know that such a vast place existed beyond. She did not know that it was so strangely beautiful. Her heart filled with amazement and expectation. She wondered what else was before her to see.

The train stopped at wayside stations, and Subarna's amazement grew apace. What a crowd of people, and what a din! She began to feel without understanding fully that not only this world, but life as well was vast and mysterious. It might contain many things, besides oppressive and tyrannical relatives and unkind husbands. Subarna did not know what these things were, but unconsciously she was preparing to welcome those strange guests of her future life.

She was gradually getting drowsy, through the constant motion and sound produced by the wheels. Her father looked at her and asked, "Do you want to lie down for a while?"

His old fellow-passenger was glad at having another opportunity to speak. "Yes, yes," he said, "Let the child lie down, she must be very tired."

"I shall go and sit on the other bench, it is half empty."

Saying this he got up and went away to the other bench. Pratul moved away, thus leaving space enough for Subarna to lie down. She did so, and was soon fast asleep.

They were nearing the end of their journey. He could see from a distance the whole sky lit up with the glow from hundreds of lights of the metropolis. It was like the waving aloft of a proud banner. Pratul pushed Subarna and said, "Get up, we are nearly there now."

Subarna got up hastily. She looked out with eyes still laden with sleep. Whence came such a glow of light and such noise? She felt rather bewildered. "What is this, father?" she asked.

"That is the Howrah station," said her father. "Is n't it very big?"

Subarna looked at it agape. She had never dreamed of anything so vast. She could not believe her own eyes and ears. Was she going to live in such a place? How many people of her village had seen such a sight, she wondered. If she ever went back to Jamrul, she would tell everybody about this and make them stare with wonder. She began to feel proud at the mere anticipation.

But as the train came to a stop by the platform, she felt her limbs shaking with fear. So she had to get down amidst this sea of people. She did not know where she was to be carried away. She felt her ears going deaf.

Pratul looked at her face and could understand what was going on in her heart. He smiled and said, "Don't be afraid. Let the porters take out the luggage first, then we shall get down. There is no cause for alarm."

Subarna sat crouched in a corner of the bench. The porters rushed in and began to carry down their luggage. Pratul ordered them to carry the things to a taxi. As he saw that the crowd had thinned somewhat, he took his daughter by the hand and got down from the train.

But Subarna could scarcely walk. She clung to her father's arm in desperation. "Why do you feel so alarmed?" asked her father. "You must not mind Calcutta so much. Afterwards you may have to go to England, even."

Subarna did not speak. She knew that the Sahibs and the Mem Sahibs lived in England. Beyond this her knowledge did not go. But sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof. She was too upset by Calcutta to think about her future voyage to England.

Pratulchandra dragged her along somehow and put her inside the taxi. "This is called a motor

car," he told her; "you will see, how fast it goes."

Subarna was looking all round her with eyes full of wonder. Her eyes had never beheld such strange and wonderful sights before. When the taxi came to a stop before the house in which Pratulchandra had his rooms, Subarna still felt disinclined to get down.

The house was a three-storied one. The ground floor and the first floor were occupied by the lodgers. On the second floor, there were only two rooms and there was no kitchen. For this reason, the second floor remained without a tenant for the greater part of the year, as a family cannot do without a kitchen.

Pratul had wired to the manager of the lodging house, to get these rooms for him. He could not live on the first floor with the other lodgers, as Subarna was with him. But it would be difficult and very expensive to hire a separate house and have an establishment for themselves. These two rooms would suit him perfectly. He could remain aloof, yet have all the advantages of the lodging house.

The manager had at once engaged the rooms on getting Pratul's wire. Pratul climbed up to the second floor and saw that all his furniture and things had been moved into the larger of the two rooms. The smaller room, too, was not empty. There was a small bedstead and a clothes-horse there. Both these pieces of furniture were new. Most of the lodgers were asleep by this time, a few had gone out to enjoy the theatre or the cinema. The manager, the cook and the servants welcomed Pratul and Subarna.

"I have bought these two things for your daughter," said the manager. "Else the child would have been put to much inconvenience."

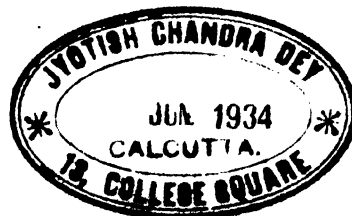
Subarna started at hearing herself referred to as the child. She had long since forgotten that she was a child.

"You have done quite right," said Pratul. "I forgot to tell about these. But you must not sit up any more for us. Go and lie down. The servants will see to our needs."

The manager went down. The servants untied their beddings and made up the beds in the two rooms. Then the servant and the cook brought their supper upstairs. They spread small carpets on the floor, and arranged the dishes and glasses of water nicely in front of them. Then they remained waiting.

Subarna had forgotten long ago what it was to be waited upon. She felt very glad, yet shy, at the same time. Was her future life going to be like this? She wondered.

(To be continued)



## A NEOLITHIC SITE IN THE SATPURAS

By DUNCAN GREENLEES M. A. (OXON.)

INDIA, from Himalaya to Comorin, is divided on the West between plain and plateau by the hills that flank the Tapti and Nerbuda. These hills,—the Vindhya, Mahadeos and Satpuras,—are still partly covered with remains of the ancient forests that once made them so impassable a barrier that, north and south, the Aryan and Dravidian nations grew together almost wholly ignorant of one another.

Their denseness in those days provided quiet retreats for Rishis and ascetics of every kind, and they have also been in every age the sanctuary of races driven by more highly cultured rivals from the fertile plains. The stories of the Epics and Puranas speak of these forests as the lair of Rakshasas, who often grievously harassed the saints at prayer and sacrifice. Although we think of Rakshasas as demons, in those times at least they were looked upon as wholly physical in their nature, though often with strange powers and bestial in their form.

Who, then, were these Rakshasas? It seems more than likely they were really the earlier savages, who seemed barely human to the civilized races who drove them from their hunting-grounds into the dark and fearsome forests. Such savages would very likely raid the homes of unprotected sadhus and steal the meats of sacrifice, and the comparative ease wherewith the Aryan heroes could destroy them also points to their lower state of culture. These Neolithic men, if this surmise is correct, displaced by the rising waves of civilization, were probably ancestors of those same "jungly tribes" whose life and customs today are but little removed from primeval savagery.

Casually wandering on these lonely hills, the scientific traveller of today has, from time to time, found arrow-heads of flint and agate, and other implements of the harder stones, still lying where they fell from the long-still hands of these ancient men. In Bundelkhand and Mirzapur great numbers have been found,

in sandy gravel, at times with pottery and skeletons, and in many parts of India they are common, though I do not know of any specimens hitherto published from the Betul District of the Central Provinces.

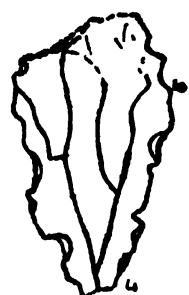
Come with me into that district. Crossed by the Tapti Valley, with its still-densely wooded banks in the heart of the Satpura Range, it is still known as one of the most backward tracts in India. A great part of the people are Gonds, an interesting and picturesque race, who speak a Dravidian tongue allied to Tamil, and education away from the larger centres is a thing unknown. A yet earlier racial stratum survives in the Korku folk, whose language is of the primitive Munda family, known also among the Santals of Bengal. These may well be the descendants of the lost Neolithic people of Central India.

In the midst of these forest areas is the sacred place known as Baraling, from the twelve lingams cut in the rock here beside the River Tapti. If you climb the steep hill at whose foot the temples nestle, and pass the Korku "devasthan" on the summit, (a red-smeared rock, surrounded by five red flags with a yellow banner flying over-head,) you will come on the northern side to a flat ridge looking down upon the Gond village of Chichthana. This ridge is about 200 yards long and some 30 wide, and almost bare of trees. The rocky core of the mountain protrudes in places above the surface, which is clad with a hard gravelly sand, lightly covered with grass.

Here, at the southern end towards the river valley, which winds some six hundred feet below, I came upon a number of stone implements, apparently of Neolithic dating, lying on the surface of the ground. Out of some fifty which showed distinct signs of human workmanship, picked up in less than an hour, I select sixteen for illustration, these being typical and most clearly artefacts. These drawings are made life-size, so that they may give the best idea possible of the objects

BARALING NEOLITHS

THICKNESS IN MILLIMETRES AT BULB AND POINT



REDDISH BROWN  
AGATE (l)  
(a)



YELLOW AND MAUVE  
(b)



BRIGHT PINK  
AND MAUVE  
(c)



ROSE PINK  
(d)



RED AND  
BROWN  
(e)



BROWN AND  
GREY  
(f)



PALE GREY  
AND MAUVE  
(g)



RED  
(h)



GREY AND  
WHITE  
(i)



BRIGHT PINK  
(j)



COLOURLESS,  
TRANSPARENT  
(k)



GREY  
(l)



WHITE,  
TRANSPARENT  
(m)



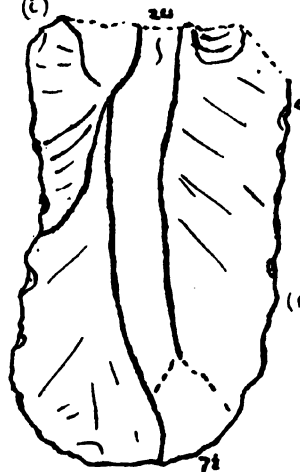
RED AND BLUE  
(n)



PINK AND  
MAUVE  
(o)



GREY,  
TRANSPARENT  
(p)



RED BLUE AND BROWN  
(q)

(KHEDI  
SALIGARH)

D.G.  
1934

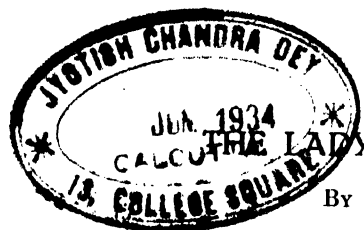
themselves, but it is a pity they cannot be reproduced in colour, for some of them, made of local stones, are of great beauty. Their hues range from a chocolate striped in fawn, through salmon to a lovely veined pink, and several are struck from colourless transparent stones and seem cut in glass or crystal.

The sizes of these implements range from 13 mms. to 46 mms., so they are all small, and some may even come within the category of the "pigmy flints," so long a mystery to pre-archaeologists. A few seem to be arrow-heads, several may be knives or scrapers, and others may well have been the teeth of scythes. The material is such as may be found here and there outcropping from the grey "primary" rock of the local hills, or may be picked up among the rounded pebbles of the river bed. Many discarded chips from the "factory" of olden days may still be seen lying here and

there on the ridge. Perhaps it was once the home of a family, high above the river's uncertain floods and easily defended from the tigers and leopards that still haunt the hills today.

About two miles from this spot, towards the large village of Khedi Saoligarh, I also picked up two worked flints from the surface of a ploughed field. These *may* be of similar date, though the technique of striking is far inferior. I illustrate one of these also, for comparison with those of the Baraling site.

There must surely be an immense amount that amateurs, even during a casual walk or picnic in the country of this ancient land, can do to increase our knowledge of its past. It is partly in the hope of stimulating some such research work that this contribution has been sent for publication.



## THE LADY IRWIN COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

BY MRS. H. RUSTOMJI FARIDDOONJI

*Honorary Secretary*

AND

MRS. HANNAH SEN

*Directress of the Institution*

### A BRIEF HISTORY

**T**HE Lady Irwin College represents a distinctive contribution to educational thought on the part of Indian women. It owes its inception to a movement first started in Delhi at the Second All-India Women's Conference in 1928, a movement which was a practical expression of the real and intelligent interest taken by the Conference in all matters affecting women and children. Out of the welter of speeches and resolutions there emerged the All-India Women's Education Fund Association, a body of experienced workers with a determination to remodel education and relate it to the needs and demands of Indian life. Lady Irwin was the first President of this Association and Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji its Honorary Secretary.

The Association was registered under Act XXI of 1860 in May 1929, and at its first Annual Meeting in January 1930, appointed an All-India Committee of educational experts from each of the provinces and some of the Indian States to enquire into the several resolutions

passed by the Women's Conference as regards women's education and to find out a type of education which will suit the life and needs of the people. After very careful and detailed investigation, this Committee submitted a report in 1931 embodying a scheme of study and research in Home Science, Educational Methods and Experimental Psychology, for the carrying out of which an endowment and building fund of 22½ lacs was required. Unfortunately, the full enquiry took some time and the general meeting of the Association sanctioned the scheme about two months before Lady Irwin left India. What was worse, soon after her departure, the economic conditions in the country got so bad that in spite of a most generous donation of two lacs of rupees from His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad the fund amounts to four and a half lacs of rupees only. The original scheme, with its various proposals, had, therefore, to be considerably modified, and it was decided that training in Domestic Science, coupled with a scientific study of the mentality of the

Indian child, promised the greatest measure of success and should be taken up immediately. With that ideal the Governing Body started the work of the college in November 1932 in spite of their small income. The college was formally opened by His Excellency the Viceroy in March 1933.

#### AIMS AND IDEALS

The college provides courses of studies in Home Science as a fundamental step towards enabling the Indian woman to liberate the power of Science in her home, to add the beauty of Art to that home, and, conserving the best in Indian tradition, to raise society to a healthier and wider level of life and thought. It seeks through its trained teachers to carry the message of Hygiene and the Science of Living to every province and village in India. The method



Experimental work in applied Science

suggested is that these trained teachers on their return to their own provinces will train the primary teachers in the simple rudiments of Hygiene and Domestic Science in the vernacular. Later on, the Secondary teachers could be trained with a more advanced course and thus carry on the training with the help of new teachers as they passed out of this college right up to the University course and thus introduce this most necessary training for women in the education of Indian girls.

#### THE COURSES OF STUDIES

The courses of studies cover a wide range of subjects intended in part for the efficient teacher and in part for use in home and civic life. A special Teachers' Course, with a year's training in Methods and Psychology, runs parallel with the Home Courses of one year and two years arranged specifically to meet the needs of wives and mothers.

In addition to the usual Domestic Science subjects of Cookery, Laundry, Housewifery and

Needlework, the Home Course syllabus includes Elementary Anatomy and Physiology, Dietetics, Hygiene, First Aid, Home Nursing, Mothercraft, Eugenics, Gardening, Book-keeping, Civics and



Cookery class

Child Psychology. But the Teachers' Course is still more comprehensive and higher in standard, for it has a place reserved for the Sciences--Physics and Chemistry, pure and applied, Biochemistry and Biology.

These courses lay a strong emphasis on practical and laboratory work, and include visits to places and institutions of educative value. The practical side of the training is further developed, and a sense of responsibility, aroused by the series of House Duties assigned to students in rotation, which entrusts to their care the entire management of the institution. Most of the visitors to the college have admired this



Laundry class

unique and useful feature. The Dean of the Department of Home Economics of the Kansas State College, during her short visit to Delhi, remarked that she had nowhere before seen the practical side of Home Science Training worked out with such thoroughness.



The twin arts of music and dancing also receive their due share of recognition. For among the optional subjects are Indian music, both vocal and instrumental, and classical Indian dancing. The success of this section is guaranteed by the active co-operation and financial support of the Delhi Women's League, the Local Committee of the All-India Women's Conference. Already several trophies have been won at inter-collegiate competitions. Indian Painting, Shorthand and Typing are also taught.

Believing that no system of education would be complete and no syllabus of studies adequate, without some degree of physical culture, the college encourages the playing of games. Tennis, Badminton and Basket Ball are among the favourite forms of exercise. A swimming bath, attached to the premises, offers another enjoyable recreation. The Games Committee of the Students' Union keeps alive this ardent interest

families differing in size and income. In thus translating the knowledge of the laboratories into the practical needs of the cottages, the Indian women will learn to evaluate all sciences and arts in terms of the requirements of home and life.



Needlework class

#### A PLEA

This new outlook on education, this brave venture, is a proud achievement. That the Conference continues to think along these lines is evidenced by the oft-repeated resolution which was once again passed at its last Session in Calcutta.

"This Conference feels that there ought to be a re-orientation of the entire system of education in this country and is of opinion that government and private institutions should introduce vocational training immediately in schools and colleges."

By far the most important profession foreshadowed in the term "vocational" is that of the wife, mother and home-builder. It is a career that over 99 per cent of women have followed for centuries and which more than 170 millions of them in India pursue today. Any attempt to re-orientate education into a meaningful system must take into account the realities of life, its practical requirements. From everywhere comes the cry that female education advances but slowly and that the percentage of female students is regrettably low. If the desire to remedy this defect is sincere, if Indian women earnestly wish to awaken an increasingly popular demand for education, it is imperative that school studies be related to Indian homes and to the call of Indian citizenship. Home Science, in all its aspects, in its limited and wider applications, demands attention as an integral part of all education. But the teaching and the study of this subject should be secured not merely through an All-India high grade institution, such as the Lady Irwin College, but by means of local schools and



Students Gardening

through tournaments and challenges to other Colleges. Periodical Medical examinations and the keeping of health record cards give added importance to the health and well-being of the students.

#### THE BUILDING

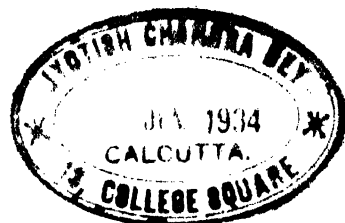
The college is housed temporarily at 1, Sikandra Road, New Delhi. The building consists of lecture rooms, work rooms, a library, the students' common and dining room, and provides also living accommodation for the students and members of the staff. Recently the All-India Women's Education Fund Association acquired an extensive piece of land on which it proposes to construct the main college block with its up-to-date laboratories and cottage homes. Those cottages, of many sizes and grades, will be the centres of experience for conducting homes of

colleges making use of the trained teachers to adapt the courses to their varying needs.

This will give some idea to our friends in Bengal of the work that is being done by this All-India Institution. In starting this scheme the original Committee specially wanted to avoid duplicating the work that was already being done in different parts of India and took up this one branch regarding which they were told that the need was great and the paucity of trained teachers hampered the work in the provinces. Money is badly needed for both the building and for the Endowment Fund. Subscriptions are so graded that the richest and the poorest

can help this Institution if they desired. A Patron pays Rs. 20,000, a Vice-Patron Rs. 10,000, a Life Fellow Rs. 500 and a Life Member Rs. 100. Besides that, there are Annual Fellows paying Rs. 25 a year and Members paying the nominal sum of Rs. 5 a year. The United Provinces has contributed over Rs. 40,000 for the work of this college and the Governing Body appeal to educated Bengal which is in the fore-front of all national causes to help this cause of Women's education.

*Communicated by Mrs. S. C. Mukherjee, Hon. Secretary, All-India Women's Conference.*



## LABOUR POLICY ON INDIA

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

I have been much interested in reading an account of Sir Oswald Mosley's meeting in Stoke-on-Trent.

I do not propose to deal with his general statements about the failure of political parties to carry out their pledges and the need for reform of the machinery of Parliament. On many of these points we are all agreed, although we differ widely from Sir Oswald Mosley as to the remedies required.

What I do want to deal with is Sir Oswald's remarks on India—a subject about which he would admit that I do know something at first hand, after my many visits there, staying in Indian homes and trying to see things Indian through Indian eyes. Indeed, before going out to India, it was to me that Sir Oswald came for personal letters of introduction and recommendation to Indians, and he asked me in these letters to stress the fact that he was not only Labour, but Left-Wing Labour, and he then agreed that the government of India was a matter primarily for Indians.

Sir Oswald says that the Fascists are against the Government's Indian White Paper, root and branch. Well, we in the Labour Party are also against the White Paper, not, however, for Sir Oswald's reason that it is "the right and duty of Great Britain to remain and govern" in India, but because, according to Sir Oswald's own showing, we have not made such a brilliant success of the governing of this country that we should claim the "right" to govern India. How was this "right" acquired? The late Sir William Joynson-Hicks truthfully remarked that

"We conquered India as an outlet for the goods Great Britain. We conquered it by the sword, and by the sword we should hold it. I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire goods in particular."

We believe that God has not yet made the people who are able to govern another people, and

that freedom and the right to govern themselves is the right of all peoples.

### SELF-DETERMINATION

We fought a war for the self-determination of small nations. Indians ask why that self-determination should only apply in Europe and not in Asia. They are as much entitled to self-determination as is Belgium, or as we are. They had a civilization and culture while our ancestors were running about in their birthday suits decorated with wool.

Sir Oswald says it is our right to remain and govern because India owes everything to British rule. That is one of those sweeping statements so easy to make, but without any shadow of foundation in truth. He says it is our duty to remain and govern India because the withdrawal of British authority would result in a collapse into chaos and bloodshed. This is not the Left-Wing Labour point of view, but the Right-Wing Tory die-hard point of view. It is interesting to note that, speaking broadly, there has been much less chaos and bloodshed in the Indian States governed by Indian Princes than in British India under our rule—or, one might say, in Fascist Berlin and Vienna.

Sir Oswald says we possess today more effective and more humane instruments for the maintenance of law and order than in the past. Presumably Sir Oswald refers to our resort to bombing from aeroplanes. All other civilized nations have expressed their willingness at Geneva to abandon this bombing from the air. We alone persist in our right to do so. We alone stand in the way of a convention which would put an end to it everywhere. If Sir Oswald considers bombing from the air a humane instrument, the Indians have another view.

Sir Oswald states that it is a profound illusion to suppose that our authority is challenged by the mass of the Indian population. If this really is his view, it shows under what profound illusions he himself is labouring. When Sir Oswald went out to India, I advised him to stay with Indians, in their

homes, to whom I gave him letters of introduction. In that way he would have more chance of realizing their point of view. Indians are very suspicious of friends of Indian freedom whose headquarters is at Government House and who, naturally, are supposed to share the "official" views. Yet throughout the length and breadth of India Sir Oswald and his wife were mainly the guests of the Governors, by whom, no doubt, he was informed that the mass of the Indian population are quite happy with our government.

Sir Oswald goes on to say that our authority is challenged only by a small class who at every opportunity themselves oppress the Indian masses. That again is as untrue as it is sweeping. But it interests me to recollect that it was to members of this "small class," who challenge our right to rule them in India, that Sir Oswald was anxious to have letters of introduction and recommendation from me.

Sir Oswald told his audience that 250 different languages and dialects are spoken in India. Quite true. But how many are spoken in this country? If the census were taken in this country by the same method as is employed in India, every French, German, Spanish or other visitor who happened to be in this country at the time the census was taken would go to swell the number of different languages spoken in this country. The fact really is that, although, according to the last census, there were some 225 languages spoken in the Indian Empire, Hindustani alone is spoken by over 120,000,000 people; Bengali by well over 50,000,000; Punjabi by nearly 25,000,000 and Tamil by over 20,000,000 people. These figures are all to be found in the Abstracts of Tables giving the Main Statistics of the Census of the Indian Empire taken in 1931 and published in Command Paper No. 4194 of 1932.

#### RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

Sir Oswald is also worried by the fact that India is "rent by every kind of racial and religious differ-

ence." Of course, there are many religions in India. Practically every known religion is represented there. Indeed, Christianity was in India long before it was in this country, and it has continued there ever since. But let us face the real point about this great diversity of religions. The population of India amounts to over 350 millions of people. But of this about 240 millions are Hindus. Nearly 80 millions are Muslims; nearly 13 millions Buddhists. And about 6½ millions are Christians. These figures also are given in the Command Paper I have referred to.

Sir Oswald went on to say that what "was really suggested by the Government's White Paper was the handing over of India to a small governing class of Indians who were either great capitalists or professional politicians in the pocket of the financiers." This is sweeping and absolutely untrue, and there is no foundation whatever for this in the White Paper, and I challenge Sir Oswald Mosley to point out any authority for such a statement in the White Paper. If he really had read it, he would realize that it is not the intention of the Government to hand over to Indians at all, but to retain the whole real power, by a series of safe-guards, in Whitehall.

I see that Sir Oswald goes on to say that the strong hand of the British Government was necessary in India, and one of the reasons he gives for this is the necessity for extended irrigation. Is Sir Oswald not aware, even after his journeys from Government House to Government House through various Provinces in India, that even with the very limited amount of self-government that India has at present, the fact that Indian Ministers were put in charge of irrigation has meant that since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were initiated in 1921, irrigation in India has gone forward and been extended tremendously.

If the Fascist programme is as well informed on other subjects as their leader seems to be on India, it is little wonder that the electorate throughout the country has turned them down so decisively.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### "Need our Schools Continue Godless?"

#### An Experiment in Religious Education at the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School

By A. MARGARET BARR, M. A. (Camb)

There has recently been brought to my notice the article entitled "Need Our Schools Continue Godless?" in *The Modern Review* for January last, and I feel sure that readers of that excellent journal would be interested to hear of an experiment which is being made in an Indian Girls' School with a view to answering that question.

First let me say a little about the article in question. With the first part of it I am in complete agreement. I agree that education from which all moral and religious instruction has been eliminated is a danger both to the State and the individual. I agree also that sectarian education is, if possible, an even greater danger still. With most of the next two pages of the article however, I find myself at issue. The writer describes, and, I gather, commends, the system in force in Minneapolis, where special

schools have been started for religious instruction, to which the children from the public schools go for certain stated periods each week. After drawing attention to the principles underlying the scheme, he adds, "The main aim of the school of religious education is to give religion its *legitimate place* in the life of the child, and to aid in developing in the pupil high ideals of character and citizenship." Then on the next page he defines what he means by religion, distinguishing it carefully from ritual and dogma, and adds, "The function of the school of religious education, then, must be not to train the pupils in rituals and dogmas but to build character. So far so good. I agree. But there seems to me to be an inconsistency here and on a vital point. The writer rightly recognizes that religion is not ritual or dogma, and wants to give it its "legitimate place in the life of the child," yet apparently he believes that that can be done in separate, special schools. But surely the one thing most vitally wrong with the whole thought about religion in the modern world is the idea that religion and life can be separated. To give religion "its legitimate place in

the life of the child" we must bring it back to the very heart of his everyday life. For that, and nothing less than that, is its "legitimate place." I disapprove, then, and profoundly, of the whole idea of separate schools and special teachers for religious instruction. Teachers should be specially qualified, of course, as they are to teach Mathematics or Science or art or any other difficult subject. But they should not be special teachers for that subject alone, or if the school is large enough to have such a specialist, he or she should at least be at the same time (like the Mathematics or Sanskrit teacher) a regular member of the ordinary school staff. If we cannot achieve this then children will inevitably grow up with the ever-deepening belief that religion is something apart from everyday life, something always associated with special places and special times and special people, instead of being given its legitimate place" as the motive and main-spring of the whole of life.

With the latter part of the article I am again in complete agreement. Here the writer pleads for "a fully developed but non-sectarian programme in social education in our public schools," which "might succeed in promoting wide-spread respect in youth for the social values of all religions"... a system which would "provide children with adequate and definite instruction in right living" both as individuals and as social units. I entirely agree, but I believe profoundly that to set up special schools for the purpose is the surest way of defeating that purpose.

Let me now describe the experiment which is being made at the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School in Calcutta. As the experiment was only started six months ago, it is impossible as yet to speak of it save with the utmost tentativeness, or to do more than explain what we are *trying* to do.

The school is open to Indian girls irrespective of religious creed. And though in practice this reduces itself to Hindus, Brahmans, Muslims and a few Christians, in theory there is nothing to prevent it containing in addition representatives of all the other religions of India. The problem as it stands, however, is quite sufficiently difficult; and for some years the school authorities have felt that the girls should be given some form of religious instruction, but have realized, of course, that any form of sectarianism is completely out of the question.

Last November the writer of this article came to the school for the express purpose of trying to work out an experiment in religious education on universalist lines, in addition to teaching English to some of the senior girls, and being in charge of the Boarding house.

The aim of the experiment is to put the history of religion in some sort of perspective, to fill in the gaps in the girls' knowledge by giving them some information concerning faiths other than the one in which they have been brought up, to give them some understanding and appreciation of the social values taught by all religions, and above all to open their eyes to the fact that the religions of the world *at their best* do not conflict with one another but agree, at any rate on fundamental issues.

The method adopted is as follows: The Juniors are given just stories of one kind and another—myths, parables, legends, incidents in the lives of great religious leaders, any stories, in short, ancient or modern, true or legendary, which have any sort of moral or religious value. The Middle School girls are given outlines of the lives of the founders of the historic religions and the main points in their teaching, Zoroaster, Moses, Lao-tse, Buddha, Confucius, Christ, Muhammad. And with the Senior girls is attempted the more difficult task of studying the world's great religious books and comparing the teaching that is found in them, selecting for memorizing purposes such texts and short passages as are most famous for their beauty or universality.

Let me remind readers once again that this experiment is still in its very early infancy. It will be impossible to assess justly its success or failure for some years to come—not indeed until the children now in the First Form shall have reached the top of the school, having passed through all stages of the experiment. That these girls will emerge with a finer sense of honour and morality, with higher ideals of citizenship and service, with a broadminded and tolerant attitude towards all forms of religious faith, and with a sincere desire to vindicate in their own experience the universal truths which are taught by them—all that, in short, religion will for them have been given its "legitimate place"—this we dare not assert, but this and nothing less than this is our hope and aim.

Great political passion is a precious treasure; the feeble hearts of the majority of mankind have but little room for it. Happy the generation upon which stern necessity imposes a high political ideal which, great, simple and comprehensible to all, compels all the other ideas of the time to serve it.—TRIETSCHKE.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Tagore on 'Man'

In an illuminating paper in *Visva-Bharati News* Rabindranath Tagore writes :

Man's endeavour strives from one nature towards another. It is only when his enquiries go beyond individual inclinations that his science is founded on universal knowledge. It is only when his efforts take him beyond all personal interests and the inertia of customary habit that he becomes विश्वकर्मा a world-worker. It is only when his love transcends his self-seeking that man becomes a Mahatma—a great soul—through his relationship with all creatures. One nature of man obscures him, the other gives freedom.

The astronomer observed that a planet had deviated from its orbit. He asserted with conviction that it was due to the attraction of some other unseen planet. It was observed that the mind of man also did not move along the course prescribed by its nature for the preservation of life. It deviated towards the uncertain, towards the transcendent. This led man to imagine the realm of the spirit. He asserted that commands came from there, it was there that his centre of being lay. Men wrangle and fight to decide who it is that presides over that realm. Whoever He may be and whatever name we might give to Him, He did not let man rest within the limits of animal life.

The sea becomes restless. There is the continual ebb and flow of the tides. The restlessness of the sea would by itself prove the attraction of the moon, even if that remained invisible. Even the new-born babe knows instinctively that the hunger which indubitably is in him has an object that is real also in the external world. Man's lifelong efforts have often been directed to things which have no connections whatever with his immediate physical needs. A life transcending death leads him on to the paths of adventure, not for the sake of self-preservation, but for the sake of immortality.

In Vedic language God has been called : *Aviśā* ऋषिः denoting that his nature is Revelation. About him it has been said—यस्य नाम महद् यज्ञः—His great glory is His name: His truth is in his great expression. It is the same with the nature of man : it is to reveal the glory of his soul. The creature preserves his life by taking in food from outside, the soul reveals itself by pouring itself out, and crossing nature's limits. Even the savage in his own way wants to transcend nature for the sake of his self-glorification, which according to him is the expression of his truth. He pierces his own nose and sticks in it a rod. Through a painful process he sharpens his teeth. He flattens his infant skull between wooden boards and deforms it. He concocts strange garments and hideous ornaments and endures insufferable pain and discomfort in putting them on. In all this he attempts to declare that he is potentially greater than what he can normally be. This greater self of man is contrary to nature. The God whom he exalts as his ideal is equally strange. A nursling of nature and yet man has this fighting attitude which always seeks to defy nature. Here in India we see people, some with lifted arm, some lying

on a bed of thorns, some hanging with head down towards a raging fire. They declare in this way their superiority, their saintliness, only because they are unnatural. In the modern European countries also, there are people who glory in facing unnecessary hardship which are called breaking records. Most of these they perform in order to glorify unnaturalness. The peacock feels proud in being a peacock : ferocious animals exalt in the success of their ferocity. But Man prides that in his exaggerations he is more real than in his normal reality.

### South America and India

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose offers a few valuable suggestions for the establishment of cultural contact between India and Latin America in *India and the World*. He writes :

South America, according to the South American Handbook, is one-half the area of the whole British Empire, and in 1931, despite the crisis, these Republics did the equivalent of about £612,000,000 of foreign trade, with a difference of about £120,000,000 in favour of their exports over imports.

Now it happens that what India produces is being bought by South America from other third countries, as England and the United States. We must try to establish direct contacts and sell our articles to South America, who will benefit a reduction in price instead of leaving all the benefit to the intermediaries.

A friend from Cuba suggested to me, among other things, that a ship as a floating exhibition of India should be sent by us to visit Central and South American countries. This should interest business circles. At each harbour contacts would be established on board the *S. S. India*.

Besides, in our leading cities there should be Consuls of each of the South American Republics. If the Consul is honorary he should be an Indian, not a foreigner. This would greatly help to facilitate information and further connections.

We should distribute in South America a pamphlet in Spanish with data and illustrations about India.

In order to co-operate with this new plan of India expansion, this *Review* will publish a series of articles devoted to each one of these countries. The actual isolation between ourselves and that important branch of the Latin race must not continue.

The first steps in order to start bringing South America and India closer to each other could be :

(1) Study of Spanish. All the twenty Republics speak Spanish with the exception of Portuguese spoken in Brazil and French in Haiti. Commerce is acquainted with English nevertheless.

(2) Exchange of professors and students in order to promote personal contacts.

(3) Travelling in these beautiful countries.

(4) More information about trade and condition.

Trade relations should exist as well with North America as with South America. India can sell directly

let us say tea, and obtain in turn : oil and cacao from Venezuela, silver from Mexico, coffee from Colombia, etc.

### The Imperial Library of Calcutta

Mr. Rabindra Mohan Datta tells us in the same paper that the State libraries of most of the civilized countries are copyright libraries. On publication of books there a number of copies must be given to the libraries under the penalty of a fine. Only the libraries in India do not enjoy the privilege. So Mr. Datta writes :

Unless the Imperial library is made a copyright library, its growth must necessarily be slow. For making it a copyright library, the only thing the Government of India has to do is to amend the Indian Copyright Act, III of 1914, on the lines of the Imperial Act, and provide for the accommodation of books thus received.

With a little imagination, the Copyright Act can be so amended as to make the libraries at provincial headquarters recipients of all books published in the vernacular or vernaculars of the province, wherever published in India. We will make our meaning clear by an example ; many books in Tamil, Telegu and Malayalam are published by the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta ; they are sent to the Bengal Government under the Press and Book Registration Act ; the Bengal Government after a time either sends them to the Imperial Library, where the majority of readers cannot use them, or simply destroys them. If these books were sent to Madras, they would have been of more use. Similarly with the Oriya books.

We also suggest that unless there is reciprocity between Britain and India in the matter of exchange of publications, unless the British Parliament is willing to amend their Copyright Act for having an additional copy of all new publications to be sent to India, we in India should have the Act of 1867 so amended as to stop the book tribute we have been paying to Britain for the last 70 years. Let the Government of India move in the matter and secure by amicable negotiations the just rights of India in the matter ; and we believe Britain will not be ungenerous if the matter is properly put to her.

### Pramathanath Basu's Works

The following account of the works of the late Pramathanath Basu from *The Insurance and Finance Review* will prove interesting :

Pramathanath's explorations and discoveries regarding India's mineral wealth are strewn over the pages of the "Record of the Geological Survey of India" and the "Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India." It was Pramathanath who discovered the iron mines at Garumohisani, Badampahar, Panchpir and Kalimati, and it was he who made the Tata Iron and Steel works possible. While in Government service, he discovered the Manganese ores in Jubbulpore, Darjeeling coal, Granite in Tavoy and Mergui. The following articles and pamphlets published in the "Memoirs" and "Records" will show the extent of his researches and explorations in geology all over India.

1. Geology of the Lower Narbada Valley (Memoirs, Vol. XXI, pt. 1.)

2. Undescribed Fossil Carnivora from the Sivalic Hills (Vol. XIV, pt. 3).

3. Notes on the History and Comparative Anatomy of the Extinct Carnivora ('Geological Magazine,' Vol. VII, 1880).

4. Notes on Lignite near Raipur, Central Provinces (Records Vol. XXVII, pt. 8).

5. The Manganese-Iron and Manganese Ores of Jubbulpur (Records, Vol. XXI, pt. 8).

6. The Darjeeling Coal between the Sisu and the Ramthi Drivers (Records, Vol. XXIII, pt. 4).

7. On the Geology and Mineral Resources of Sikkim (Records, Vol. XXIV, pt. 4).

8. Note on Mahismati or Maheshvara on the Narmada ('Proceeding,' Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1933).

9. Chhatisgar : Notes in its Tribes, Castes, and Sects ('Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXI, pt. 1.)

10. Note on Granite in the district of Tavoy and Mergui (Records, Vol. XXXVI, pt. 3).

11. Note on the Geology of a part of the Tenasserim Valley (Records, Vol. XXVI, pt. 4).

12. The Geology and Mineral Resources of Mayurbhanj (Records, Vol. XXXI, pt. 3).

13. The Geology and Mineral Resources of the Raipipla State. (Own Publication).

Pramathanath was a social reformer and educationist of the first rank. He was one of the founders of the National Council of Education in the wake of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. He was sometime Rector of the Bengal Technical Institute founded at Jadavpur under the auspices of the above Council. Pramathanath was Secretary to the "Indian Society" in London, and advocated the cause of indigenous trade and industry long before the Swadeshi movement, since he could foresee that India's economic salvation lay only in a proper industrialization and utilization of her enormous natural products in indigenous industries. He published a book on *Technical and Scientific Education* in the year 1886, the suggestions contained wherein were responsible for the many important reforms carried out in the curricula of the Calcutta University. He was to a large extent responsible for the introduction of geology as a subject of study at the Presidency College, Calcutta, where he acted as a Professor for some time. He founded the "Indian Industrial Association" in 1891, and was elected its Secretary. He presided over the "Bengal Industrial Conference" in 1891, and was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of "Indian Industrial Conference" in 1906. He encouraged joint-stock enterprises among his countrymen and established the Rangpur Tobacco Company, and the India Prospecting Company. He established a sugar factory and operated two coal mines near Asansol in 1895.

Pramathanath had an intense love for literature and maintained a keen interest in literature and philosophy all through his life. He has written several books in English as well as Bengali on Indian political and social problems. His *History of the Civilization during British Rule* (3 Vols.) is the most critical analysis of British rule in India. The following are some of his popular books :

1. Sawaraj—Culture and Political
2. Epochs of Civilization
3. Some Present-day Superstitions
4. Essays and Lectures
5. Survival of Hindu Civilization
6. Illusions of New India

The following pamphlets also caused much sensa-

tion among the intelligentsia of our country when they were first published.

1. The Root Cause of the Great War.
2. National Education and Modern Progress.
3. The Economic Aspect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme.
4. Give the People back their Own.
5. Degeneration - A World Problem.
6. An Eastern View of Western Progress.
7. Educational Reform in Bengal (1888).

### Planned Economy

While the Indians have been clamouring for political and economic *Swaraj* for years, the Government of India has remained adamant and stuck to the principles of a by-gone age. So Mr. F. E. James, M. L. A. writes of the Government in *The Indian Review* :

It requires overhauling, in order to be more responsive to the new conditions and more adaptable for the execution of the national planned policies which are being forced upon all countries. That is why, during the Budget debate, I tried to focus the attention of the legislature on this aspect of the matter, and to suggest changes that could and should be made forthwith. The Government's attitude was a grudging and unwilling recognition that something perhaps was required, and a passionate claim that everything they were doing was right. Bureaucratic habits die hard, and it was not to be expected that suggestions for their change would be readily accepted. But the modification of the administrative machine will be forced upon them, for the old mechanism is no longer adequate. The trouble is that most of the present members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are men who have been trained in their early days in the prewar schools of liberalism, free trade, low tariffs and unrestricted individualism. In a country where economic nationalism is liable to become exaggerated, such an attitude is a useful corrective. It should not however be permitted entirely to dominate the policy of the country. The world is moving fast and economic changes are not, in India, waiting on political reform. The determination of all the countries to plan their national economy, to set their people to work in industry, to cut out unnecessary imports and to concentrate upon internal rather than upon international trade, is a fact which cannot be ignored. Those who are responsible for India's economic policy must keep in touch with what is happening in other countries and must be prepared to forget for ever the economics of the days before the war. The nation that is not prepared to organize is the nation that will go to the wall in the present economic struggle.

Internally the machine of government needs adaptation on the lines suggested above. Externally India needs a progressive policy of trade extension and by-lateral and multi-lateral agreements. If the British Commonwealth is to mean anything to India, the full economic advantage should be extracted from it. These are matters which transcend politics and which call for the most earnest study and co-operation from all citizens of India irrespective of politics, community, and race.

### Dr. Sven Hedin's latest Expedition

Dr. Sven Hedin is now 68. He is still pursuing his explorations in Central Asia. A

correspondent writes from China in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

A vast unbroken stretch of highway extending all the way across Europe and Asia from the Atlantic on the west to the Pacific on the east, - this is the dream of Dr. Sven Hedin, famous and intrepid Swedish explorer, as he set it before the writer on the eve of the departure of the Suiyuan-Sinkang Highway Expedition for the regions of Central Asia, in behalf of the Chinese government. Starting from his headquarters at Kueihua, Suiyuan, on November 10, [1933]. Dr. Hedin is setting out across Mongolia toward Hami and Iihwa in Chinese Turkestan, possibly pushing on toward Chuguchak, Nigryan, or Kashgar on China's westernmost borders, and returning through Kansu along the old imperial highway, to terminate his journey at Sian, capital of the province of Shensi. It is expected that about eight months will be required for this gigantic undertaking.

### Health from Sunshine

Much has been said on the efficacy of sun-shine. We take the following from the same paper :

For growing babies, five minutes' exposure to the sunlight twice daily is an excellent practice. It has been found that daily exposure in this way increases the amount of phosphorus in the blood, and phosphorus is an essential element for growth. The amount of iron in the blood has been found to be increased after exposure to the sun's rays for a time.

Sunlight is death to germs. Few germs can withstand the sun's rays for one hour. Sunlight is also of benefit in the treatment of tuberculosis. The same invisible ultra-violet rays are responsible for the cure of certain skin diseases, chronic leg ulcers, etc.

In the absence of natural sunlight, artificial sunlight can be utilized in the treatment of rickets and tuberculosis. There are certain types of electric lamps particularly the quartz lamp, which produces a great quantity of ultra-violet rays. These lamps are extensively employed in the treatment and prevention of rickets and other deficiency diseases. They are also valuable in treatment of some forms of skin diseases. Such treatment should be under the direction of the doctor.

### Contribution of the Kols to Indian Civilization

We welcome publication of the tenth volume of *The Dacca University Journal*, 1934, edited by Mr. P. K. Guha. It contains many valuable papers on important cultural topics. There is a paper on the beginnings of Indian Civilization by Dr. S. K. De. We read with interest the following extracts containing an account of the contributions of the Kols to the Indian Civilization :

In India the Indo-Aryans came in contact with two important types of people, the Dravidians and the Kol-Mundas, besides the Tibeto-Chinese whom we may dismiss for the present as they come into the field at a much later date when Hindu culture had been fully characterized and established. The commingling of these three peoples Arya, Dravida and Kol, has resulted in a most remarkable synthesis of cultures, viz. the Hindu culture as it is known today. The intermingling

has been so close and complex that it is difficult today to disentangle clearly the lines of development; but it is becoming more and more apparent that the Aryans were not single-handed in building up the culture of India and that the deeper substratum of this culture is to be found in the Kol and Dravidian contribution, which has been no less great.

The Kols are now confined roughly to west Bengal, Chote-Nagpur, north-east Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces, but on linguistic, ethnic and other grounds it has been surmised that they were in India before the Dravidians, and at one time overran the whole of the Gangetic plains from Western Himalaya to Gujarat and Maharashtra in the west and to Bengal in the east, in which last place they were contiguous to their kinsmen, the Mons, the Khmers and other peoples, who at one time occupied the whole of Indo-China. The language which they speak is distinct from Indo-European and belongs to a linguistic family to which the name Austric or Austro-Asiatic has been given by Peter Schmidt.

Even where they preserved more or less complete isolation from the currents of Hindu civilization, it must have been almost impossible for them not to have been profoundly influenced by the irresistible influx of Hindu notions; they are thus no longer purely Kol or Austric. It is necessary however, even if it is difficult, to separate and restore the Kol or Austric elements, and this can be done partly by a study of the present-day Kol people and partly also by helps derived from Indo-Chinese and Indonesian studies. When we have some general idea about the real character of Austro-Asiatic thought and culture we shall be able to trace it in ancient and mediæval Hindu thought.

Among the fundamentals of Hindu notions and ideals, of transmigration, which is not an old Aryan belief but which developed in comparatively recent times, as perhaps of Kol animistic origin. Some customs and ways of life current among primitive Indonesians, who are the kinsmen of the Kols, have their counterparts in ancient and modern India. Kol myths and legends must have been Hinduized in Hindu mythology, for the legends and traditions of a country seldom die. But thorough investigation have not yet been made into these questions.

### Need of a fresh Insurance Law

India has made rapid progress in life insurance business in these years. A law was enacted in 1913 to control this branch of business. To adapt it to the modern needs the law requires complete overhauling. Mr. S. C. Ray says in *Insurance World* :

(1) Operations of all classes of Insurance business should be regulated by law.

(2) The initial deposit of Rs. 25,000 may remain as it is but every company should be called upon to deposit another sum of Rs. 25,000 in some recognized bank from which they will be allowed to draw money not exceeding Rs. 1,500 per month for meeting their current expenses. The main difficulties of a new Insurance office lie in first two years, and the deposit while checking to some extent formation of company does not help much in the transaction of the business while it is formed. The aforesaid deposit with the bank with limited withdrawal may solve the problem to some extent.

(3) The Government Actuary should be vested with

more powers to check the activities of insolvent Insurance companies and provision may be made for the inspection of the books of Accounts of the company by the Government Actuary in order to ascertain the real position.

(4) There should be no exemption to foreign companies with regard to deposit.

(5) Non-Indian companies should be compelled to keep separate account with regard to their Indian operations and also to make a separate valuation of their Indian business. They should not be allowed to distribute bonus on their Indian business out of profits on business written outside the country.

(6) Every foreign company should be required to invest in India the reserve against their Indian policies.

(7) The principal representatives of such foreign companies within this country must be Indian.

### "Local time" and "Standard time"

The following appears in *The Educational Review* :

What generally goes by the name of "local time" is the relative angular distance of the sun from the meridian of a place or locality. It may be either apparent or mean "local time." The reading of the sun-dial shows the apparent solar "local times" of the locality in which the sun-dial is. If the "equation of time" with its proper sign be applied to the "local apparent solar time" we should get the "mean solar local time" of the locality. The local time is different for different places on the earth, unless they are exactly in the same longitude. In order to avoid this difficulty and to co-ordinate the activities of a country, a standard time is adopted by the ruling authority of the country. For example, in British India, the Government has adopted (from the first day of January 1905) a standard time for India as a whole, called the "India standard time" which is five hours and thirty minutes ahead of Greenwich local time. Railways and Telegraphs in India are guided by this time which is truly the "local time" of places 82°30' east of Greenwich Longitude. Similarly, each country adopts for convenience a "standard time" which differs by a constant amount of time from the "local time" of some prominent place which possesses an observatory whose meridian is taken as the standard. There is every likelihood of the Greenwich meridian being adopted as the standard meridian for the whole world. To find the "local time" of any place from the "standard time" of the country, the longitudinal difference of the meridian of the place and the standard meridian should be known and this difference converted into time at the rate of 15° per hour and 15' per minute should be added to or subtracted from the standard time, according as the place is to the east or to the west of the "standard meridian" of the country. Conversely, "the local mean time" derived from the reading of the sun-dial and the application of the "equation of time" may also be converted into the "standard time" of the country by applying to it the longitudinal difference between the meridian of the sun-dial and the standard meridian as in the previous case.

### The Sad Plight of Jute-cultivators

Cultivators of jute are not satisfied with things of small profit. Jute has recently brought them immense gain, so the smaller cottage industries have been neglected. Mr. Sukumar Chatterjee



writes in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal* on the sad plight of the jute cultivators :

A suitable home-industry in which the spare time of the cultivators may be profitably employed and which is capable of universal adoption has yet to be found, but there are many occupations which cultivators all over the world actually follow in order to supplement their income. These are market gardening, fruitgrowing, rearing and catching of fish, poultry farming and dairying. These are, in fact, essential parts of farming, because apart from the addition they make to the cultivator's income, they enable him to obtain without payment a considerable part of his food, namely, fish, milk, poultry and vegetables. The income derived by the cultivators from these sources may be small, if taken individually, but in the aggregate, for he whole year, the amount is by no means negligible.

It is in respect of these subsidiary sources of income, so essentially important to the agriculturist, that jute has done the greatest disservice. The disparity between the price of jute and that of fish, milk, eggs or vegetables was so great that it almost seemed a mean and niggardly thing to take the trouble of producing them or to offer them for sale, and, of course, the land attached to the cultivator's homestead, where one would expect a kitchen garden, could be more profitably utilized for the growing of jute.

This feeling grew and strengthened through the quarter of a century ending in 1929, the year when the crash came, until the idea was deeply imprinted on the minds of cultivators that one lost caste by selling fish, eggs or poultry. In my discussions with these people, especially after the depression had set in, I had frequently to stress the fallacy that if a man did not lose caste by selling jute he could not lose it by selling fish or eggs. Arguments are, however, of little avail when deep-rooted prejudices hold the field, and it is only the continued suffering extending over four long years that is gradually altering the cultivator's angle of vision. In the Sub-Division with which the writer is at present connected, *fahwa* has recently been given by a spiritual leader of the Musalmans that there is nothing degrading in the sale of fish. The Namasudra population is waiting for a similar *fahwa* from their leaders who, up to the present time, have considered such occupation to be degrading. Cases are not rare where poor people belonging to this community, who are driven by poverty to sell fish in the market, are threatened with the penalty of being outcasted and several instances were brought to the writer's notice where Namasudras had for this reason been compelled to forsake the faith of their fathers and be converted to Christianity.

### Rice-Bran as a preventive of Beri Beri

The following appears in *Scientific Indian* :

In the Philippines beri beri is a very common and fatal disease among the poor classes who live on a diet that consists principally of polished rice and is deficient in vitamin B. For a number of years the Bureau of Science has been making a standard extract of rice bran (known as Tikitiki extract) which contains vitamin B. This extract is widely used for curing or preventing beri beri. It has been estimated that for adults approximately 30 grams of high grade rice-bran contain enough of the antineuritic vitamin B, for their daily requirements as a preventive of beri beri. This is about equivalent to 11 level (not heaping) tea-spoonfuls of bran or approx-

imately 2 cubic centimeters of standard rice-bran extract.

### Pottery manufacture in India

Mr. Kishen Kumar Nijhawan writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal* :

In India all the raw materials for the pottery manufacture are to be found in abundance. China-clays are found in Bengal, Bihar, the Panjab, C. P., Rajputana and Madras. Ball clays and other lower grades are found in Delhi, C. P., Bihar and the Panjab. Quartz is found all over India. Felspars are found in Ajmere, Delhi, Jubbulpur, and Dholpur and Gwalior States. It is possible that some of the deposits in India have not been excavated so far.

Today India is producing ceramic-ware out of Indian raw materials in all its phases though on a small scale, so small indeed that she cannot meet her own needs if required. Pottery of one kind or another is made in India at Delhi, Lahore, Gwalior, Calcutta, Benares, Bombay, Mysore and Thar Kathiawar. Red-clay industries are spread all over India. The only experimenting and teaching stations in India are Benares and Lahore, while in foreign countries a large number of institutions give instruction in this important industry.

In spite of the progress already made, the final stage of development of ceramics has not yet been reached. In some of its applications it seems to have reached near perfection, but in others much remains to be done and the progress of metallurgy and numerous other industries will give rise to fresh development in ceramics. Finally there still are many branches of life in which pottery could with advantage replace the materials now employed, on account of its indestructibility or the brilliance of its decorations.

### The Religion of the Aimol Kukis

Mr. J. K. Bose contributes a paper on the above subject in *Man in India*. Part of it is as follows :

*Chafon* (the presiding deity of the field).--This is the deity of the fields and by the worship of this deity they [the Aimol Kukis] get abundance of crop. This deity can be worshipped only in the presence of the people of the superior moiety but the people of the inferior moiety can take the sacrificial meat. The place for residence of this deity is made near the village gate where a circular piece of land is cleared and surrounded by bamboo hedges. In it are kept the various symbols of the deity and the things for worship. Generally a small house is made and within it two baskets full of earth with various small plants are kept, outside the house there are some bamboo zigzags, and water glasses, and baskets to keep rice and meat after the worship. They think that after the annual worship the soul (pitay) of various plants take these offerings and are pleased on them so they get abundance of crop and cotton and other cereals from the fields and jhums.

The worship is preformed in the month of Thamur (July) and 'Khulpu', the chief priest of the village, officiates as the priest. On the day of worship all the village officers engage themselves in the making of those symbolical things and in the afternoon they start with those things towards the village-gate, the 'Khulpu' marches in front of the party with a red turban. When

they reach the place the 'Khulpu' with his assistants first clear off the old things and replace them with new ones. Then the 'Shumpu' and the 'Tangba' (Village officers of lowest rank) sacrifice a pig and two cocks respectively, both at the same time. The pig is pierced with a bamboo knife and cocks are sacrificed by a *lao*. Then a portion of these meats are put in the small basket and the glasses are filled with zu and water.

After the sacrifice the priest invokes the deity with the following incantations:

"Oh, God of fields, we are invoking thee and offering thee pig, cocks and zu. Do thou be kind on us and take all these offerings. The souls of all directions (east, west, north and south) be ye kind on us and take this humble offering of this people."

### Spread of literacy among the Bhils

*The Social Service Quarterly* writes editorially:

As a result of the work done by it [The Bhil Seva Mandal] during the last ten years, a number of young students are now completing their course of study at the schools run by the Mandal. Some of them go back to their fields to follow their ancestral profession but others whose families have not sufficiently large blocks of land often turn for their maintenance to casual labour. Some of the more intelligent among them can well be trained as village guides, as can the girls who have completed their education at the various Bhil Ashrams. The Bhil Seva Mandal hence proposes that such of the students as wish to settle down in their villages and conduct local schools should be encouraged to start these schools by the sanction to them of small grants amounting to five-sixths of the expenditure incurred by them. The remaining one-sixth of the total cost is met by local collections. The number of these village Panch schools is 20 and each has an attendance of about 30 pupils. The girls attending the schools get small scholarships of annas two to five derived from special funds at the disposal of the Mandal. It is a matter for satisfaction that the educational activities of the Bhil Seva Mandal have created a desire for better living and education among the Bhil population and that the alumni of the Ashrams are themselves meeting this need with the help of the Mandal.

### Hinduism in the Philippines

There is wonderful ethnic and cultural similarity between the Hindus and the Filipinos. Dr. Dharendra Nath Roy has brought forward this fact clearly in a paper in *Prabuddha Bharata*. He writes in part:

Besides these facts of language relationships there have been many other facts lately unearthed. It has been found that in the island of Masbate the ancient quicklime method of the Hindus was used by the gold miners to excavate the rock. The relics found in the island of Mindoro seem to prove that it "seems to have been the very centre of Hindu civilizing influences." Mr. Russell says that "every settled town had a temple and most temples had collections of books." They were written in the native characters on palm leaves and bamboo and stored with the

native priests. But unfortunately the Spanish people destroyed that precious heritage of the people. It has been said that "one Spanish priest in southern Luzon boasted of having destroyed more than three hundred scrolls written in the native character."

About the interesting folklores Professor Kroeber thinks that they are "quite demonstrably of Hindu origin and all are cast in Hindu mould. Inasmuch as many of our own fables are also known to be of Indian origin or patterned on Hindu examples, it is not surprising that these tales from the Philippines have a strangely familiar ring in our ears. It is no wonder, since both we and the Filipinos have derived them from the same source" (*Peoples of the Philippines*, p. 197). Images of bronze, copper and even of gold representing the god Shiva, one of the Hindu Trinity, have been discovered by archaeological exploration. There is one statue, supposed to be some Hindu god, which has been preserved at the Ateneo de Manila, a very ancient Catholic college. One Dutch archaeologist thinks that it is the statue of Ganesha. In Chao Ju-Kua's description it is found that "in the thick wood of Ma-yi, the ancient name for the island of Mindoro, are scattered copper statues of Buddha, but no one can tell the origin of these statues." The islands received an abundant supply of brass, bronze copper, tin armour and various types of weapons from India. "The characteristic sarong, turban, bronze bells and armlets and a variety of smaller ornaments appear to be Indian. The skin-tight trousers of the Sulu Moros are suggestive of Indian puttees" (Beyer, *The Philippines before Magellan*, Asia, Nov., 1921). The old names of coins used in the islands are of Indian origin. Indeed, the Indian influence is most obvious "in all the most highly developed ancient handicrafts in the Philippines."

### City-planning

Architecture plays a great part in making the city beautiful. Prof. Claude Batley writes in *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects*:

The very existence of a city denotes co-operation and, therefore, discipline, or planning, the earliest cities go as far back as man's efforts to combine in order either to defend his home or to trade with his neighbour.

The city plan owes much to the lay-out of the camps of the early military powers as the survival of the suffixes in India of 'gar' or in Europe, of 'castra', or 'chester', prove. It was the Romans who throughout their Empire did much to encourage the finer ideals of civic life.

What a vision for our City Fathers of today, a city in which the civic control is unadulterated purity, which cleanses and refreshes the city and the district beyond it.

The old cities grew up for the co-operative defence against enemies who used carnal weapons, such as catapults battering rams and war elephants and the architects of those days were so successful in devising their design that the frowning battlements and spike-studded gates often took the heart out of the besieger or ever they undertook its assault.

In our modern cities the enemies are still there but the weapons are different, dirt, disease, dacoity, ignorance and, worst of all, corruption.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS



### Principles of Universal Peace

The following philosophical discourse on the principles of Universal Peace from the pen of Horace Holley appears in the *World Unity* and shall draw a school of thoughtful readers around it :

The duality mingled in all human affairs and conditions is the duality of body and soul. Man lives simultaneously in two different worlds, though far more conscious of the world of the body than of the world of the soul. This dual nature projects itself outward whenever important social problems stir individuals to the depths. It projects a spiritual content into questions which seem entirely and exclusively material ; it projects a material content into questions which seem entirely and exclusively spiritual. For there is duality throughout the history of churches as of governments. The spiritual and the material elements are ever intermingled, never isolated one from the other, never purely spiritual and never purely material or physical. This intermingling is the mystery of human life on earth.

Thus, in considering the duality surrounding the supreme social issue of peace, the inevitable division obviously lies not between property and lack of property but between that interest which is local and that which is universal or human.

The question of peace is not a mere social question but a crisis. It cannot be determined by any form of popular referendum nor by any application of authoritative civil action. Peace is in reality the capacity of mankind to continue existence under the terms and conditions which destiny has laid down in this age.

The view of life which has been termed "local" in distinction to the view termed "universal" is inability to perceive and understand the area of operation of the law of cause and effect. People limited to localism in any form attempt arbitrarily to exclude the operation of cause and effect from any and all social areas outside that area of which they consciously form a part. Outside their government there can be no political reality ; outside their class no economic principle ; outside their creed no almighty God. Their consciousness dwells on an island, large or small, and admits no dependence upon the rest of the world.

Peace, then, is capacity to be educated and trained in the principles of that reality which applies to man as mind or soul rather than as physical body. Peace is a collective life, a mutual response to laws and principles which God has given to men as He has given other, and lesser laws to animals. The "struggle for existence" is the law of the animal, and for the animal serves the aims of life. Man has passed from the domain of this law in an age which reveals ever more clearly the law of unity and interdependence.

### India and the League of Nations

Impotency of the League is a question which at present haunts every thoughtful mind. We,

in this country, doubt whether we can derive any benefit from the upkeep of the Geneva Show. Some say, we will be benificent if India gains her freedom. But Indians abroad advise the mother-country to dissociate from the League, though a third group favours a wait-and-watch policy for the present. However, the following appears in the columns of *The Indo-Malayan Review* :

It is not easy to work up enthusiasm for the League of Nations in this country. Our people have long ago realised the futility of expecting the League to fulfil any of the high promises held out by its promoters at the time of its inception. Not only have we witnessed the League looking on in helpless impotence when might asserted its sway over right ; we have also seen it covered with contempt and ridicule at the hands of imperialist-minded nations in both the hemispheres. Moreover, during the fourteen years of its existence, it has had progressively to forfeit what prestige and authority it could command in early years. Leaving aside the United States and Soviet Russia, which were never members, both Japan and Germany have forsworn their quondam association with Geneva and are now among those who consider the League more as a hindrance than a help to the peace of the world. Of the three other great powers, Britain and Italy have recently given expression to views and sentiments that more or less belie the belief that they are strongly attached to the League. We see, therefore, that, in the political field at any rate, the League has failed -- and failed miserably at that--to make good. It is small wonder hence that India reckons as an unpardonable waste the large amount of money she spends year after year towards the upkeep of the Geneva show.

### The Congress of Young Asia

Under the auspices of the Young Men's Cultural Organization a "Congress of Young Asia" was held in Japan, for the revival of the spiritual civilization of the Asiatic races, in which prominent Asiatic countries including India took part. The idea of such a Pan-Asiatic Federation is undoubtedly welcome. The noble and heroic ideals embodied in the programme of the Congress are reproduced below from the *New History* :

#### PREAMBLE.

"In Asia lay the cradle of the human race and the origin of human civilization. Thousands of years before the Christian era, when humanity had scarcely emerged from barbarism, the Asiatic peoples had already built civilized institutions of their own. Humanity's cultural debt to Asia, thus, can hardly be overestimated.

The glory that was Asia and the grandeur that was the Orient are no more. Freedom and justice have fled. Disruption and alienation, ignorance and injustice, oppression and exploitation have taken hold of the Asiatic peoples and bound up their destiny in shackles of iron.

Now is the time for the youth of Asia to revive the ancient traditions of the East—the spiritual culture which has persisted in the face of great vicissitudes.

When the great inspirations of the past arise in the hearts of Asiatic youth, then shall a great light illumine the footsteps of the Asiatic races.

Then shall a splendid new civilization and a better and happier humanity arise out of the ashes of the modern materialistic civilization "with the light of morning in its eyes."

#### PLATFORM

1. Asia shall be a happy home for the Asiatic races.

2. Firm conviction must be gained that the same blood and thought are interused among the Asiatic peoples. A new spirit of Asia will be born in realizing this to be the case. This new spirit must be upheld by virtue of mutual understanding, sympathy, co-operation and unity.

3. The spirit of Asia demands freedom and justice—liberation of the Asiatic races from all forms of slavery and oppression.

4. Inspired by the glory of the past, the youth of Asia must unite and co-operate for the fulfilment of these noble aims.

5. The new spirit of Asia promises to humanity the rise of a higher and happier world from the ashes of the materialistic modern civilization."

#### Nepal and her relation to Britain

The following contentions of Mr. Wilkinson-Guillemard, C.S.I., C.I.E., based on an address in a discussion meeting, reproduced from the *Journal of the East India Association*, are perhaps not complete in themselves. There may be causes other than these:

What is our policy towards Nepal? A complete answer to this question was given by Sir Denys Bray in the aphorism, "We have no policy towards Nepal, only friendship." This friendship has subsisted unbroken since 1816, and is now stronger than ever.

By way of parenthesis may I refer to the frequent question as to why, if Nepal is our friend, she excludes our nationals from her territory and makes herself a closed land? Her attitude has been much misunderstood but it is completely natural and reasonable and consistent with friendship. In the first place, she sees what has happened in India, and has observed that in the past penetration has led to influence, interference domination, and even annexation. Secondly, she has heard of Sir Lee Stack and goes in fear that something may happen to the British Envoy or other foreign national if allowed to wander at large in wild places. Thirdly, she knows that Europeans on tour, especially if guests among a hospitable people, must have copious supplies, transport, and attendance, which it is difficult to provide in a poor, sparsely-populated country, where every able-bodied man is required for the army or agriculture. Lastly, as it has been the tradition for so long that foreigners should be kept out, any Government which abandoned that tradition might be suspected by an ignorant people, who would think that by a change of practice they intended a change of policy, and were betraying them.

#### Japan and the British Dominions

In order to promote trade relations between Japan and the British Dominions and the colonies,

Hon. Mr. Koki Hirota, the Foreign Minister, is anxious for an exchange of ministers there; but this is not possible, as the British Government withholds diplomatic rights from the Dominions, which is occasioning considerable inconvenience in Japan's diplomatic dealings with the latter. The following note appears in the *Japan Weekly Chronicle*:

The *Asahi* says that with the steady advance of Japanese goods into world markets, Japan's trade relations with the British Dominions and the colonies have become more important than with the United Kingdom. In view of the situation, the *Osaka* journal says, Mr. Hirota, the Foreign Minister, attaches special importance to relations with British Dominions and colonies and is evidently bestowing much consideration on the matter of improving them.

As it is, the fact that the British Government withholds diplomatic rights from the Dominions and colonies is occasioning considerable inconvenience to Japan's diplomatic dealings with these countries within the British Empire. The Foreign Minister has been studying, in concert with Mr. Matsudaira, the Japanese Ambassador in London, measures aiming at the elimination of these inconveniences. His aim is apparently to exchange Ministers with the British Dominions and colonies as Ministers are actually exchanged between Japan and Canada, but so long as the British Government continues to deny full diplomatic rights to them, it cannot be realised. As an alternative, there is a strong body of opinion in Foreign Office quarters that Government delegates should be exchanged to attend to diplomatic matters generally.

The proposed device is, of course, intended as a provisional one, but the idea is to invest on these delegates with practically the same powers as are given to Ministers, their main duty being to promote trade relations between the countries concerned.

It is said that the British Government does not regard the scheme with favour, but the authorities of India, Australia and South Africa are desirous of its realisation.

#### War Situation in the East

General Blucher, Chief of the Soviet Army of the Far East, after reviewing the strategic conditions of both the Communists and the Japanese in the East, has come to the conclusion that war-clouds are gathering on the Far Eastern horizon. Some fragments of his speech, delivered at the All-Union Party Congress are quoted below from the *Unity*:

But war is not in our plans. We do not wish to fight. What is the difference at root between the measures taken by the Japanese commanding staff in Manchuria and ours in the Soviet Far East? It is this, that the measures we have taken can only serve the ends of defense of our borders, while the measures taken by the Japanese commanding staff follow the direction of attack.

In the first Five Year Plan we have made in the Far Eastern Region more capital investments than the Czarist government made during its whole existence. The second Five Year Plan contemplates a mighty program of socialist industrialization there.

The second Five Year Plan gives our region the task of developing a great iron and steel industry, a ship-building industry, and a great extension of transport, food industries and consuming industries generally

As Stalin has stated, one of the most important tasks there is the development of a coal base in the Burian district. When you consider that there are an estimated hundred billion tons of coal in this district and two billion tons of iron ore and some copper reserves, you will see what importance we give to the Burian development. When we add the development of transport from Lake Baikal eastward, we shall make of the Burian district a second Kuznetsk Basin.

If war advances upon us in the Far East, the Special Far Eastern Army, from the soldiers to the commanding staff, devoted heart and soul to the Revolution, under the beloved leadership of our commanding Chief Veroshiloff, the Central Committee of the Party, and the great leader of our Party Stalin, will answer with a blow from which the foundations of capitalism will totter and in some places crash.

### Indian Tea-Planter

Mr. George Cecil in *The Catholic World* gives a humorous account of a tea-planter in India, which may be read with much interest :

The problem, "What to do with our sons," has long been solved in England: so far as the "upper class" is concerned. The eldest son of a landed proprietor has served as an officer in the army until such time as he succeeded to the property; his brothers have earned their living in equally honourable capacities. If there remained a son who having failed to pass examinations, had to be provided for, he was shipped off to a tea-garden in Ceylon or India, usually India. Other fathers disposed of their offspring in much the same manner, the tea-garden always being reserved for the dullard. . . . "Poor Jack is, alas, not bright; no doubt he'll do well in India." ... The tea-garden was used as a sort of waste paper-basket.

Nowadays, much the same thing happens, only to a smaller extent. There is comparatively little demand for brainless lads, proprietors jibbing at paying salaries without receiving "value for money." On many tea-estates Scotsmen of the peasant class are imported, those who finance the concern preferring young men who learn quickly, take work seriously, and content themselves with a modest salary at the beginning. "Tea," in short, is no longer the happy hunting-ground of every stupid fellow who wants something for nothing.

When the Scots first made their appearance, they were viewed with extreme disfavour. These unwelcome people could neither ride nor play tennis; they were not considered a social acquisition. By degrees, however, the established planters became accustomed to them, the dislike gradually vanishing, or at least giving place to superficial friendliness.

### Free the Air from War

Aerial warfare, which is at present a vital issue, confronting international politics, is considered to be a curse to humanity. The remedy lies in the internationalization of all air-services. The following interesting editorial favouring a policy of elimination of air forces, appears in *The Month* :

The chance of abolishing military air-craft which, a year or so ago, was a real one, is gradually passing away. No one, not even an expert, can class fighting aeroplanes as anything but aggressive

weapons: they become defensive only after aggression has begun aggression which would not be possible if no country possessed them. The abolition would necessitate, of course, the internationalization and inspection of all air-services, so that civil machines could not be turned into bombers, and the cessation of the manufacture of air-bombs of every sort. Such a course is not impracticable for, nearly a year ago—in April, 1933—the Air Commission received a joint memorandum from the delegates of Japan, U.S.A., Canada and the Argentine, agreeing to the regulation and supervision of their civil aviation, if air forces were abolished in Europe. If Japan and America are thus in agreement, it is not likely that other nations will hold out. The common sense of the world regards the conquest of the air as, potentially, either an immense boon or a terrible curse to mankind. It is still in our power to eliminate the potential curse, since, as we have said, air forces are primarily engines of aggression—and there is no Power but disclaims all ideas of aggression—and only very doubtful means of defence. The alternative to abolition is competition disguised as parity, with Germany joining in the race.

### Avatars

An interesting study by "Wayfarer" of the ideas of Avatars appears in the columns of the *Columbus*. The writer draws a painful picture of a modern Avatar of the World Religion, whose visions are of a United World but who are even now being crucified by the common crowd :

It is sometimes argued that there can be no world religion without the coming of a Great Teacher, or Avatar. It is pointed out that most religions have had their origin in some outstanding personality, and it is suggested that the driving power and inspiration of such a personality is needed to create a world religion.

People who argue like this, usually claim that such an Avatar has, or has not, appeared. Those who point to the Avatar as having appeared (and it is not necessarily the same Avatar) are few. Those who say the Avatar has not appeared are many.

Accepting for the moment, the idea that an Avatar is needed to make a religion, let us follow the argument from history to its logical conclusion. Avatars have never been recognized during their lifetime by any but a very few followers. They have been acclaimed only by succeeding generations. This means that some of those few who are sure the Avatar has come may be right. It also means that it is useless arguing that the Avatar has not come.

The Avatar of the World Religion may be living today. Or he may already be dead.

Kahlil Gibran, the Syrian poet, says he has met such Saviours. And he has seen them being crucified.

They are not crucified with the great crucifixion And therein is their pain.

The world crucifies them every day,

But only in little ways.

The sky is not shaken,

And the earth travails not with her dead.

They are crucified and there is none to witness their agony.

It would not be difficult to point to particular individuals who are suffering today because they have had a vision of a United World. The unthinking crowd may even now be crucifying the Avatar of the World Religion.

### Indian Labour in Ceylon and Malaya

The following report on the decline of employment of Indian labour in Ceylon and Malaya appears in the *International Labour Review*:

In Ceylon the estimated Indian estate population fell from 740,000 in December 1929 to 651,000 in December 1932 and to 596,000 by 30 June 1933. In 1931, arrivals of estate labourers receiving assisted passages totalled 68,000 and departures of estate labourers 75,000, and in 1932 50,000 assisted labourers arrived and 58,000 labourers left. Until November 1932 the recruiting of Indian workers by *kanganies* (workmen employed on the estates for which they recruit) continued. Of the recruited labourers, however 9,157 were close relations of the *kanganies* and only 5,946 were other labourers. Another method of obtaining Indian labour for Ceylon is by granting free passages to workers in India who have been nominated by their friends or relations in Ceylon. During 1932, 5,320 workers were so registered.

In Malaya the movement back to India was more marked than in Ceylon. There was no recruitment of Indian labour during 1932 and except in a very few special cases the system of paying for the passages of Indian labourers was not applied. Immigration, however, was not restricted and during the year 17,734 Southern Indians arrived as deck passengers by the regular immigrant boat services. The main stream of migration, however, was towards India, 85,051 deck passengers leaving Malaya, of whom 56,476 were repatriated free of charge. The movement decreased during 1933 and by the end of August a balance of only 15,257 Southern Indians had left the country during the eight months of the year.

### The Sinkiang War

Situated on the northern border of India, Sinkiang, formerly called Chinese Turkestan, the least known inhabited portion of the earth's surface, occupies an important strategic position for which Britain, Japan and Russia contend. The following editorial comment appears in *The New Republic*:

A three-sided war has been raging in what is probably the least known inhabited portion of the earth's surface Sinkiang, formerly called Chinese Turkestan. Ostensibly the three contending factions are, first, the Mohammedan natives of the southern part of the province, around Kashgar; second, the wilder Mohammedan tribesmen of the north; and third, the Chinese provincial government. Actually the Sinkiang war, in which many thousands have been killed and 2,000 massacred in a single night, is being fought among three of the Great Powers: Great Britain, Japan and Russia. But this statement, too, must be qualified. Russia is not really a party to the war, has shown no wish to conquer Sinkiang and has maintained extremely friendly relations with the Chinese provincial government. Since the building of the new Turksib railway, these relations had indeed become entirely too friendly and had involved too flourishing a trade to suit the ambitions of Great Britain and Japan. Both of these powers would like to occupy Sinkiang, as it occupies an important strategic position, since it lies on the northern border of India and since

it could easily serve as a base for an attack on the Soviet Union.

It is generally taken for granted that the Japanese have been sending money and arms to the Mohammedan tribesmen of the north; and the charge that the southern rebels are armed with British rifles and are receiving direct advice from British agents in Kashgar has been made often and on weighty authority both Russian and Chinese. The struggle in Sinkiang is still undecided. The pro-Japanese faction was defeated by the Chinese provincial government in the north and thereupon moved south to fight against the pro-British faction, which had meanwhile set up an "independent" State. Meanwhile, a note of light comedy was injected into a situation full of danger for the world by a United Press report from London to the effect that Dr. Khalid Sheldrake, the son of a British pickle manufacturer, would soon be crowned as "King of Islamistan" which is nothing else than Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan, under a new name.

### 1936 or 1934?

After having a retrospective view of the past situations in China Mr. Chen Kung-Po, Minister of Industry, gives a graphic account of what would befall her in the event of a Russo-Japanese conflict. The following extracts are taken from *The People's Tribune*:

Since 1931 the perilous position of China has been clearly revealed to the world, but from the middle of last year I have seen in the newspapers and heard in private conversations repeated references to "1936". One may have ideas about the events of 1936, and of what China may become in that year, but nobody appears to have studied the reasons why 1936 should be so vital a point in China's history, which appears to be a very general impression.

While the year 1936 may be one of very great moment for other nations it is this year of 1934 which actually makes the turning-point for us which means our national life or death. If China's fortunes are decided this year, and the tide goes against us, there will be no chance for us to talk in 1936.

The immediate problem which confronts us is the possibility of a Russo-Japanese clash, the imminence of which causes us to be most apprehensive. The resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. may have delayed the danger or hastened it. Everyone has his own views on that point, but it goes without saying that China will grow relatively weaker and her position become more perilous following the resumption of Russo-American relations.

In the event of a Russo-Japanese clash, China is certain to be victimized. We have already had two bitter experiences—the Russo-Japanese war in the Three Eastern Provinces and the German-Japanese conflict at Tsingtao.

The situation in the event of another Russo-Japanese clash will be entirely different. Japan will no longer have an understanding with Great Britain nor will she see the American attitude so aloof as it was. Even if these two Powers declares their neutrality, they cannot help taking defensive measures along the coast to protect their interest in North China. Communications in the north and transport facilities along the coasts will be seriously interfered with and perhaps paralysed. China will not enjoy the independence and freedom even

of the smallest State, and her suffering will be appalling.

### Sigmund Freud on War

Sigmund Freud, the founder of the School of Psycho-analysis, describes in the columns of *The Modern Thinker*, a series of problems, which confronts Society, today. These are, whether 'War can be averted' or not, 'Is pacifism an Utopian dream?' and 'What are the psychological factors that underlie the War drive' etc. We quote below the concluding portions of his remark:

Let us bear in mind that in human beings the desire to hate and destroy is rampant. There are two kinds of desire in human beings: the one to retain and unite, which we call the erotic or sexual desire and the other to destroy or kill which we call the desire of aggression or destruction. We may justly call the erotic urge the life desire and the latter the death desire. It is clear then that there is no sense in even endeavoring to abolish the aggressive inclination in human beings. Although it is said that in happier parts of the earth where nature abundantly provides man's material needs, there are tribes, that lead a life of tranquility where coercion and aggression are unknown, I personally find it difficult to believe. I wish I knew more about those happy people. The Bolsheviks too, hope that they may abolish human aggression by satisfying material needs and in general creating equality among the people. I consider this an illusion. At present they are most carefully armed and hate is not the least of the ties with which they bind their followers together against those who defy them.

To find a formula for the indirect abolition of warfare, let us go back to our psychological studies. If the willingness for warfare is based on the desire for destruction, then it is obvious that if we try to bring against it its opposite, the erotic desire, it will be counterbalanced. That is, erotic desire in a wider sense, in a platonic sense, without sexual goal. (Psycho-analysis does not have to be bashful when it talks of love. Does not religion, too, say "Love thy neighbor as thyself"?) This of course is easily suggested but difficult of fulfilment. The other kind of emotional unification can be achieved by identification. Identification can be created by anything which is common to humans. Upon this identification rests to a great extent the evolution of human society.

How long we will have to wait until the whole world become pacifist it is difficult to say. Perhaps it is not a utopian dream after all that the factors I have outlined and the justifiable fear of the terrible effects of a war may put an end to warfare. In the meantime we may say whatever helps the development of culture helps to avert war.

### Bertrand Russell on Insects.

Insects have an advantage in their numbers. Another advantage is the fact that they eat our

food before it is ripe for us. In the next big war, if the scientists on either side invoke the aid of insects and micro-organisms against the crops and man-power of the enemy, it is by no means unlikely that the pests and germs will remain the sole ultimate victors. Bertrand Russell writes in *The Modern Thinker*:

Amid wars and rumors of wars, while the acrimonies of Disarmament Conferences threaten the human race with unprecedented disaster, another conflict perhaps even more important is receiving much less notice than it deserves—I mean that between men and insects.

We are accustomed to being the Lords of Creation; we no longer have occasion, like the cave-men, to fear lions and tigers, mammoth and wild boars. Except against each other, we feel ourselves secure. But while big animals no longer threaten our existence, it is otherwise with small animals.

Once before in the history of life on this planet, large animals gave place to small ones. For many ages dinosaurs ranged unconcerned through swamp and forest fearing nothing but each other, not doubting the absoluteness of their empire. But they disappeared, to give place to tiny mammals—mice, small hedge-hogs, miniature horses scarcely bigger than rats, and such like.

The mammals, having become supreme, proceeded to grow big. But the biggest, the mammoth, is extinct and the other large mammals have grown rare, except man and those that he has domesticated. Men, by his intelligence, has succeeded in finding nourishment for a large population in spite of this size. He is safe, except from the little animals—the insects and the micro-organisms.

Insects have an initial advantage in their numbers. A small wood may easily contain as many ants as there are human beings in the whole world. They have another advantage in the fact that they eat our food before it is ripe for us. Many noxious insects which used to live only in some one comparatively small region have been unintentionally transported by man to new environments where they have done immense damage.

Fortunately science has discovered ways by which insect pests can be kept under. Most of them are liable to parasites which kill so many that the survivors cease to be a serious problem; and entomologists are engaged in studying and breeding such parasites.

Unfortunately, so long as war continues, all scientific knowledge is double edged. In the next big war, the scientists on either side will let loose pests on the crops of the other, and it may prove scarcely possible to destroy the pests when the peace comes. The more we know, the more harm we can do each other.

If human beings, in their rage against each other, invoke the aid of insects and micro-organisms, as they certainly will do if there is another big war, it is by no means unlikely that the insects will remain the sole ultimate victors. Perhaps, from a cosmic point of view, this is not to be regretted; but as a human being I cannot help sighing over my own species.

# RELATIVE PUBLIC SPIRIT AND ENTERPRISE OF HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

[Mr. Ramesh Chandra Banerjee in his 'Hindu and Muslim Public Spirit in Bengal' in *The Modern Review* for March 1934 has anticipated me and has anticipated well. In the following article I shall attempt to leave out the matters dealt with by Mr. Banerjee. I began to collect materials some two years ago; and as the latest annual reports etc. were not always available the facts and figures are somewhat out of date. I have tried to be up-to-date, but have not sacrificed accuracy to up-to-dateness. If any body helps me by giving the later figures, whether in support of my conclusions or against them, they would be equally welcome. If any error or mistake has crept in, I shall be grateful if it is pointed out.]

J. M. D.]

**T**HERE is a general belief that the Muhammadans are not enterprising or public-spirited or are less public-spirited and less enterprising than the Hindus. We do not want to define public spirit; throughout this article we use it in the popular and loose sense of the term. We all understand what is meant by public spirit or enterprise. It is manifestation of character in the individual, and of tradition of service in the community. Hence by comparing the relative public spirit and enterprise of the two communities we get a measure of their respective fitness for self-control or self-government or their ability to carry on the work of civilized government.

Let us examine how far the popular belief is justified. Bengal is malarious; to prevent its spread and to control it, if possible, the Central Co-operative anti-Malarial Society was established by Rai Bahadur Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, M. B., F. R. I., in 1919. Even Miss Mayo has been compelled to praise its beneficial activities. It is responsible for the establishment of some 1,640 subsidiary village societies throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. None of its directors, none of its honorary organizers, none of its advisory committee are or have been Muhammadans; of the 72 medical volunteers, only 3 are Muhammadans; of the 6 gold and silver medals offered every year, only 1 Muhammadan has ever been found to deserve it; of Rs. 6,050 received as contribution in 1931, not a single pie has been paid by any Muhammadan. Of the secretaries of these 1,640 village societies, 341 are Muhammadans. This works out to 21 per cent; while their proportion in the population is 55 per cent. Even this 21 per cent is not a true index of their public spirit; for in many cases a Muhammadan had to be elected as

secretary to obtain facilities and grants from the communally-minded Muhammadan Chairman of certain District Boards and Local Boards. The writer could give specific instances, but refrains through fear of injuring the particular societies.

The Tuberculosis Association of Bengal is a semi-official organization for combating the disease. Any one can become its member by paying a subscription of Rs. 5 only, 3 per cent of its members are Muhammadans. No member of the medical committee, none of its life members, is a Muhammadan. Not a single pie has been donated towards its funds by them. And tuberculosis is more rampant among them on account of strict *purdah* in the congested *bustees*.

From the Report of the Mission to Lepers it appears that in 1929-30 out of a total of donations and subscriptions amounting to Rs. 39,424, the Muhammadans contributed Rs. 45 only. In 1930-31, out of a total of Rs. 22,532 their share was Rs. 75. Working out their percentage on the average for 2 years, it comes to 0.19 per cent. Rai D. N. Mallik Bahadur Trust Fund pays Rs. 2,000 annually.

From the Report on the working of the Albert-Victor Hospital for Leprosy at Gobra for 1928 and 1929 it appears that 211 Hindus and 95 Muhammadans were treated as outdoor and indoor patients. The income of the trust funds created by Hindus amounted to Rs. 2,907; but no such fund has been created by any Muhammadan. Excepting H. E. H. the Nizam, who paid Rs. 1,250 during his stay at Calcutta, no Muhammadan has contributed anything.

In the Bengal Provincial Branch of the Red Cross Society, only 3 per cent of the members and associates are Muhammadans. In the Nadia local centre only 7 per cent of the members are Muhammadans, although they form 61 per cent of the local population.

The Committee of the All-Bengal Women's Union for the promotion of social purity throughout Bengal is 40 strong. Out of 40 only 3 bear Muhammadan names; one of whom we know to be an Indian Christian married to a Muhammadan gentleman, and we hope the other two are Muhammadan by religion.

The Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association is well-known throughout India for its welfare work amongst the Indian women. It has organized nearly 400 Mahila Samitis (or ladies' clubs) throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. The central association has been



specially directing its efforts to the benefit of the Muhammadan community, and as a result 2 Muhammadan Mahila Samitis have been established. Out of Rs. 71,000 received as donations, the Muhammadans have contributed Rs. 2,000. Of its 151 life members 2 are Muhammadans; and of its 450 ordinary members only 23 are Muhammadans.

It appears from the Annual Report of the Calcutta Health Welfare Week 1933 that not a single Muhammadan contributed anything towards its cost.

At the time of the last serious flood in Eastern Bengal, the two Muhammadan Ministers of the Government of Bengal contributed Rs. 50 each towards flood relief, the Hindu Minister contributed Rs. 250. The flood affected the tenantry of one of the Muhammadan ministers; and he is getting Rs. 61,000 per annum—the same pay as the Hindu Minister.

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, who cannot be accused of the least communal bias, says about flood relief in 1922 and 1931 in his *Life and Experiences* at p. 256 :

"But, perhaps, the most significant fact about the flood is that it presents the problem of Hindu-Moslem entente in a somewhat more hopeful light. For the benefit of those who do not believe in the possibility of such an entente, let us point out that nearly 80 per cent of the suffering population were Mussalmans, but nearly 99 per cent of the help rendered—in men and money—came from the Hindus, and we are sure no Hindu ever grudged a single pie or a particle of energy that was spent on behalf of his Muslim brother."

The response is that the British Red Crescent Society sends money for the Muslim sufferers in the Bihar Earthquake and a special fund is started for rebuilding the Mosques.

In the *Review of Rural Welfare Activities in India 1932*, published under the auspices of the Indian Village Welfare Association of England, 13 different unofficial organizations are mentioned for their welfare activities in Bengal. Of these 13 only 1 is a Muhammadan organization which "ameliorates the condition of rural Muslims, encouraging education, hygiene, recreation, and thrift."

The Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes in Bengal and Assam was established in 1909, and has been doing good work since then. In 1932-33 it was imparting education to 11,813 boys and 5,260 girls in 141 schools, of these 1,830 were Muhammadan boys and 553 Muhammadan girls. They formed the second strongest class or caste among those receiving instruction. Public subscription during the year amounted to Rs. 13,941-14-11, but not a single pie was contributed by the Muhammadans. Contributions towards the Permanent Fund amounted to Rs. 35,537-8-0 and the late Sir Muhammad Shafi has been the only Muhammadan to contribute,

and he contributed Rs. 10. All credit to him, a Panjabi Muhammadan.

The Bengal After-care Association looks after the welfare of the juvenile convicts after release. Out of 77 subscribers to its funds 8 are Muhammadans. In the Employment Committee, which provides for their suitable employment, only 1 is a Muhammadan. None of the district correspondents is a Muhammadan.

While the Muhammadan politicians and the Muhammadan merchants could organize themselves into a Muslim Chamber of Commerce within 3 days of the announcement of the Premier's Communal Award, so that they might secure 1 out of the 5 Commerce seats allotted to Indian commerce none of the Muhammadan merchants would or could come forward, none of the Muhammadan politicians would or could induce them to be members of the Employment Committee and thus be instrumental in providing honest work for the juvenile ex-convicts, although a large proportion of such juvenile offenders are Muhammadans.

From the Annual Report on the working of Hospitals and Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal for 1929 (published late in 1931) it appears that large donations amounting to Rs. 10,545 were paid by the Hindus in Calcutta as against the Rs. 10,500 paid by H. E. H. the Nizam during his stay. No other Muhammadan paid anything. Outside Calcutta Rs. 96,788 were donated by the Hindus as against *nil* by the Muhammadans. In statement II, accounts of invested capital of hospitals and dispensaries are shown. It is rather difficult to estimate the relative contributions of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, for though we know that almost the entire sum of Rs. 9,28,000 of the Carmichael Medical College Hospital has come from Hindu sources, we do not like to be dogmatic in favour of the Hindus. So the method we have adopted is that if a Hospital or a Dispensary is named after a Hindu or a Muhammadan, we take its capital to be donated by a Hindu or a Muhammadan as the case may be : for example, Bhola Nath Bose's Dispensary, Barrackpore, with an invested capital of Rs. 1,55,000 is taken to be donated by a Hindu; while the capital of the Hoogly Imambari Sadar Hospital, Rs. 18,700, is taken to be a Muhammadan gift. In this way, the Hindu contributions total Rs. 9,25,000 as against the Muhammadans Rs. 1,72,000. The Muhammadan's contribution form 16 per cent only. So far as the benefits are concerned 30 lac Hindus were treated as against 34 lac Muhammadans, although the bulk of the Muhammadans live in non-malarious and healthy Eastern Bengal districts. The year 1929 is an exceptional year in favour of the Muhammadans. In 1926, for example, the Hindus donated Rs. 1,55,000 as against *nil* by the Muhammadans.

The Muhammadans are overwhelmingly agriculturists. The Bengal Home Crafters' Association

started in 1928 to demonstrate improved agricultural methods has got 2 Muhammadan members out of 71.

In 1930, the Bengal Government appointed Irrigation Committee to consider the advisability of the formation of provincial waterways board, creation of a department of waterways, etc., under the presidency of Mr. Hopkyns. The Committee toured throughout Bengal for 2 months, especially in Eastern Bengal and invited evidence from all and sundry. Only 29 Muhammadans gave evidence out of 168; and several of them jointly in groups.

From the Annual Report of the All Bengal Libraries Association, it appears that all the office-bearers and members were Hindus in 1928. Of the 183 libraries affiliated, only 11 are founded or organized or maintained by the Muhammadans; and some 4 or 5 though organized and mainly financed by the Hindus are maintained jointly with the Muhammadans. Of those we made enquiries some 76 are organized, founded, financed and maintained exclusively by the Hindus.

In the Calcutta University Institute for students reading in the local colleges, we find that of 1166 student members only 7 came from the Islamia College, *none* from the Calcutta Madrassah as against 21 from the Sanskrit College (Report for 1929-30). All the donations for the ambulance work came from the Hindus. In the inter-collegiate recitation competition, not a single Muhammadan got any prize or honourable mention in English, Bengali, Sanskrit or Hindi; of course the 3 prize-winners in Urdu were Muhammadans. Those Muhammadans whose mother-tongue was Bengali could not compete. The most significant thing is that all the donors of medals and prizes were Hindus, of the 478 members of the General Committee representing the elite of Calcutta, only 3 were Muhammadans.

In the Calcutta University registered graduates have the right of electing a certain number of senators; but they have to pay an annual contribution. Only 6 out of 788 registered graduates are Muhammadans; and if the registered graduates do not elect any Muhammadan for want of suitable qualifications, the blame must be laid on the Hindus, as they must be guilty of being communally minded.

Of the college teachers the Muhammadans are less than 6 per cent. It is not the communal bias of the Hindus or the over-partiality of the Government in favour of the Hindus which is responsible for so low a percentage. Of the graduates produced by the Calcutta University since 1857 not more than 6 per cent are Muhammadans. Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul Haque, B. L., M. L. C., in his *Plea for Separate Electorates in Bengal* complained that amongst the University Professors and Lecturers in the Calcutta University the Muhammadans are

conspicuous by their absence. May we ask him in reply, how many, if any, Muhammadan M. A.'s or M. Sc.'s there are in, say, Experimental Psychology, Comparative Philology, Anthropology, Geology, Botany, Zoology, etc? and if there is 1 Muhammadan there are at least 10 better qualified Hindus. Speaking of the intellectual achievements of the Muhammadans it would not be uninteresting to compare the number of papers submitted by them to the Indian Science Congress an all-India body.

At the session held in 1932, the president of the plenary session is a Hindu, of the 9 sectional presidents 6 are Hindus, but no one is a Muhammadan. And 1932 is not an exceptional year. None of the general presidents during 1911-1932 was a Muhammadan; none of the sectional presidents during the same period in Agriculture, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Geology, Medical and Veterinary Science, Anthropology and Psychology was a Muhammadan. Only 1 Muhammadan was a sectional president during these years. None of the members of the Council, Executive Committee, Secretaries, Treasurers, etc., was a Muhammadan. Of the papers read (in 1932) 1 out of 57 in Agriculture, 7 out of 118 in Mathematics and Physics, 3 out of 221 in Chemistry, 2 out of 11 in Zoology, 11 out of 123 in Botany, *none* out of 36 in Geology, 1 jointly with Hindu out of 12 in Medicine and Veterinary Research, 1 out of 22 in Anthropology and *none* out of 28 in Psychology are by Muhammadans. They contributed 26 out of 693 papers or less than 4 per cent of the total. This is not an exceptional year, in 1930 the Muhammadans contributed 22 out of 671. Of the 225 permanent members 5 are Muhammadans; of the 252 sessional members 8 are Muhammadans and of the Associates only 2 are Muhammadans; of the 96 members of the Reception Committee 2 are Muhammadans.

They have contributed largely in Botany, we may therefore expect to find their largest percentage in membership in the Indian Botanical Society. Only 3 out of 86 life and full members, and 1 out of 49 associates are Muhammadans. As this is an all-India Society, the Muhammadan's all-India percentage of about 22 should be remembered for comparison.

The membership of other scientific societies, such as, the Indian Chemical Society, Physical Society, Calcutta Mathematical Society, Indian Mathematical Society, Calcutta Geographical Society, etc., shows a paucity of the Muhammadans.

All the Indian scientific journals are founded and conducted by the Hindus. *Current Science*, a monthly journal devoted to Science on the lines of the celebrated *Nature*, is published with the editorial co-operation of 21 different scientists; but none of them is a Muhammadan. *The Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, *The*

*Indian Journal of Psychology, Journal of Physics, The Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal, Journal of the Indian Chemical Society, Quarterly Journal of the Geological and Mining Institute* have all one feature in common—the absence or paucity of the Muhammadans amongst its contributors and conductors.

Taking the all-India institutions into consideration, we find no institution founded by the Muhammadans corresponding to the Bose Research Institute founded by Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science founded by the late Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona or the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. Speaking of the Bose Institute the capital value of its endowments is over 10 lacs, the entire amount of which has been furnished by the Hindus, of its life members and associates only 1 per cent. is Muhammadan. Similar is the case also with the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Coming to the literary (as opposed to purely scientific) societies, the position of the Muhammadans is not better. Only 7 per cent. of the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are Muhammadans. The membership of the other learned societies like the Indian Philosophical Society, Calcutta Psychical Society, Indian Economic Society etc., are almost exclusively Hindu. The Bengali Muhammadans' interest in Bengali language and literature is evidenced by the fact of their being 11 Muhammadans out of 1,100 members of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat (the Bengal Academy of Literature), an institution of over 40 years' standing. Of course, the Mussalman Bengalis have a separate Sahitya Parishat of their own.

The number and variety of magazines in Bengali may be taken as an index of the development of all-round activities of the Bengali society. Their number and the class to which they belong, so far as we have been able to ascertain them, are shown in the table below :

Class	Conducted by	
	Hindus	Muhammadans
General	35	4
Ladies' journal	4	
Economics	5	
Health	5	
Co-operation	2	
Cinema	4	
Agriculture	3	
Children's magazine	5	
Radio, etc.	2	
Science	1	
Insurance	1	
Religion, Philosophy	4	
Local Self-government	2	
Miscellaneous	7	2
	80	6

The influence of a magazine can be estimated from its circulation. Some of the first class Hindu magazines claimed a circulation running up to 15,000 before the present economic depression; even now they may have a circulation not below 10,000. On the other hand, the maximum circulation that can be claimed for a Muhammadan magazine is 2,600. In size and get-up they cannot compare with the Hindu. We have not taken into account the caste magazines, as caste is a Hindu specialty.

Of the 158 members of the Indian Journalists' Association of Calcutta, only 18 are Muhammadans; and of the 98 journals represented therein 9 are conducted by the Muhammadans.

Turning now to the commercial activities of the Muhammadans, certain facts and figures would not be uninteresting. In the membership roll of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce (before the establishment of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce) we find 3 Muhammadan names out of 307. There is not a single Muhammadan member in the Bengal Chamber of Commerce; the number of Bengali Hindu members being some 5. We are told that there are no Bengali Muhammadan members of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce.

None of the members of the Calcutta Stock Exchange is a Muhammadan.

The Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee remarks that the Muhammadans play an insignificant part in the trade of Bengal.

We now turn to the activities of the Muhammadans in the field of Insurance. All the 14 Indian-owned and edited journals in English and the different provincial vernaculars are founded and edited by Hindus. The 5 insurance magazines issued from Calcutta are all conducted and edited by Hindus. The 3 Insurance Associations and Institutes in Bengal are conducted by Hindus, not a single Muhammadan being among its committee members or Secretaries, of the 20 Indian Life Insurance Companies with their head offices in Bengal, we find 15 Muhammadan directors out of 152; and if we leave aside the one exclusively Muhammadan recently started, the figures come to 7 out of 144. In the governing body of the Commerce College there is 1 Muhammadan out of 14. In the *Who's Who of Indian Insurance* we find 3 Muhammadans out of a total of 234. We read in the *Insurance World* for April 1934 that "at present out of about 140 Indian insurance companies there is only one that is being conducted by Muslims."

Recently we have heard much about the employment of the Muhammadans in the Calcutta Corporation. About 17.5 per cent of its employees are Muhammadans; but of the members of the Calcutta Corporation Co-

operative Death Benefit Society, less than 13 per cent are Muhammadans.

The Bengal Muhammadans are very loud in claiming representation proportional to population. They claimed reservation proportional to population, and they have got it in the new Bengal Municipal Act. At the first all-Bengal Municipal Conference held in June 1932 to consider the new Municipal Bill, only 11 Muhammadans attended! The President, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the organizers were all Hindus.

At the preliminary meeting held at the Senate Hall to celebrate the Centenary of Raja Ram Mohun Roy only 21 Muhammadans were found out of 363. And this proportion in a land where they are 55 per cent; and to honour a man to whom distant America, France and Japan are paying homage.

Many gentlemen of taste and culture present birds and animals to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, one of the largest and best organized gardens of the world; the number of such Muhammadan donors is 3 out of 55.

Of the 111 endowments held under the Charitable Trusts Act of 1890 in Bengal totalling Rs. 16,43,000 only 2 are the gifts of the Muhammadans, and their aggregate value is Rs. 30,700.

If one goes through carefully the membership lists of the various Ward Health Associations or Committees under the Calcutta Corporation, one is struck by the paucity of Muhammadan names.

Amongst the subscribers or shareholders of the Calcutta Public Library, which later on under the control of Government has developed into the Imperial Library, a Muhammadan name is a rarity.

Of the various public, charitable, literary and scientific societies named below, the strength of the Muhammadan membership or their proportion of contribution towards their respective funds are either insignificant or below 5 per cent of total strength. It would be tedious to the readers if we went on giving details.

- (1) Bengal Social Service League.
- (2) Calcutta District Charitable Society.
- (3) Society for the Prevention of Cruelty towards Animals.
- (4) The Refuge.
- (5) Society for Protection of Children in India.
- (6) Agri-Horticultural Society.

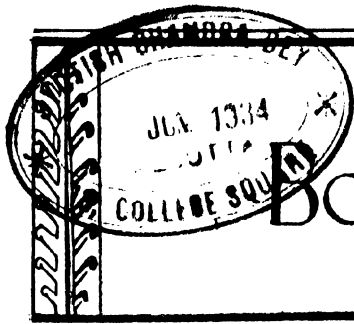
- (7) Albert Institute.
- (8) All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association.
- (9) All-India Cow Conference Association.
- (10) All India Homoeopathic Association.
- (11) Anthropological Society of India.
- (12) Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians.
- (13) Association of Apprentices for Accountancy and Auditing.
- (14) Association of Engineers.
- (15) Automobile Association of Bengal.
- (16) Bengal Co-operative Organization Society.
- (17) Bengal Land-holders' Association.
- (18) Bengal Olympic Association.
- (19) Boy Scouts Association.
- (20) British Indian Association.
- (21) Calcutta Chess Society.
- (22) Calcutta Temperance Federation.
- (23) Economic Society.
- (24) Calcutta Geographical Society.
- (25) Indian Association.
- (26) Indian Life Saving Society.
- (27) Indian Society of Oriental Arts.
- (28) Children's Fresh Air Society.
- (29) Indian Medical Club.
- (30) Institute of Incorporated Accountants.
- (31) Insurance Institute.
- (32) Calcutta Blind School.
- (33) Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School.

So far as it is individually possible we have tried to be accurate and exhaustive. There are errors of omission and if there are errors of unconscious commission, we shall be thankful if they are pointed out.

**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—Hindu Bengalis are by no means as public-spirited and enterprising as they ought to be. They are backward. It is only because of the greater backwardness of Mussalman Bengalis that the former shine by contrast. As Mussalman Bengalis are going to be invested with a greater share of real or nominal political power than Hindu Bengalis, both ought to be at least equally public-spirited and enterprising. It would be something if Mussalman Bengalis founded and maintained as many educational and other institutions for the exclusive benefit of their co-religionists as the Hindu and Christian Bengalis have established and maintain for the benefit of all communities.

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The collapse of liberty on the continent of Europe is in every case attributable to the failure of men of progressive ideals to cohere and co-operate on the only issues of immediate moment. Survival of liberty has been subordinated to the triumph of particular groups.—MR. LLOYD GEORGE



# Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

## ENGLISH

**SCEPTICISM AND CONSTRUCTION :** *By Charles A. Campbell ; George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.*

Mr Campbell's book has been before the public for some time now and while it has established the author's reputation as a clear and acute writer it has not equally established his constructive originality. The author set out to prove that Bradley's half-hearted disbelief in the reality of the world should be pushed to its extreme limits, and not only the Bradleyan theory of the Degrees of Reality but also the non-relational cognition of the Absolute should be abandoned. He tries to prove in the manner of Kant that Noumenal Truth is unattainable by the human intellect and that its highest achievement lies in articulating "final phenomenal truths" by which he means such truths as are "intellectually incorrigible" or insusceptible of revision or modification under the conditions of finite experience. The author tries to prove that the experience of self-activity, moral experience and religious experience are such incorrigible truths, for unlike illusions (which, by the way, is the name given to Religion by Freud) they cannot be removed by fuller knowledge and yet at the same time they cannot be said to give us an intellectually coherent knowledge of Reality as a whole. "Reality in its true character must be pronounced to be disparate from each and every thought-product." Even the felt unity of immediate experience, postulated by Bradley, is not a fact nor even a thought unity ; hence it cannot be said to be mental in character in any sense and the main thesis of Idealism is not proved.

But the author is not willing to go all the way with Spencer and to declare roundly that Reality is unknown and unknowable. He claims that we have a knowledge of Reality but only in a negative way, namely, as what it is *not* rather than what it is. The validity of this position rests ultimately upon the significance of the negative judgment, that is, whether without knowing any positive content it is possible to say what a thing is not. The author

draws from this position the consistent conclusion that Reality being unknowable in its true nature the coherent theory of truth is inadmissible and to finite mind correspondence with another is the highest attainable truth, although he admits that ideal truth must be envisaged as an experience in which thought and reality are no longer disunited. The shadow of Kant is unmistakable here. The author's attitude towards religious experience is vacillating for while he uses it to prove that it is based on two contradictory beliefs that God is perfect and that evil exists to be combated, he feels at the same time that its factual character is not so sure as that of moral experience and of self-activity. He thinks that the unknowability of God proceeds not from characterlessness but from the infinite dimensions of His attributes of power, wisdom and goodness—a position with which even the most devout man would thoroughly agree without subscribing to the sceptical aspect of the author's philosophy. The author admits however that although philosophy is unable to fill the form of God, direct experience possibly can ; but in that case God would be supra-rational. Obviously such a God cannot be known to be personal and no historical individual can serve as a mediator between Him and man. "Surely the right attitude to the historical exemplars of goodness is not to sit at their feet but to stand on their shoulders."

The book is a most helpful introduction to the ethical problem and the careful reader will profit much by a perusal of the author's review of the problems of freedom and moral obligation. Though the ethical portion is disproportionate and the reader would have liked a fuller treatment of the philosophical issues involved, there is no reason why the author should not get credit for his acute discussions of moral principles and theories. He fights for the autonomy of the moral experience without reference to its religious significance and for a direct experience of free will-energy. He even fights the cause of Indeterminism and admits that the end of the self as such is relative to the culture of the individual involved and need not be considered from an absolute standpoint.

The author reacts negatively to all absolutistic

philosophy that professes to characterize Reality in a positive fashion and jeopardizes the reality of finite initiative. He might have discussed the whole thing in his own way without reference to Bradley whose philosophy he professes to develop but whose *Essays on Truth and Reality* he studiously ignores.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

**POETS OF OUR TIME:** *Eric Gillett, M. A. (Oxon), Professor of English Language and Literature, Singapore. With an introduction by J. C. Squire. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. 1932. 2s. 6d.*

An anthology of contemporary poetry, in which A. E., Hilaire Belloc, Laurence Binyon, W. H. Davies, Walter de la Mare, John Masefield, W. B. Yeats figure with others, is always welcome; "a simple lyric may outlive many ambitious monuments"—as Mr. Squire says in the introduction, and the lyrics selected have the advantage of being pure lyrics, free from any *doctrinaire* taint. Notes by the compiler given at the end of the volume will increase its usefulness as a text-book.

**THE HEART OF HINDUSTHAN:** *Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Re. 1, 1932.*

A collection of seven essays on the subject written by Sir Radhakrishnan and published previously in the Hibbert Journal and other periodicals. The usual lucidity of the author's exposition is here and the fact that in an incredibly short time the book has run to a second edition is a sufficient testimony of its popularity. Messrs. Natesan & Co. have been well advised in bringing out this handy volume and making it available at a cheap price.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**RABINDRANATH AS SEEN THROUGH HIS "GARDENER":** *By Govind Balchand Mahoday, Gurukul, C. I. 1933. Pp. 18.*

In paying this tribute to Rabindranath the author tells us something about the poet's views on art and certain general questions. Incidentally he also enunciates his own views on art, which appear to be of an utilitarian character. The author is sometimes carried away by his enthusiasm and his style seems to be a little verbose. But this is excusable in an essay frankly written as a tribute.

The printing and get-up ought to have been better.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**THE REORGANISATION OF EDUCATION IN CHINA.** *By the League of Nations' Mission of educational experts: C. H. Becker of Berlin, P. Langvin of Paris, M. Fulski of Warsaw, and R. H. Tawney of London. Published by the League of Nations' Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 2, rue de Montpensier, Paris I. Pp. 200 Medium 8vo. Illustrations and Maps. Price not mentioned. The Book Company, Ltd. College Square, Calcutta.*

The authors of this important, informing, interesting and very useful book are all distinguished educationalists in their country. What they have written for China other educationally undeveloped countries of Asia will be able to utilize by some necessary adaptation. They have treated of the educational situation in China, national education and foreign influences, the spirit of teaching especially in science, language and writing, principles of

administration, financial organization, the teaching staff, the distribution of schools over the country, rational utilization of schools, social selection of school children and students, the school system, primary education, secondary education, university education, adult education, and conclusions and suggestions for preparatory measures of reform.

**INDIAN PROBLEMS: SPEECHES BY LORD IRWIN.** *Pp. 376 Medium 8vo. With a portrait of Lord Irwin. Cloth Price 12s. 6d. net. George Allen & Unwin Ltd.*

This volume of Lord Irwin's speeches is representative, but not exhaustive. The speeches included in it were delivered before the two Central Legislative bodies; before the Chamber of Princes; at University Convocations, Universities, Colleges, and other educational institutions; at agricultural conferences; at various clubs; to different commercial bodies; &c., and at Toronto University, 1932. They are distinguished by his clearness of style and suavity of tone. They enable the reader to understand his policy in regard to various Indian problems.

**KESHAB CHANDRA AND RAMKRISHNA.** *By G. C. Banerji, retired District and Sessions Judge, B. & O. Ordinary binding Rs. 2, cloth Rs. 2-8. Pp. 192 f.viii. Ocean Svo. with portraits of Ramkrishna and Keshab. To be had of the Author at Gyan Kutir, Kutra, Allahabad.*

According to the author, this book is "a statement placing before the public the true spiritual relationships that subsisted between the God-intoxicated soul, Paramhansa Ramkrishna and Samanyaya-Acharya Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen." He "holds both of these great men in the highest estimation." With reference to certain matters M. Romain Rolland has informed the author that his (Rolland's) lack of knowledge of those things led him into certain errors in his work on the Paramhansa "which I shall try my best to rectify later on."

The author has rendered a distinct service to the cause of truth by writing this book.

**INFORMATION ON THE WORLD COURT:** *By J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, Hon. Secretary, Information Service on International Affairs; Hon. Information Secretary, Royal Institute of International Affairs; and Maurice Faushaue, Director of Inquiries and Reports of League of Nations Union; with an introduction by Sir Cecil Hurst, G. C. M. G., K. C. B., Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office. Issued under the auspices of the Information Service on International Affairs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 10s. net.*

Sir Cecil Hurst says in the introduction:

"Submission to the National Law Courts is a thing we all understand: it seems so natural that we have ceased to think anything about it; but the idea of being placed under the control of some international tribunal, a Court where the judges are mainly foreigners, men who do not understand our laws and who talk foreign tongues, that is something new, and not to be acquiesced in without careful consideration."

"This is why it is essential that we should know all about the Court under whose rule we are going to place ourselves for the future."

This book is designed to tell us the story of how the Court came into being, how it is constituted, the laws which it applies, the work which it has done and the procedure which it follows in deciding the

cases which are brought before it. These are all matters with which seriously-minded people in the country should make themselves acquainted. The reason is not far to seek. If the Court at The Hague is to be accepted as part of the international life of the country, the people must have confidence in it; there can be no confidence in an institution about which we know nothing."

The book supplies the information needed. The authors are in a position to do so. They have given a full account of the origin, personnel and procedure of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and a review of the cases and of the important work done for the peace of the whole world, together with the text of the Statute, Court Rules, and other documents.

That a Court of Arbitral Justice is a necessity is being recognized more and more. For, "disagreements between States are bound to come," and to settle them without recourse to war is a distinct gain not only to the parties concerned but also to humanity at large.

### C.

**ANCIENT SOLUTIONS OF MODERN PROBLEMS:** *By Shri Bhagawan Das, M.A., D.L. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India.*

This is a lecture delivered by Dr. Bhagawan Das at Allahabad. Dr. Das like many others feels that the world today is groaning under the weight of modern civilization with its machinery, armament and mal-administration. And he suggests that the world could be cured of these evils only if it could be persuaded to live according to the maxims of conduct laid down by the ancient thinkers of India. Dr. Das apparently belongs to the same class of thinkers as the authors of the *Republic* and the *Utopia*. But like them he has to recognize that, after all, instead of leaving things to the inherent goodness of mankind, society has to undertake legislation of some kind at some stage or other. But who should make the laws? "The men of wisdom obviously" (p. 53), says Dr. Das. So said Plato also. But how would the men of wisdom and none else, be sent to the legislatures of the world? To this neither Plato nor Dr. Das has given any satisfactory answer. And the democracies of the world are still groping for a solution of this problem.

Although there is much that is commendable in Dr. Das's scheme of social organization, some of his *obiter dicta* will cause surprise in many quarters. For instance in p. 65 he makes the astounding statement that Sambuka, the Sudra, who was beheaded by Rama, King of Ayodhya, for alleged participation in religious rites which were open only to the Brahmins (*Ramayana*, vii.76), was "the Health officer of Ayodhya." This would be quite interesting if it were true; but Dr. Das gives no authority for this statement and the *Ramayana* does not support him.

We are not one of those who believe that ancient wisdom has solved beforehand all our difficulties of today. If the past generations were really so wise, the evils of the present should have been forestalled. But we have our miseries in spite of the wisdom of our forbears. That is no reason, however, why we should not draw inspiration from the wise men of the past, whenever possible. And any attempt at social reconstruction may receive considerable help from similar attempts in the past.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

**HISTORY OF SHAHJAHAN OF DELHI:**  
*By Binarasi Prasad Saksena, M.A., Ph. D. (London). The Indian Press, Allahabad; p. xxx+372.*

This well-written and scholarly monograph on Shahjahan by Dr. Binarasi Prasad Saksena opens with a highly appreciative foreword by the eminent historian, Sir Wolsley Haig. It is undoubtedly the first attempt to fill a blank in modern researches on the rule of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan. In print and get-up, method and treatment, Dr. Saksena's book bears a family likeness to Dr. Beniprasad's *History of Jahangir*. It deserves every praise as a distinct and original contribution to the history of Medieval India.

It will be sheer injustice to Dr. Saksena to judge his work as the last word on the reign of Shahjahan, which is due not to the author's limitations as a scholar, but to the rigid limit of time and space forced on him by the exigencies of a University examination. The political history of Shahjahan as treated in this book may not at first appear strikingly original; because here the author had to encounter the disadvantage of traversing a field for the most part explored by Dr. Beniprasad and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. However, on a closer study one cannot fail to notice that Dr. Saksena has been able to throw interesting sidelight by utilizing some hitherto unutilized MSS. on this period.

There were two episodes in the early career of Shahjahan, namely, the invasion of Bengal by the rebellious Prince Khurram and his relations with Malik Ambar of Ahmadnagar, which might have been studied by the author with greater advantage. Of these two Malik Ambar episode has recently been studied exhaustively by Dr. Jogindranath Chaudhuri, Ph. D. (Dacca University). But the other topic still awaits investigation. The author nowhere refers to the extremely rare MS. of Baharistan-i-Ghaibi by Mirza Nathan first brought to the notice of scholars several years back by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. This MS. contains enough materials for a very interesting chapter on the early career of Shahjahan. Another important source, which was not available to Dr. Saksena in England was a valuable collection of letters in the Jaipur Archives, written by Mirza Rajah Jai Singh to Shahjahan and his sons, and *furmans* and *nishans* received by him from them. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has got transcripts of about 1000 documents of this nature.

"Shahjahan in his (Dr. Saksena's) hands," says Sir Wolsley, "is not the virtuous sovereign with hardly any blemish on his character as depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is the monster of moral depravity as described by some European travellers." This is true no doubt; but somehow we miss Shahjahan as a man in Dr. Saksena's book. Shahjahan was, as everybody will admit, a compound of Dara and Aurangzib. Dr. Saksena has brought out clearly the Aurangzib in Shahjahan, a pious Muslim; a destroyer of temples, a repressor of infidelity, who enforced some of the provisions of the so-called Charter of Caliph Umar I. on his Hindu subjects. It is indeed possible to multiply more instances of Shahjahan's bigotry than those given by Dr. Saksena; e.g., a local officer rewarded by Shahjahan for carrying on a  *jihad*  for converting a remnant of Hindu population of Darubeki, 40 miles south of Jalalabad and throwing of Christian icons into the Jamuna (Waris, 107 b; Lahori, i. 535). It cannot be denied that this is the picture of

Shahjahan as he would have liked to portray himself, and as a matter of fact the official history of his reign depicts him as such. But a man is not always what he poses to be. Things, which in the opinion of the Emperor and his Court-historians appeared to be lapses from orthodoxy, and as such were not fit to be recorded, have been gratefully commemorated by his Hindu subjects as marks of their ruler's justice and catholicity of heart. Dr. Saksena, we are sorry to say, has failed in his duty as a historian by omitting mention of these facts side by side with Shahjahan's acts of bigotry. We should like to draw the attention of the author to a few facts :

1. Temples were repaired and rebuilt during this reign as Jain inscriptions of this period show.

2. Shahjahan restored the temple of Chintaman in Gujrat, (desecrated by Aurangzib) to the Hindus.

3. Shahjahan received very kindly a deputation of Hindus, headed by Kavindracharyya Saraswati, a Maratha hermit and scholar residing in Benares, and in response to his prayer abolished the pilgrim-tax on Hindus (Introduction, Kavindracharyya Saugraha ; Gaekwad Oriental Series).

4. A *farman* of Shahjahan granted to Goswain Vithal Rai of Vallabhacharyya sect confirms the grant of Mowza Gokul " by His Majesty for his use and for expenses of the *Thakordur*, tax-free and exempted (from payment of dues.) " (*Imperial Farman* by K. M. Jhaveri ).

Indeed after Akbar, Shahjahan received the highest encomium from his Hindu subjects for his benevolent and paternal rule, though occasionally marked by outbursts of intolerance.

There is room for improvement on Dr. Saksena's chapter on Cultural Institutions, as the author admits. The defect has been mainly due to the author's omission of *Tuckira* literature from his bibliography, and also of inadequate use of Abdul Hamid's *Padshah-nama*. The author might have with very great profit used Sher Khan Lodi's *Mirat-ul-khigal* in writing biographical notices of poets of Shahjahan's time.

Considering the bulk of Dr. Saksena's book and range of topics dealt by him, errors of fact and of judgment are comparatively very few. The following perhaps require revision ;

i. " Lal Khan, a son-in-law of Tansen (History of Shahjahan, p 268). If we are to accept the authority of Shahjahan's Court-historian, Abdul Hamid, Lal Khan was the *son-in-law* of *Tan Sen's* son Vilas (a *damad-i-Vilas pisar-i-Tan Sen* ast ; *Pad.* iii. 5.)

ii. " Rao Amar Singh, sister's son to Raja Jai Singh " (p. 319). Amar Singh was *not* " sister's son to Jai Singh " ; but the *husband* of the Rajah's sister, by whom Amar Singh had one son Indra Singh, and a daughter, Indra Kumari. Indra Kumari was married to Sulaiman Shukoh. A letter written by Dara to Jai Singh (Jaipur Archives) makes this point clear.

iii. " Dara's minor son Sulaiman Shukoh built a mimic fort of Qandahar, besieged it and conquered it " (p. xviii). Khafi Khan who misquotes *Lataif-ul-Akhbar* also attributes this childish pantomime to Sulaiman Shukoh. But we have by our side a MS. of *Lataif-ul-Akhbar*, in which the whole affair is attributed to Dara. Sulaiman Shukoh, so far as evidence goes, was not present at Lahor at this time.

iv. Khusrav's plot (p. 10). There has on this point perhaps been an error of judgment on the part of the author, who without critically sifting evidence, accepts the version against Khusrav. We should remember that *within a few months of the betrothal*

of Asaf Khan's daughter to Prince Khurram this affair happened and men whom Khusrav is said to have taken into confidence were a brother, and a nephew of this Asaf Khan, and confession was made to no other person than the Diwan of Khurram. This plot was not hatched not by Khusrav *but against Khusrav*.

We most sincerely congratulate Dr. Saksena on the publication of his book, which has added considerably to our knowledge of the subject treated by him. We wish this valuable work wide publicity and general acceptance.

K. R. QANUNGO

HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS OF THE GITA : By S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M. A., Retired Professor of Philosophy, H. H. The Maharaja's College, Tricandrum, Printed at The Bhaskara Press, Tricandrum, pp. 32.

This booklet attempts in three lectures a presentation of Indian Philosophy. Prof. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., has very creditably performed his task. Most of the expositions of Hindu philosophy are written in a way unsuitable for the Western reader, but this booklet is an exception. Without sacrificing any of the deeper principles of Hindu philosophy the author has been able to present a synthetic account of Hindu philosophical doctrines in their complete form. The style is pleasant and the expositions are lucid. The ethics of the Gita has been very well brought out.

THE HEART OF BHAGAVATAM : By Susarla Srinivasa Rao, B.A. Printed at Sri Vyasa Press, Tirupati, 1931. Re. 1-1, pp. 179.

Mr. Susarla Srinivasa Rao, B.A., has given in this book 367 verses selected from Srimad Bhagavat Purana with translations and expositions in English. The selection was originally made by Sri Jayatirtha Swamin also known as Vishnutirtha. It is claimed that the right spirit of the doctrines of Bhagavata could be appreciated by a perusal of these verses. The Bhagavat Purana itself is a very big book. Needless to say that the selections deal with only one aspect of the Bhagavat Purana, viz., the philosophical doctrine of Bhakti. The Puranas contain other matters than philosophy and there has been no attempt to give any information regarding such topics. The translation has been on the whole satisfactory. The notes enable the reader to appreciate what the author thinks to be the true spirit of the verses.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA (STUDENT'S EDITION) : By D. S. Sarma, M. A., Professor, Presidency College, Madras. The Current Thought Press, Pycroft's Road, Triplicane, 1930, pp. 299.

Professor Sarma has prepared this book for the use of students. In the preface he has discussed the age of the Gita and is wise in saying that the student is warned that the account given is largely a matter of hypothesis and imagination. The form and message of the Gita as also a synthetic presentation have been attempted. The translation of the verses is true to text. The notes at the end of the book will be found to be very useful. The author has also given the synopsis of Mahatma Gandhi's and Aurobindo's views on the Gita.

MUSINGS ON THE BHAGAVAD GITA : By Nehal Chand Vaish, M. A., B. Sc., LL. D., Barrister-at-Law, Member, Bar Council of the High Court and



*Allahabad University Court. Published by S. N. Basu, M. B., (Cal.), Allahabad, 1931. Price Rs. 4. Pp. 560.*

The Bhagavad Gita has drawn all sorts of people to its fold and numerous and varied have been the interpretations of the doctrines of the Gita. Dr. Vaish is a lawyer and is also a student of Moral and Mental Science. He frankly admits that he has deviated from the views of Shri Sankaracharyya, Ramanuja and others. He has given an exposition of the Gita according to his own experience in life. He has pressed the reader to appreciate the teaching of the Gita by the exercise of his own judgment rather than view it through the eyes of great pandits. It will be seen that Mahatma Gandhi holds similar views. The translation has not been always happy. The book will no doubt interest those who would like to study the different interpretations of the Gita.

**PRANAYAMA, Pt. 1 :** *By Scimat Kucalayanda, Kairalyathama, Lonarla (G. I. P.) Bombay, India, 1931. Price Rs. 2-8. Pp. 155.*

Most of the books that have appeared in English on Yoga by popular writers are on pseudo-scientific lines. Although this book is not altogether free from that defect the author has given a fairly correct account of the physiological processes concerned in Pranayama. The book is intended as a practical manual for those who want to take up Yogic exercises. There are photographs of the different postures that a Yogi is advised to adopt during Pranayama exercises. The explanations and descriptions are clear and the book will be useful to both Eastern and Western readers.

G. Bose

**CHRISTIANITY IN A CHANGING INDIA—***Clifford Manshardt, pp. 248, pub. Association Press Calcutta, price, cloth Rs. 3 only, paper Rs. 2 only.*

Bernard Shaw in his recent play *On the Rocks* has a Prime Minister who is so busy making speeches that he has no time to think as one of his principal characters. The Prime Minister for reasons of health goes away for a holiday, and decides to take the opportunity to study Marxism, with the result that he returns a firm believer in Marxism. Many missionaries in India remind one of Shaw's Prime Minister, they are so busy talking, and doing things that they have no time to think of the importance of what they are doing. Dr. Manshardt's book would be a very good thing for them to read since it could hardly fail to stir them into active thought. Most probably a good many people will condemn the book out of hand, but those who read and think will be glad that the book has been written.

The main theme in the book is that in Christianity quality is more important than quantity. Christianity should not mean the mere intellectual acceptance of Christ as God, but the proving of this acceptance by a life based on the standards of Christ. People in India will believe the assertions of the Christians that Christ is God, when they see the Christians practising what they preach. One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that in which the problem of Church and State is discussed, and the part played by the Christians in the Civil Disobedience movement is investigated. What is said is true enough, that missionaries especially those concerned with educational institutions are receiving government money, and therefore often become virtual defenders

of *status quo*. The idea that the mission should carry on their schools and colleges without government aid is countered by the argument that to refuse government aid would mean closing down a great many institutions. This may be true, but one cannot help wondering whether keeping them open on these terms is not really a "second best" policy, and whether a "second best" policy is likely to attract people to Christianity. It is true that the surrender of the Government grant would mean the cutting down of salaries, and considerable financial sacrifices, but it is probable that sacrifices of this sort would do more to spread Christianity, which after all is what is aimed at than the present policy of "making the best of a bad job."

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

**KHANDAN THE PATRIOT :** *By S. P. Vankararamani.*

A story of India in the making: the book contains excellent description of railway mismanagement. Every railway Agent should read it.

**LYRICAL THOUGHTS :** *By B. B. Ponnegar, Bombay.*

There are fifty-one poems which give evidence of vast culture.

**SILENCE SINGS :** *By E. A. Pires, Bombay.*

The poems are of exceptional merit. The subjects include even the bullock-cart.

**PARVATI :** *By T. Venugopal, Bezuradu.*

A story of post-puberty marriage. Every Indian will be interested in this true story. Social evils are admirably dealt with.

**TWENTIETH CENTURY ADDRESSES :** *By Dickinson and Sharma.*

The object of this book is to develop critical faculty among students. We were delighted with the address on Jargon. Every author should read it.

**FLUTE TUNE :** *By B. N. Bhushan.*

There are many sublime poems in this little book. Mr. Bhushan has many admirers, and many new readers are bound to be attracted by the charming poems.

CRITIC

**THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE :** *By C. K. Webster and Sydney Herbert. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 10s. net. Pp. 320.*

Professor Webster is a famous name in the field of International Relations. The book under review which he has written in collaboration with his colleague, Mr. Sydney Herbert, is the fruit of many years of study and thinking. He has had again the advantage of frequent visits to Geneva where he came into intimate contact with the working of the League machinery. The book begins with an introductory chapter on the international organizations as they existed before the outbreak of the war in 1914. It then discusses the influences of the war itself on the outlook of the leaders of different nations. It shows how many men of outstanding ability became convinced of the necessity of organizing an international body for the solution of common problems and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. It then takes us into the secrets of the body which was responsible for the drafting of the League Covenant. After the discussion of these historical preliminaries, the book deals with

the different factors of the League constitution. The Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat of the League, all come in for a detailed treatment. Their composition and their inter-relations are all brought out into clear relief. Along with them the permanent Court of International Justice is also given sufficient attention.

Once the mechanism of the League organization is fully described, its duties and achievements come in for discussion. By illustrations the book points out as to what the League has done during the few years of its existence for the pacific settlement of disputes, and for the reduction and limitation of armaments. It devotes a chapter to the consideration of the Minorities problem in the different countries of Europe which was specifically committed to the charge of the League for solution. We are also acquainted by the book with the manner in which the League has discharged its obligations in connection with the mandatory States. The achievements of the great experiment at Geneva in other fields of activity have also been elaborated with care by the authors. How again side by side with the League of Nations is working the international Labour Organization is also fully emphasized in the book. Within a compass of three hundred and odd pages, the authors have given us a vivid and detailed idea of the working of the League of Nations.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

**METAPHYSICS:** By *Mohendra Nath Dutt*. Published by *Pyari Mohan Mukherjee, B.L., from 3 Gour Mohan Mukherjee Street, Calcutta*. Price 12 as. Pp. 99 and xii.

This treatise, as its name suggests, deals with subjects relating to the prime course of things, such as Time, Space, Causation, Vibration and Concept. Some of these problems have for sometime past been given great prominence not only in Contemporary Physics and Mathematics but also they play a prominent part in Contemporary Metaphysics. Eminent metaphysicians of the Neo-Realistic School like Russell, Whitehead, Alexander and a host of others have tackled these problems from the philosophical point of view and Einstein, Eddington, Robb and other great scientists have treated them from the scientific stand-point. But it is doubtful if these have yet been properly understood by ordinary people. These problems remain even now as highly abstruse as before. So it is gratifying that the author has attempted to establish the theory of the doctrine of continuity in the cosmic universe in his own way. His ideas are all Indian but tinged with his knowledge of the Western philosophy and science. In some places the author objects to the Western conceptions, viz., the conception of atoms and molecules by Western thinkers and has given new theories in their place. Some of these seem to be very interesting and illuminating, but some of them, I am afraid, need further explanation for the absence of which they seem quaint and unconvincing. However, it must be admitted that the author has succeeded within this limited scope of about one hundred pages in showing that in dealing with these problems science and philosophy have one common basis. For this reason alone a patient perusal of this treatise will give some food to philosophers and scientists to meditate upon.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

## FRENCH

**LA FEMME AMERICAINE DANS LE MARIAGE MODERNE:** By *Madame Sonya Ruth Das, D. Litt.* (Paris): being her thesis for the doctorate presented before the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris. Published by *Marcel Giard, 1 Rue Soufflot, Paris*.

The problem, as suggested by the book, is limited by time and space: Survey of Modern Marriage from the point of view of American women. But the author has successfully transcended the limitations by treating the subject from a comprehensive sociological point of view. One feels that she has not only been studying the problem for years but that she aspired to make some positive contribution to the much vexed question inducing so many tragedies and comedies. Very appropriately, therefore, the book opens with chapters on the development of personality and the new conception of marriage. Then follow detailed analyses of the conditions of divorce, the state of the family and the status of the married woman with special references to American womanhood. A highly suggestive and interesting chapter deals with Modern Marriage in American Literature showing forcibly what a fruitful field of social investigation lies unexplored in the jungle of contemporary novels and fiction. The concluding discussion on new sexual morality, maternity rights, revisions of conjugal status and the protection of children lead naturally to a dignified and altruistic winding up of the thesis which was honoured with the doctorate of the University of Paris. We congratulate the author on the publication of this thought-provoking volume, which is worthy of her intellectuality and liberal culture, and urge the women scholars of India and the Orient to make exhaustive surveys of their respective marriage systems along the line of Dr. Sonya Ruth Das.

**LA SAINTE VIE DE MAHATMA GANDHI:** By *Eleni Samios*. Published by *Editions Delachaux et Niestlé S. A., 26, Rue Street, Dominique, Paris*: pp. 171.

This is a sincere and artistic homage of a daughter of Modern Greece to the Indian Saint. Towards the end of the book the author definitely says that "the book is an act of faith." She has offered this noble life to the coming generation of European children so that they may come to understand and appreciate the Universal principle of Ahimsa or Non-violence manifested through the life of Mahatma Gandhi.

The whole book is composed with delicate artistry and pathos of a musical composer. Gandhi appears before the Grand Opera and is made to recite his own story in a most moving manner. Though cast in the form of a monologue, the piece offers many dramatic interludes, gradually leading us to a climax wherein Gandhi decides to offer his life for the sake of the untouchables through the epic fast. The book is a moving testimony of the fact that there are many men and women in the Occident who take India, and her great sons and daughters, seriously, nay, reverentially.

KALIDAS NAG

## GERMAN

**DIE NORDISCHE RASSE BEI DEN INDOGERMANEN ASIENS:** By *Prof. R. K. Guenther, Jena (Germany)*. J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, Munich, 1934.

Very keen interest is shown in these days in Germany in racial problems not only of the German

people but also of other nations. Prof. Guenther is a well-known writer on this subject. He has published in J. F. Lehmann's Press, Munich, a number of books on Races in Germany, Nobility and Race, Races in Europe, Racial History of the Romans and the Greeks, etc. The book under review has just been brought out. It treats of the nordic race among the Indo-Germans of Asia. Prof. Guenther investigates the question of the original home of the Indo-Iranians, goes in quest of the nordic element in Asia and shows that it has for the most part been engulfed by other races in Asia. Some of the Brahmins of India, especially in the North-west of the country, still preserve it intact. Professor Guenther belongs to that group of European scholars who believe in the antipathy of Buddhism towards life. He is of the opinion that Buddhism symbolizes *odium vite*. Prof. Guenther seems to forget that the history of Buddhism is brimful of glorious examples of heroic deeds of men and the worldly grandeur of empires. If Prof. Guenther were in the right, no Asoka had been possible, and Japan would not have been able to become such a mighty power in the East. It is very dangerous to ignore the historical achievements of a religion. One should not keep only the doctrines in view which govern and mould the life of ascetics in Buddhism, but pay attention to its practical aspect which is mirrored in the doings of its votaries as a nation. Moreover, the attitude of a religion changes very often, when the world with its manifold problems rears its head again and again before it. This has been the case with Christianity, too.

I would like to remark here, in order to avoid misunderstanding, that I am not a Buddhist, but a Brahmin from the Panjab.

P. TARACHAND ROY

### HINDI-ENGLISH

**THE KALYANA KALPATARU:** (*God Number*). Edited by C. L. Goswami, M. A., Sastri, Gorakhpur, January, 1934. Pages 1-308.

Special numbers of the *Kalyan* in Hindi—which are like so many useful independent works—intended to present in a lucid and popular form different aspects of Indian culture and literature have already been accorded enthusiastic reception at the hands of the general reader. It is this reception that has induced the authorities of the Hindi *Kalyan* to bring out an English edition in the form of the *Kalyana Kalpataru*. The number under review consisting of articles on theistic topics from the pens of a galaxy of renowned scholars is absolutely non-sectarian in character.

It opens with the texts and translations of the daily prayers of the most popular of the religious systems of the world and contains articles about the conception of God according to them. It is profusely illustrated with representations of a good many well-known religious teachers who flourished at different periods of time in various parts of the world. Some of these illustrations are multi-coloured and highly attractive. Every one who has any religious tendency will go through the volume with not a little interest and much profit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### BENGALI

**RABINDRA-JIBANI, or LIFE OF RABINDRA NATH TAGORE.** By Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay, Librarian and Professor, Visvabharati. Volume I, from 1861 to 1912. Price Rs. 4; with illustrations Rs. 5. Pp. 16+519 Demy 8vo. Cloth. To be had of the Author at Santiniketan, and at the Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

This is the first detailed biography of Rabindranath Tagore. The author has taken great pains to collect materials from some members of the Tagore family, from some persons connected with the poet or the Visvabharati and magazines and other publications. He has also had the advantage of talks with the Poet himself on many matters. His collection of materials has thus been rich, though not exhaustive, as he has not apparently taken advantage of the proximity of the older professors of Visvabharati.

The book gives an adequate idea, not only of the works of the poet published up to 1912 at present available, but also of those which the poet wrote in his younger days but has not allowed to be republished. It thus enables one to follow the growth of his mind and art. From it one can learn Tagore's views in relation to all important questions and problems which have agitated the public mind from the time of his early manhood. It will be found that he has all along tried to think independently. One aspect of his personality shows that he has all along been, to use present-day political parlance, a constructive non-co-operator. So far as the matter contained in the book is concerned it is an excellent work. All who want to know Tagore as a poet, a novelist, a story-writer, a dramatist, an essayist, a journalist, a maker of songs, a public man, an educationalist, etc., must read this book. All future biographers of the poet will have to use it until it is superseded. At present it is indispensable. The literary and typographical execution leaves much room for improvement, as there are many spelling and grammatical mistakes. The printing is neat. Some of the illustrations have a superior artistic quality.

**MANER KHELA, or MIND'S PLAY.** By Bijoy Lal Chattopadhyay. Pp. 96+viii. Crown 8vo. Price Re. 1. Gupta Friends & Co., 11 College Square, Calcutta.

This is a fair, popular presentation of psycho-analysis. The author's style is elegant. It is a pleasure to read what he writes.

He should avoid the occasional use of English words in the midst of Bengali sentences. In Bengali book English words should always be translated, or when their Bengali equivalents cannot be found or coined, they should at least be transliterated.

**ENGLISH-BENGALI-SANSKRIT DICTIONARY:** By Binode Bhari Kavyatirtha. Pp. 479+viii Crown 8vo. Cloth. Arya Publishing House, Silchar. Price Rs. 2.

This is a very useful little dictionary for Bengali school children,



## FINANCE AND INSURANCE

### India's Foreign Trade in 1933-34

The *Accounts relating to the seaborne trade and Navigation of British India for March 1934* which has just been published gives us detailed statistics of the Import and Export trade of British India for the last three financial years. As our currency policy and indeed our National Economy itself depend to a very great extent on our export surplus, an analysis of this important publication is called for. Such an analysis would not only help us in estimating our position in the world trade, it would also be important for other reasons as well. The movements of the Foreign Trade of a country for the year just ended would roughly show how far the forecasts of 'recovery' throughout the world are justified by the Trade Returns. Apart from the psychological influences which no doubt play an important part in these matters, it is through the mechanism of the International trade that the forces leading towards recovery or otherwise make themselves felt in the principal countries of the world. A depression which has been worldwide should naturally be succeeded by a period of recovery which also is worldwide in scope. In a previous issue we referred to the possibility that it is the upward thrust in industry provided by the N. R. A. in America which is partly at least, responsible for the slow trade revival that has been marked in most of the industrial countries. It is not possible at this stage to say how far the "recovery" artificially promoted in the U. S. A. is instrumental in provoking "revival" elsewhere, but that there is a strong possibility of a causal connection, we think, there are few who would deny.

By a study of the quantity and value of the goods internationally traded we may form a judgment whether the improvement is merely fortuitous or whether there is a substratum of economic permanence underlying it. It is common knowledge that international trade today is characterized by bilateral agreements and "quota" schemes. In view of this fact, even more important than the study of International trade as a whole is a study of the relative importance of the countries traded with. Again, in view of the appointment by the Legislative Assembly of a Committee to examine the effects of the Ottawa Agreement, the study of relative shares of other countries in our foreign trade has become very important.

We are nowadays constantly hearing of "Economic Nationalism" and "Economic Planning," both of the ideas generally going together. From the point of view of both of these ideals, a detailed study of our imports and exports has

become essential. Within the limits of these notes, all these aspects cannot be possibly dealt with, besides a complete study of the problem with reference to our industrial possibilities and other national economies, though badly wanted, would require an amount of painstaking research and expert knowledge which is totally beyond the scope of these notes. We would merely try to analyse here some of the informations relating to the Foreign Trade of India which are available in the publication mentioned.

Before we do so it is necessary that we discuss some definitions used. Thus Imports include goods landed, whether they are intended for "home consumption, bonding or re-exportation," and such articles in the passengers' luggage as are dutiable. The weight recorded is the net weight and the values of goods imported or exported represent, according to the provisions of the Indian Sea Customs Act of 1878, Sec. 30.

"The wholesale cash price, less trade discount for which goods of the like kind and quality are sold or are capable of being sold at the time and the place of importation or exportation, as the case may be, without any abatement or deduction whatever, except in the case of goods imported, of the duties payable on the importation thereof."

That is, the value of the exports is the market price less the trade discount, and the value of the imports is the market price less trade discount minus the import duty. The countries from which the imports come are the countries from which they are consigned, and not necessarily the countries of origin. So also the countries to which the exports are sent are not necessarily the countries where they are consumed. Owing to the high tariff walls in most countries, the exporting countries are generally the countries of origin and the importing countries the countries of consumption unless the countries referred to are without any sea-board.

Since the imports include the re-exports, for the purpose of ascertaining the Balance of Trade or of accounts, we should take the export both of Indian merchandise and of foreign articles (i.e. the re-exports). For the purpose of studying the effects of the protectionist policy or the importance of the imports on our national economy, the net imports (gross imports minus re-exports) should be considered. Since however the re-exports do not amount in India to more than three to four per cent of the total Imports, we will not be liable to any serious error if we take the figures of total imports for all purposes.

Since the onset of the depression the net results of our foreign trade have been as follows :

	(In crores of Rupees,*)			
	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Exports (Indian merchandise)	220.49	155.89	132.41	146.31
Re-exports (Foreign merchandise)	5.14	4.66	3.22	3.42
Imports	163.01	125.72	132.27	115.02

The net imports and the Balance of trade in merchandise were as follows

	(In crores of Rupees)			
	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Net Imports	157.87	121.06	129.05	111.60
Exports	220.49	155.89	132.41	146.31
Balance of Trade in merchandise	62.62	34.83	3.36	34.71

In addition to this there were heavy exports of gold during these years,—57.98 crores in 1931-32, 65.53 crores in 1932-33 and 57.05 crores during 1933-34. So also we have to include private import of silver and export of currency notes. As against these, we have to consider Council Bills, sterling purchases in India, payments in India to Local Bodies, etc. against proceeds of sterling loans floated by them in London, as also remittance by other means and to other countries.

The total visible Balance of Trade has been as follows:

	(In crores of rupees)			
	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Balance of Trade in merchandise:	62.52	34.83	3.36	
Balance of Transactions in treasure:	-24.45	55.65	64.93	57.23
Visible Balance of Trade:	37.60	90.48	68.29	91.91

We can account for a part by means of Council Bills, purchases of sterling and other Government remittances to the U. K., interest drafts on India in respect of Government of India securities less sterling transfers on London sold in India and Transfers of Government securities.

The residuals amounting to 37.52 crores in 1930-31, 56.16 crores in 1931-32, 19.66 crores in 1932-33 and 31.50 crores in 1933-34 have to be explained by remittance of funds from U. K. in other ways or from other countries, or as being due to temporary accommodation.

It will be seen from the above that our net imports have dwindled from 157.87 crores in 1930-31 steadily to 111.60 crores in 1933-34 which is a decrease by about 29.4 per cent. Of this a part at least must be attributed to the protectionist policy we have adopted. At the same time, our exports had a catastrophic drop, on the 1930-31 figure by 29.2 per cent. during the single year, 1931-32 and by 10.5 per cent. more during the next year, that is, by 39.7 per

cent. on the whole. But for the enormous export of Gold, there would have been a crisis in the Indian Finances during the first part of 1933-34.

During 1933-34, there has been a very decided improvement in our export trade which has increased by 10.6 per cent. on the previous year's figure. The position is incomparably sound as compared with the previous year, though the export figure is still much lower. This is because the Balance of Trade is much higher.

The Balance of Trade in merchandise fell to Rs. 34.83 crores in 1931-32 which is a dangerously low level since the needs of the Secretary of State are nearly 35 crores annually. The export of about 58 crores worth of gold during the latter half, however, led to a substantially active balance in favour of India. In 1932-33, however, the export surplus fell to only 3.36 crores which is only about one-tenth of the Secretary of States' needs. A serious financial dislocation would have resulted unless it were for the exodus of gold on so large a scale. During this year about 65.53 crores worth of gold moved from India to the United Kingdom. During the year 1933-34, the export surplus has gone up to 34.71 crores which is just equal to the figure for 1931-32. The average balances of trade in merchandise before the depression were as follows:

	(In crores of rupees)	
	Balance of Trade in Merchandise	Total Visible Balance of Trade
1922-23	90.01	29.75
1923-24	144.88	96.23
1924-25	155.01	60.74
1925-26	161.13	109.25
1926-27	79.47	40.14
1927-28	84.98	49.79
1928-29	86.17	52.11
1929-30	78.98	52.78

From the above table it will be evident to what extent the changing conditions of the depression have adversely affected the secure position of India in International Trade.

Before entering into details, we note the changes in the following major subdivisions of the Imports and Exports. Class I consists of "Food Drink and Tobacco," Class II of "Raw materials and produce and Articles mainly un-manufactured" while Class III consists of "Articles wholly or mainly manufactured."

	IMPORTS (in crores of rupees)		
	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Class I	18.24	14.82	12.21
Class II	20.85	20.49	15.27
Class III	83.89	94.53	85.21
Total	126.37	132.58	115.38

It is clear from the above that though 1932-33 has been the worst year so far, the value of the Imports as a whole in that year has been the

\* The figures do not include the value of Railway materials imported direct by the State Railways.

highest, the increase being substantial (12.6 per cent.) with respect to Class III. Again, although we have reasons to believe that forces leading to recovery have been already operating during 1933-34, we find that the total import trade has fallen by 12.9 per cent from the 1932-33 level and is still below the 1931-32 level, by 8.7 per cent. If any general observation we are to make, it is that in India probably the level of income was still going lower in 1933-34 while in other countries, the level of income had distinctly gone up. If the "Recovery" is due to world factors, as there are ample reasons to believe, it is reasonable to expect that owing to backward economic organization, the wave of prosperity should take some time in making its effect felt in our country.

The following is the corresponding table relating to Exports :

	Exports		
	(in crores of rupees)		
	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Class I	44.31		36.02
Class II	66.98	54.92	68.93
Class III	42.62	38.18	39.92
Total	155.89	132.41	

With the "return of prosperity," the value of our exports has risen, though it is still below the 1931-32 level, the increase being the most remarkable in case of raw materials (class II). This is only as it should be.

Coming to greater details, the most important variation in Class I Imports has been with regard to sugar. The value of sugar imported was Rs. 617 lakhs in 1931-32, Rs. 123 lakhs in 1932-33 and only Rs. 271 lakhs in 1933-34. The decrease in 1933-34 is by Rs. 152 lakhs (36 per cent) as compared with 1932-33 and Rs. 346 lakhs (56 per cent) as compared with 1931-32. In this particular case the phenomenal decrease is clearly due to the high tariff. The other important change is with regard to tobacco for which the decrease is Rs. 24.78 lakhs (25.6 per cent) on the 1932-33 value (Rs. 96.91 lakhs). Under class II, the most serious decrease has been with regard to raw cotton and oils. The former shows a decrease of Rs. 370 lakhs on the previous year's figure of Rs. 725.7 lakhs, which means a decrease of 51 per cent. As regards the latter, the total import during 1931-32 was Rs. 972 lakhs from which it has progressively declined to Rs. 681.3 lakhs during 1933-34, a decrease by Rs. 271 lakhs or by about 30 per cent. Under class III, we find an increase in the imports of "Cutlery, hardware, implements and instruments" by Rs. 61 lakhs, of machinery by Rs. 180.8 lakhs, of silk yarns and manufactures by 75.6 lakhs and of woollen yarns and manufactures by 89.8 lakhs, over the 1931-32 figure. The import of the last two items has been less in 1933-34 than in

1932-33. The highest increase is under machinery which registers an increase of about 20 per cent over the previous year's figure.

As regards Exports under class I, there has been a serious decrease with regard to "Grain, Pulse, and Flour" as compared with the previous year. On the other hand, tea shows a decided improvement. The decrease in the former case is by 433 lakhs (27 p. c.) and 862 lakhs (12 p. c.) as compared with 1932-33 and 1933-34 respectively, while the increase in case of the latter is by Rs. 269 lakhs (15.7 p. c.) over 1932-33. Under Class II, except for oilcake almost all the items show an increase over the previous year's figures, and except for rubber, seeds and wool, the figures are well over the 1931-32 values. The most noticeable increases are with regard to Raw Cotton (Rs. 698 lakhs), Seeds (Rs. 235 lakhs), Hides and skins (Rs. 118 lakhs), "Gums, resins and lac" (Rs. 123 lakhs) and Jute (Rs. 120 lakhs). The percentage increases over the previous year are 30.4, 20.8, 33.5, 90.0 and 12.3 respectively. In Class III, the only articles which have shown any serious decrease on the last year's figures are when we compare the 1933-34 returns with the 1931-32 figures. We find the same thing while "Hides and Skins," and "Woollen yarns and manufactures" show decided increase, yarns and manufactures of Jute and Cotton show a serious decline. "Hides and Skins" show the largest increase (+Rs. 107 lakhs, or 22.4 p. c.) while the most serious decreases are with regard to "Cotton yarns and manufactures" (-Rs. 56 lakhs, or 17 p. c.) and "Jute yarns and manufactures" (-Rs. 34 lakhs, or 1.5 p. c.). If we compare with 1931-32, Cotton yarns and manufactures have fallen by Rs. 209 lakhs (33.5 p. c.) and Jute yarns and manufacture by Rs. 51.9 lakhs (2.5 p. c.). In the former, the effect of Japanese competition is evident.

It will thus be seen that on the whole the imports have declined as compared to the previous year, the only substantial increases being under the heads "Cutlery, Hardware and Implements" and "Machinery." The increase in the import of machinery is certainly beneficial to the national economy. If this decline in imports had taken place together with an increase on the level of national income, we could be reasonably sure that our country is becoming more and more self-sufficing as regards manufactured goods. As regards exports, it is encouraging that the position of tea, hides and skins, seeds, raw cotton and jute is definitely better than in the previous year and except for cotton and jute yarns and manufactures, most items show either an increase or only a small decrease. On the whole we think we are justified in concluding that India's position, so far as her external trade is concerned, is distinctly brighter than in the previous year.

SAILENDRA NATH SEN-GUPTA

### Indian Insurance

#### LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES AND INCOME TAX

For some time past Indian Life Offices have been challenging the equity of the present practice of making the income tax assessable on the annual average of the actuarial surplus. In a case before the Lahore High Court, the Bharat contended that on "such parts of the surplus as are distributed amongst the participating policy-holders, being expenditures necessary for the earning of profits," no income-tax should be assessed on it but the High Court did not agree with the contention as, in their opinion, "any expenditure incurred solely for the purpose of earning profits would ordinarily precede and not follow the accrual of profits." The "Laksmi" is also contesting the equity of such assessments on the ground that "bonus distributed among the participating policy-holders represent the return of the excess amount collected in advance from the policy-holders" and as such cannot be considered to constitute the "income, profits and gains" of a company. If any tax were to be assessed it would be assessed only upon the surplus which are distributed to shareholders as dividends. Mr. H. E. Jones, who has made a deep study of the subject, read an interesting paper on the "Indian Life Assurance Companies' Assessment to Income Tax," in the last session of the Indian Insurance Conference, where he made references to the practice in England. Before the appointment of the Royal Commission on Income Tax in 1925, the Income Tax authorities in England had the option to assess Life Assurance Companies, to income tax either on the profits as actuarially ascertained or on their "Interests less Expenses" whichever was higher. But since then the Law has been amended "excluding such proportions of the profits, for the purpose of Income Tax" as belonged to or was allocated to or reserved for or expended on behalf of policy-holders or annuitants. This is what appears to be a fair and equitable basis of assessment and obtains almost everywhere excepting India where, curiously enough, the Income Tax is assessed on the whole-actuarial surplus, whether it be meant for the policyholders or the shareholders.

#### "THE EMPIRE OF INDIA" RESULTS

The Empire of India is one of the "Big Five" of the Indian life offices and although measured by the standard of new business it stands fourth, it easily comes out as the second best with a life fund of about Rs. 382.25 lakhs. Evidently it has no craze for huge business figures, and its reputation as an intrinsically safe and sound life office is unquestionable. During the year ended February 28, 1934, the Company has written a business of Rs. 1,38,24,000 distributed over 7602 policies, which marks an increase of Rs. 25,68,000 over the figures of the previous year. The total number of policies at

the end of the year was 57,639 assuring a sum of Rs. 11,16,61,855, inclusive of bonuses and assurances. As regards investments the Empire follows a conservative policy and restricts itself to investments in Government and other securities repayable at par at fixed dates. At the end of the year the total assets amounted to Rs. 4,37,51,613. The Life-fund which stood at Rs. 3,82,25,855, showed the satisfactory increase of Rs. 19,09,831. An additional source of strength to the Company consists in the various Reserves it has set up:—the Life Insurance Fund Reserve, the Investment Reserve, the Surrender Value Reserve, which, in all, amounts to Rs. 31,73,819. The low expense ratio of the Company is specially gratifying, being only 22.1 per cent last year. With its rigorous selection of lives, favourable mortality experience, low premium rates and economical management, the Empire of India is certainly eminently worthy of setting an example to late-comers in the field.

#### PER CAPITA INSURANCE IN INDIA

India possesses the record of having the lowest *per capita* insurance. While this is doubtless a deplorable reflection on the stage of our insurance development, it is at the same time an encouraging indication of the scope, opportunity and duty that lie ahead of us. In opening the Mysore Insurance Office the other day Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari, Member of Council, Government of Mysore, made certain interesting observations. Comparing the position of Indian Insurance with that of other countries he said that the total life insurance on the books of all the Indian companies put together comes to only a fraction of the total insurance written by a single large company in the U. S. A., Canada, or even Japan. Hardly five per cent. of the insurable population are protected by insurance and according to the calculations of an expert, said Mr. Rajagopalachari, the total sum assured by all the Indian companies worked out to only about Re. 1 per head of the population as compared to Rs. 300 in Britain. According to the figures quoted by Sir P. Thakurdas on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee Celebration of the Oriental, the total number of policies existing in India is 7,14,000 assuring 168 crores which works out to Rs. 4.12 per head of the population as against Rs. 2,000 per head in the U. S. A., and Rs. 400 in Japan. Sir P. C. Ray, in his presidential address of the last session of the Indian Insurance Conference gave us his estimate that "one person in every 500 holds an insurance policy on his life and the *per capita* insurance in India is only Rs. 5 whereas in America two out of every three persons hold policies and the *per capita* insurance is Rs. 2,600." Although these estimates vary being approximately based on different kinds of data, the fact remains certain that in spite of the remarkable progress

of Indian Insurance in recent years our *per capita* insurance is still the lowest in the world.

#### ORIENTAL'S BRILLIANT RECORD

The Diamond Jubilee Celebration of the Oriental Government Security Life Insurance Co. Ltd. is a landmark in the history of Indian Life Insurance. The six decades that the Oriental has lived, have been a period of remarkable achievement. From a humble beginning in 1874 it has steadily forged ahead and today stands as India's biggest life office, with ramifications all over the country and even beyond the seas. Its progress reads like a romance by reason of the odds it had to fight in overcoming the determined opposition offered by interests already strongly entrenched. In 1881 ten years after the company came into being the Oriental had a total assurance of Rs. 159¼ lakhs with an annual income of more than Rs. 69¼ lakhs and a fund of about Rs. 14½ lakhs. By 1911, these figures rose upto Rs. 1237 lakhs, Rs. 72½ lakhs and Rs. 173 lakhs respectively. Remarkable as this advance was, still more so was the progress made during the decade following 1923. In that year the Company issued 7790 policies assuring Rs. 171 lakhs whereas in 1933, 38,191 policies have been issued for an aggregate assurance of Rs. 701 lakhs. The total number of policies issued during the decade was 2,12,120 for an assurance of Rs. 5005 lakhs and the annual premium income increased from Rs. 79 lakhs to Rs. 219 lakhs. An idea of the magnificent position attained by the Oriental will be available from the fact that at the end of 1933, it had on its books a total business of more than Rs. 1793 lakhs, with an annual income of above Rs. 343 lakhs, and a fund exceeding Rs. 1130 lakhs, having so far paid away more than Rs. 1527 lakhs in claims. With such brilliant records in the past the Oriental may reasonably look forward to a still brighter future, and may justly claim to be an ideal and inspiration for all Indian indigenous institutions.

#### RESULTS OF THE NATIONAL INDIAN

Established in 1906 under the aegis of Messrs. Martin & Co., the National Indian Life Insurance Co., has passed its adolescence, and its early years it has well utilized in building itself upon a strong foundation. It cannot, of course, boast of big new business figures nor of an expansion such as its age would presuppose. As a matter of fact younger companies have made much larger headway. But if the National Indian has been less energetic in pursuing a policy of expansion, that is because it has always aimed more at quality than quantity. During the year

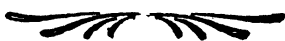
ended Dec. 31, 1933, the National Indian received 2506 proposals for Rs. 36,11,850, of which 1656 resulted in policies assuring on the aggregate a sum of Rs. 21,27,350, showing an increase of Rs. 575 lakhs over the figures of the previous year. While this is satisfactory, we are inclined to advise the Company to make endeavours for a more vigorous expansion. The National Indian is fortunate in having Sir R. N. Mookherjee at its helm and any attempts made by it towards expansion should be amply rewarded. Apart from anything else, the name of Sir Rajendranath is in itself a guarantee of sound and cautious policy.

#### Foreign Insurance

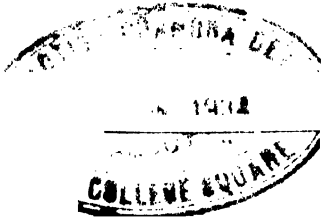
##### INSURANCE-MINDED U. S. A.

The United States of America lead the world in insurance. Her tremendous progress in this direction reads more like fiction than fact. The enormous proportions of insurance in the U. S. A. constitute positive proofs of the excellent habits of "thrift and economy" of her people, and their sense of obligation to their dependents. The financial development of a nation, it is said, is measured by the *per capita* insurance it carries, and judged by that standard the U. S. A. is by far the most advanced country in the world. I just quote a few facts and figures to shew the tremendous nature of the operations of the Insurance companies in the U. S. A. In 1932, a sum of about 5269 millions was paid into Insurance Companies as premiums for all kinds of fire, life and casualty. This imposing figure represented 12 per cent roughly of the national income. At the end of 1932, life insurance alone had assets \$20,700 millions, as against \$18,800 millions in 1930 and \$ 17,000 millions in 1929 distributed every year over the "whole sweep of sound American trade, commerce and enterprises." During the three years 1929-1932, insurance companies of all classifications in the U. S. A. paid the policyholders and the beneficiaries to the extent of \$11,722½ millions. In 1933 new life business alone amounted to \$13,000 millions and although it was about 10.1 per cent less than the figure of the previous year, the fact must be remembered that conditions were anything but favourable. Exact figures are not yet available, but it is estimated that during the year life offices will have disbursed \$3100 millions; \$2175 millions going to policyholders, and the remainder of \$925 millions to widows and orphans.

M. G.







# INDIANS ABROAD



By BENARSIDAS:CHATURVEDI

## Arya Samaj in the Colonies

Whosoever happens to go to the colonies cannot but be struck by the wonderful work that the Aryasamaj has been doing there for the social and educational progress of the Indians settled in those parts. In fact, it is our conviction that one must go to the colonies to realize the potentialities of Aryasamaj as an institution for the regeneration of Hindu society. Schools for boys and girls that are being conducted so efficiently bear testimony to the managing capacity of the Aryasamajists in the colonies. The Aryasamajists abroad are a small minority compared to the followers of other social or religious organizations, but they are a compact body fired by enthusiasm and determined to do their work wholeheartedly.

It was really unfortunate that these colonial Aryasamajists had so long been neglected by the Aryasamajists at home who did not appreciate the work of their compatriots abroad. This period of negligence has happily now passed and it appears from the booklet, 'Videshon Main Aryasamaj' published by the Sarvadeshika Sabha of Delhi that the Home Aryasamaj is now alive to the problems of social and educational progress of our countrymen overseas. We have already referred to the above-mentioned booklet in these columns and are now placing a few suggestions before the authorities of the Sarvadeshika Sabha for consideration.

The first thing that the Sabha ought to do is to invite a small conference of workers who have been in the colonies and who have got



Bhai Parmanand



Arya Kanya Pathshala, Omei, Mauritius



Arya Kanya Pathshala, Suva, Fiji.

personal experience of the situation there. The foremost among them are Sjt. Bhai Parmanand, Principal Ram Deva, Shrimati Shanno Devi, Shriman Mehta Jaimini and Swami Shankaranand. The conference may be held in October next and in the meanwhile the Sabha can invite full report of work done by the different Aryasamajes in the colonies along with their suggestions. A questionnaire printed in English, Hindi and Gujarati should be widely circulated among colonial Indians.

Foreign Mission Department of the Aryasamaj has to be organized on a sound basis. Unfortunately this work has not received the serious attention that it undoubtedly deserves.

Broad outlines and policy of the work to be done in the colonies may be settled by the conference but there are certain problems that require immediate and thorough discussion in the press.

The Sarvadeshika Sabha ought to send a deputation of at least two workers to see the condition of Aryasamajis in the Colonies. Sjt. **Sudhakari**, the Secretary of the Sabha, and Swami **Bhawani Dayal** will make a good combination and they should be sent to East Africa and Mauritius for the present. The Sabha has got funds at its disposal and ought not to grudge this expenditure. I wonder if the Sabha realizes that this tour is absolutely essential for the proper organization of the Foreign Mission Department.

There have appeared from time to time complaints in the Press regarding some of the preachers that have gone to the colonies. The writer of the booklet, "Videshon Main Arya samaj," has referred to these complaints. They require thorough investigation at the hands of responsible people.

Steps should be taken for the compilation of a bigger history of the Aryasamaj in the colonies. The President and Secretary of the Sabha have already declared their intention to publish this book and the work should be begun without any further delay. We may add here that it was nine years ago that a resolution to this effect was passed at the Dayanand Centenary at Muttra in February 1925 and the work has already been delayed too much.

There are not less than three millions of our countrymen in the colonies and out of them more than two millions are Hindus. They stand in need of our guidance. A number of them are fairly well-to-do and it is almost certain that the Foreign Mission Department of the Aryasamaj will find adequate financial support if the work is taken up in right earnest. I have given these suggestions not as an Aryasamajist. In fact, I do not belong to that Society but I strongly believe that Aryasamaj is the only organization among the Hindus that can be entrusted with this important work of connecting India with Greater India culturally.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Miss Leita Najmuddin

MISS LEITA NAJMUDDIN stood first among the girl candidates in the Matriculation Examination of the Punjab University. She beat all previous records by securing 689 marks. She is only 14 years.



Srimati Nilima Dutt

SRIMATI NILIMA DUTT of the St. Stephen's College, Delhi, was awarded the M. Makhan Lal Gold medal for being the best Hindu Lady candidate in the University at the 12th Convocation of the Delhi University.

## GLEANINGS

### Making the City Smokeless and Dustless

Mellon Institute's [in Pittsburgh] election to present its pure air campaign plans to medical societies is consistent with its handling of the problem from the very start of its investigation. It is a matter of record that campaigns against smoke and dust get satisfactory results only in cities where physicians take a leading hand. There also the oft-repeated Institute declaration that pure air is primarily a medical consideration,

the necessity for medical leadership cannot safely be disregarded.

Along with the promulgation of the modern campaign plan, the Institute has expressed the opinion that an unusual opportunity exists to make progress in the restoration of hygienically pure air to the cities, and it urges medical societies to assert their leadership. It is pointed out that the scientific research workers, engineers, and others who would be entrusted with the execution of a municipal program want to know what substances, now present



Air hygiene studies are carried on in laboratories on a comprehensive scale



Air pollution is found by recording ultra-violet rays received from sun



A steel plant in operation. The principal fuel is bituminous coal that is being properly used in the furnaces



Smokeless firing of locomotives. Engines in the Pennsylvania yards in Pittsburgh ready for rail service

in city air, must come out to make that air conform to the necessities of human comfort and health. They wish to have the physicians set the limit for smokelessness and dustlessness.

For the benefit of the layman who might be constrained to think the physicians have been unduly hesitant or dilatory in asserting their leadership in this important matter, it should be explained that only recently have leading combustion engineers and other related specialists fully demonstrated their ability to fill a prescription for the smokeless and dustless operation of small as well as large fuel-burning plants, to be done practically and at reasonable cost. In these demonstrations, of course, they are employing appliances, processed fuels, and firing methods brought to perfection in the last few years. Under these altered circumstances, it can now be said with assurance that, if the physicians will write a prescription setting up reasonable standards of dustlessness and smokelessness, the engineers can fill it without committing fuel consumer, to costly, experimental ventures. Always heretofore there has been the objection from some quarters that while pure air is a city asset of fundamental value its attainment could not be secured save at undue expense. Thanks to the efforts of inventors, research workers, manufacturers, and progressive fuel producers, that objection no longer holds good. Eighty percent of the solid particles now emitted by stacks where solid fuel or refuse is burned can be kept out of the air by tested appliances and processes that are not burdensomely expensive. In many cases, a large percentage of the cost would be returned as direct savings.

It has been reported that certain derivatives of tar will, through repeated irritation, cause cancer of the skin. These derivatives are among the constituents of soft coal and oil smoke, and may also enter the air from other industrial sources.

Dr. Jerome Meyers, of the New York Department of Health, made a very interesting partial survey in this field a few years ago, in which he called attention to the apparent parallelism of high smoke content of the air and incidence of cancer. This study should be resumed in the light of most recent information and the improvement in the gathering and compiling of cancer statistics in New York City.

Other reported experiences and investigations include other harm done to health by dust, gases, or unburned (atomized) oil coming from stacks, and various metallic oxides and chemical substances thrown off by domestic and commercial incinerators and industrial plants.

Preventable smoke and dust clouds that obstruct

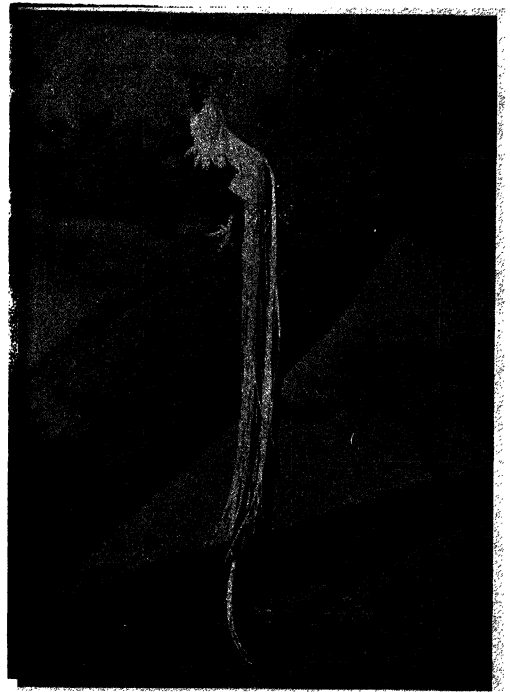
solar radiation and fill the nose, throat and lungs with irritants are perilous.

—*Scientific American*

### The Long-Tailed Fowl

One of the most peculiar specimens of fowl. It is produced only in Oshino-mura, Nagaoka-gun, Kochi prefecture. There are white and pale violet colored fowls. Only the cock has long tail while the hen does not differ from any common hen. The longest tail measures about 26 feet. These cocks live about 10 years. The best long tailed cock is worth more than Yen 3,000. They are very frail, and naturally difficult to raise. About 30 eggs a year laid, and it is difficult to raise even one cock even out of 200 eggs.

—*Dai-Nippon*

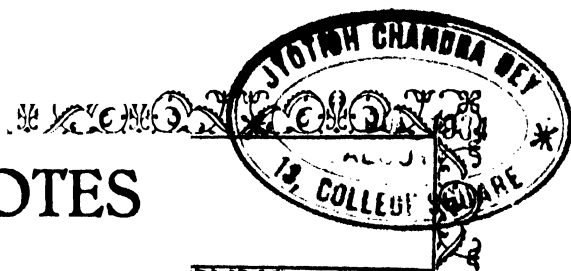


Long-Tailed Fowl





## NOTES



### *Lying Anti-Indian Propaganda in Great Britain*

In recent years there has been a much larger volume of anti-Indian propaganda in Great Britain and America than perhaps ever before. The object is obvious—to prevent any real transfer of power in India to Indian hands. There have been many lying propaganda books. One of the latest is "Letters of an Indian Judge to an English Gentlewoman," published by Messrs. Lovat Dickson. In a preliminary note to this book the publishers say that they have satisfied themselves that the letters are genuine. The Indian opinion on the contrary would and must be that they are fictitious and constitute lying propaganda of a not too clever character. In fact the forgery is quite transparent.

The "English Gentlewoman" to whom the letters are alleged to have been addressed remains incognito. So Indians cannot cross-examine her. All the letters except one are anonymous. The one which is signed bears the signature of "Arvind Nehra," who is said to be or to have been an Indian Judge and a delegate to the Round Table Conference in London. Now, "Arvind Nehra" is not and cannot be an Indian name, though "Arvind" is reminiscent of Aurobindo Ghose and "Nehra" of Jawaharlal Nehru. In the second place, to the best of our knowledge there has never been—at least recently, an Indian High Court or District Judge of that name. In the third place, no Indian Judge was a delegate to the R. T. C. In the fourth place, no provincial Governor has ever been assassinated by an Indian—in any case none during the R. T. C. sessions. In the fifth place, there is no province named the

"Northern Provinces" over which the assassinated Governor was said to have been ruling.

Let us now look at the story told in the letter signed by this Arvind Nehra. This man was said to have received his education at Cambridge. Cambridge Colleges and Cambridge men ought therefore to be able to spot him. It is curious that both Aurobindo Ghose and Jawaharlal Nehru were educated at Cambridge. When at the Round Table Conference, one day while taking a stroll on the road, Arvind Nehra saw a poster, "**Governor of the Northern Provinces Assassinated**," and wrote he to the "English Gentlewoman":

"Horried, as you may imagine, I bought a paper, and learn it is my son, my first-born son Arvind, who has done this thing. He has announced that it is for India's freedom he has struck a blow. He lies, I hear, in the hospital, because he has also tried to shoot himself."

Hindu fathers do not give their own proper names to their sons—no Hindu whose proper name is "Arvind" will name his son "Arvind." This is an additional reason for concluding that the letters to an English Gentlewoman are a forgery. Let us, however, proceed with the story, as told in *The Hindustan Times*.

The judge returns to India. Proceeding to the hospital where his son lies, he finds the 'Senior Police officer in charge' at the bedside of the assassin. Is it the rule in India for Senior Police officers to be in charge of hospitals? Of course, in imaginary countries they may be! This Police Officer is a friend of the judge. So when the two friends met, the policeman shook his head and said: "It is a terrible thing for you. The best thing that can happen to the boy now is..." He did

Paper really purported to make any such transfer and as if the constitution outlined therein involved any risk of loosening of the British hold on India! Sir Laurie laid down the proviso that the transfer, which in his opinion should have been made fifteen years ago, should be accompanied by three conditions, namely, "adequate finance, entry of Indian States into the Federation and adequate safe-guards capable of enforcement."

But there can be no adequate finance so long as there is a highly paid British army of occupation in India, so long as there is a very expensive civil administration with lavishly paid British personnel at the top, and consequently so long as there is quite inadequate expenditure in the 'nation-building' departments.

The entry of the Indian States into the Federation is calculated to nullify popular government. For the States, according to the White Paper, would have a disproportionately large number of seats in the Federal Legislature to be filled, not by men elected by the States' people, but by nominees of the Princes. Thus their entry will prevent the transfer of power from British hands to those of the representatives of the people. It will also, as we shall show below, prevent India from ever becoming a Dominion, not to speak of her becoming independent.

And then Sir Laurie wants "adequate safe-guards," too. Indians understand what they mean. They are a negation of freedom.

### *States' Entry into Federation and Prevention of Dominion Status*

It is common knowledge that the entry of the Indian States into the Federation and the assigning to the nominees of their Rulers an excessive number of seats in the Federal Legislature are calculated to reduce to impotency the forces of nationalism in that Legislature. But it is not so generally understood that their entry into the Federation is calculated also to prevent India from ever becoming a Dominion. The following extract from an address delivered in Poona on the 15th May last by Mr. R. G. Pradhan shows how an India federated *a la* the White Paper is not likely ever to become a Dominion :

"Its basic principle of an All-India Federation, with paramountcy as regards Indian States vested in the Crown with its perpetuation of existing relations between them and the British Government—which relations will ever debar them from attaining Dominion Status—and with its denial of any recognized place in the constitution to the people in the States, will be found to be a permanent and serious barrier to our own full growth into a Dominion, much less into an independent nation. The scheme as regards the Centre is so cleverly and ingeniously devised as to delay indefinitely, if not altogether to prevent, our becoming a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster, and to prevent absolutely our claiming independence as a right constitutionally arising from Dominion Status."

"In the first place, the achievement of Dominion Status is extremely problematical. But suppose at some remote period, it is achieved somehow and Federal India then claims the constitutional right to secede. That claim will be countered by the cogent argument that it cannot be conceded without disintegration of the Federation itself; in other words, that Federal India as such cannot claim independence constitutionally, inasmuch as it contains two elements, one of which does not and cannot have Dominion Status owing to the paramountcy of the British Crown. It is this constitutional implication that has made the British Government so much enamoured of the scheme of an All-India Federation."

"I shall put it differently. The British Government is confident that it will be able to put down any attempt on the part of India to sever the British connexion by force. But the question assumes a different aspect when a Dominion wishes to exercise the constitutional right to secede. Such exercise of a constitutional right cannot be put down by force. So the rise of such a situation itself must be provided against and what should be done is to devise a scheme which will prevent such a claim being made, and even though made, being constitutionally recognized. And this is what has been done in the White Paper Scheme."

Mr. R. G. Pradhan's argument appears to us flawless and shows up the cunning statecraft of the authors of the White Paper. His reasoning may induce a mood of despondency in those who want India to be by constitutional methods a Dominion and afterwards, if need be, an independent country. But those who believe in any revolutionary method may perhaps rejoice that, by preventing constitutional evolution, the White Paper has been unintentionally promoting their cause and facilitating recruitment to their ranks.

### *Ignorance or Deliberate Misrepresentation?*

It is said to be generally believed in Great Britain that the White Paper is acceptable to the majority of Indians. If so, it shows the Britishers' prevailing lack of correct information

relating to India, their indifference to obtaining such information and the success which has attended the efforts of British bureaucrats, news agencies and journalists to prevent correct information relating to India reaching the people of Great Britain. The ignorance of the generality of Englishmen may be excusable. What is inexcusable is the ignorance of leading men and those who have spent years in India. Yet they, too, display such ignorance, or (shall we say ?) indulge in deliberate misrepresentation. At a meeting of the East India Association in London, addressed by Sir Frederic Sykes, ex-Governor of Bombay, on May 15 last, Sir Hugh Cocks said that he believed that "by far the greatest body of opinion in India, both European and Indian, favoured the White Paper." He may believe or pretend to believe whatever he likes, but so far as Indian opinion goes, exactly the opposite of what he believes is true.

### *Congress and Council Entry*

It has been decided at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Patna that those Congressmen who think that they can do some good to the country by entering the legislatures will have the liberty to do so, No-changers continuing to do other kinds of Congress work outside the Councils. These are to be of a constructive kind. For Mahatma's statement of April last, advising the discontinuance of civil disobedience by all except himself, has been endorsed by the A. I. C. C. Congress candidates for the legislatures will be nominated by a Parliamentary Board of the Congress, of which the personnel has been already selected. Dr. Ansari is the chairman of this Board. During his absence in England Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya will act as chairman.

Though civil disobedience has been reserved for Gandhiji at his suggestion and advice, he has said that he will try to act in such a way that the starting of civil disobedience may not be necessary.

Considering all these circumstances, Government may be fairly expected to lift the ban against all Congress bodies so that the holding of a plenary ordinary session of the Congress may be possible and Congressmen

may not be hampered in doing constructive work. It has been announced that the next session of the Congress, the 48th, will be held at Bombay in October this year.

The decision to carry on the campaign of elections to the Councils by a Parliamentary Board of the Congress itself seems to us more satisfactory than by a separate Swarajist party, though connected with the Congress. There is no essential incongruity between Council work, provided no Congress principles are violated in the process of doing it, and constructive work outside the Councils. Should Congress undertake civil resistance in the future, either in the sole person of Mahatma Gandhi or as a body, Congress members of the Legislatures will simply have to come out of them, if called upon to do so.

It has been contended that, as at Lahore Congress in full session assembled prohibited Council entry, the ban on Council entry can be lifted only by a plenary session of the Congress. Logically and technically this appears to be the correct position. But if preparations for contesting seats at the forthcoming general elections can be commenced only after a full Congress session has lifted the ban, there must be much delay, and much precious time must be lost. Perhaps this practical consideration has led the A. I. C. C. to take upon itself the responsibility of lifting the ban. This may be technically wrong but not morally so. Moreover, as Mahatma Gandhi is still practically the dictator and as he has given his opinion in favour of those entering the Councils who want to do so, there is no real harm in anticipating the verdict of a full session of the Congress held under his lead.

It has been our opinion that, under the constitution of India as it stands at present and is likely to be in the near future, Swaraj cannot be won on the floor of the Council Chambers, though some useful preventive and constructive work may be done there. We note that at the Patna A. I. C. C. meeting the opinion was expressed by some men that Swaraj could not be won by Council work.

There was also opposition to Council entry there by an important minority. But it is noteworthy that no resolution was moved



in favour of the actual resumption of civil disobedience now or in the immediate future.

### *Congress and the Communal "Award"*

Neither at the Swarajya Party's conference at Ranchi nor at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Patna was the Communal "Award" of the British Prime Minister either accepted or rejected. The motive behind this silence was good. The desire was that the country should offer united opposition to the Government's dual policy of real repression and so-called reform. But, as was anticipated by us, this silence has satisfied neither the supporters nor the opponents of the so-called Award. The supporters—for the most part communalist Muslims, have expressed dissatisfaction at Congressmen not declaring themselves unequivocally in favour of the Premier's Communal Decision. On the other hand, members of the Hindu Mahasabha and some Hindu members of the Congress also have not been pleased with this Congress attitude of sitting on the fence—they want out and out and open rejection of the Communal Decision. Dr. Ansari made a statement saying that a Constituent Assembly to be called hereafter would deal with the matters dealt with by the Premier's so-called Award. This, too, did not satisfy any party. So Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Aney have had to come out with statements of which the purport is that, as Congress stands for national unity and joint electorates, it cannot tolerate even for a short period any arrangement like the Communal Decision which makes for national disruption and disintegration and separate electorates.

Messrs. Malaviya and Aney's statements cannot please Muslim communalists. Perhaps they will displease some, if not all, Muslim nationalists also. For there is this difference between Hindu and Muslim Congressmen that whilst Hindu Congressmen—at least many of them, openly denounce Hindu Mahasabhis, few, if any, Muslim Congressmen denounce their co-religionists of the Muslim League and the Khilafat Conference. So, all Muslims who will enter the legislatures, whether on the Congress, Muslim League or Khilafat Con-

ference, may be able to work together—particularly as Maulana Shaukat Ali is going to contest a seat in order to preserve Muslim solidarity in the Central Legislature.

The Hindus, on the other hand, may be divided into four or more parties. There will be Hindu Congressmen, and in addition there may be Hindu Mahasabhis, Hindu Liberals, Hindu Sanatanists, Hindu Harijans and Hindu nondescripts.

It would be desirable, and it would be advantageous, to have in the country Parties, if any, only along political and economic lines—not along communal, sectarian, caste or socio-religious lines. But if the latter kind of party cleavage be inevitable under present circumstances, the fewer the parties in a community the better it would be not only for that community but for the nation as well.

For these reasons, it would be best for all communal parties to join hands with the Congress, as that is the biggest organization and is also non-communal. It is and has been trying to keep itself non-communal, though many Muslim leaders had said before and have recently also asserted that it is a Hindu communal body of Hindu Mahasabhi complexion. The fact is, whoever does not cry ditto to everything that communalistic Muslims demand or say is dubbed as communal, the inference being that the communalist Muslims are the only real nationalists and non-communalists in the world!

### *Communal Unity*

The condition laid down by British imperialists for their acceptance of any Indian nationalist programme of constitutional advance, that it must be an agreed programme of all parties, is mischievous and meant to prevent all real reform and progress. When Canada got self-rule by a new constitution, it was not after fulfilling any such condition. The condition was not laid down in her case that the French and the British settlers—the Catholics and the Protestants—and the aboriginal Indians also must submit an agreed and united petition for a new constitution before it could be granted. On the contrary, the British Government of the day of their own accord gave Canadians a constitution which

*produced* unity, which was lacking before. In the case of India the British Government has done no such thing. On the contrary, to the Round Table Conference, which was called ostensibly to devise means for Indian constitutional advance, not a single nationalist Musalman was invited and, originally, no Congressman also. The White Paper produced by the arbiters of India's destiny in London creates more political divisions and parties among the inhabitants of India than existed before and exist now. If, instead of following such methods, the British Government had given India a constitution like or approaching that of any of the British Dominions or like those of the States in Europe constituted after the war, it would have on the whole produced contentment in India and made for her progress. We mean progress of all communities.

The fun of the thing is that when British imperialists insist upon an agreed draft constitution or programme, they do not name the parties who must agree. To say that the Hindus and the Muslims must agree is of no use. For there are parties in both the communities. And if the parties in existence at present agreed, a dissenting new party might be born over-night mushroom-like, and it would be sure to be used by British die-hards to disprove the fact of Hindu-Muslim unity. Moreover, these are not the only communities in India. There are the Christians, the Sikhs, the Buddhists, the Jains, the aborigines, and so on. So, even if the major communities agreed, the minor ones could and would be trotted out for disproving Indian unity.

There never was in any subject country, nor is there at present, such complete unity as British imperialists insist upon in the case of India. Why speak of subject countries alone? Is there such complete unity in any free and independent country?

So the best course for the British parliament and people to follow would be to do the right thing and shame the devil—the devil in British imperialists and die-hards and in Indian communalists and job-hunters.

There is a vicious circle which should be plain to all. There cannot be any communal unity in India so long as the domination of British officials lasts, and their domination

cannot terminate with the voluntary consent of the British people so long as there is not communal unity. So it is best for all Indian communities and groups to try to secure greater and still greater political rights *separately* and *independently* without laying stress on unity.

Communal unity presupposes the absence in any community of any group which is so lacking in self-respect as to prefer British favours to national solidarity. It also presupposes the lack of power on the part of the British rulers to outbid the national leaders in the matter of advantages that may have to be promised to selfish groups to purchase either their acquiescence in national subjection or their adherence to the cause of national freedom.

Maulana Shaukat Ali has declared that he is dying for unity. Mr. Jinnah, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Maulvi Shafi Daudi, etc., are dissatisfied with the decisions of the A. I. C. C. in Patna. It is necessary, therefore, to know on what exact terms they can unite with non-Muslims in a national struggle for freedom. The terms must be definite and final. It should also be stated whether all the advantages which they want are wanted for a definite period to be stated exactly, or for ever, or during their pleasure. Supposing non-Muslim leaders agree to all these terms, the Muslim leaders laying down the terms should state beforehand that they would not only not be a party to other Muslim leaders, who may spring up, driving a bargain with the British Government for still greater advantages but would denounce and fight such bargaining.

### Turkey for Turks

Istanbul, May 25.

Thousands of foreigners employed in the professions or who are artisans (notably 1,200 of Maltese extraction but not speaking their mother tongue) are precariously situated as a result of the Government's approval of a law whereby certain professions are reserved for Turkish nationals. The law states that from this week foreigners employed as chauffeurs, hair-dressers, tailors, shoe-makers, stock exchange clerks and musicians will cease work while delays (?) ranging from three to twelve months are given to foreigners employed as general labourers, waiters, actors, printers, chemists, Government employees and others (?).—*Reuter*.

When Congressmen enter the Central Legislature will any of them introduce a Bill there for reserving some professions and the best-paid services for Indian nationals ?

### *"Nationalism Suits Hindus" !*

A Muhammadan contemporary has more than once quoted Mahatma Gandhi as having said words to the effect that the Hindus are Nationalists because it suits them to be so. We do not remember to have read any such utterance of Mahatmaji. But as evidently some at least of our Musalman countrymen are under the impression that Hindus are or profess to be Nationalists because Nationalism is of advantage to them, the notion requires a little examination.

The Musalmans referred to above will, we hope, agree that those Muslims who want separate electorates with seats reserved for them and weightage in addition where their co-religionists are a minority, desire these things because they consider these to be advantageous and advantages suit them. Now, Hindus are in a minority in Bengal, the Panjab, N.-W. F. Province and Sind. But no conference of Hindus in any of these regions has asked for these advantages as their first choice. On the contrary, they have as their first choice or only choice asked for joint electorates without reservation of seats on the population basis, and of course they have not asked for any weightage. Their Nationalism has impelled them to agree to forgo the advantages which Muslim minorities have got everywhere. So Nationalism may be said to suit these Hindu minorities in the sense that disadvantage suits Hindus where advantage suits Musalmans.

It may be said, of course, that in India as a whole Hindus are a majority, and, therefore, Nationalism suits them. But they are not responsible for the fact that they are a majority in India—they have taken pretty good care to be a dwindling majority for centuries ! Afghans, Turks, Japanese, Persians, Britishers, Frenchmen, Germans, etc., are majorities in their respective countries and are Nationalists. Perhaps because Nationalism suits all of them. Neither History nor Geography tells of any people who are Nationalists *for the*

*reason that Nationalism does not suit them.* But History and Geography do tell of one and only one country in which the majority has been reduced to the position of a minority in a famous official document and in which the majority community has agreed to an important minority community having weightage in provinces where they are a minority and also in the Central Legislature. And that country is India. Perhaps it may, therefore, be humbly claimed that Hindus are Nationalists even when and where Nationalism does not suit them !

### *"The Dismemberment of China"*

Such is the title of one of the fortnightly *Foreign Policy Reports* published by the Foreign Policy Association of New York on April 24, 1934. It begins thus :

"Japan's recent conquest of Manchuria and Jehol has rounded out ninety years of territorial losses by China, starting with the British annexation of Hongkong in 1842. During this period China has lost control of roughly 2,400,000 square miles of territory out of a total of nearly 4,500,000 once ruled by the Manchu empire. Of these lost territories, France has annexed Indo-China ; Britain has taken Hongkong, Upper Burma, and Sikkim, and dominates Tibet ; Japan has annexed Korea, Formosa and the Pescadores, and controls Manchuria and Jehol ; and the Soviet Union dominates outer Mongolia. While the seizure of Manchuria therefore constitutes merely the latest in a long series of similar episodes, it has also a special significance with respect to developments in the immediate future, for the loss of Manchuria has had an unsettling effect throughout the remaining outlying territories of China, and may be the prelude to a new era of territorial dismemberment."

The Report continues :

"The seriousness of this threat becomes clearer when it is realized that the eighteen provinces of China proper have been dominated historically by a double ring of outlying territories. The outer ring consists of Manchuria, outer Mongolia, Singkiang and Tibet. Three of these areas are already subject to foreign control, while the fourth—Singkiang or Chinese Turkistan—is now in the throes of political upheaval. The inner ring consists of Inner Mongolia on the north and "Inner" Tibet on the west, separated by the narrow western tongue of Kansu province. Inner Mongolia has been recently organized into the four new provinces of Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan and Ninghsia. Of these Japan now occupies Jehol and the strategic eastern edge of Chahar, near the city of Dolonor, which dominates the passes leading further into Mongolia. "Inner" Tibet is composed of the newly organized provinces of Chinghari and Hsikang. During the past two years large sections of Chinghai and Hsikang provinces have been occupied by British-trained Tibetan troops.

"China's outer ring of territories has thus been almost wholly lost, while the inner ring is under partial foreign occupation and in immediate danger of complete alienation."

The Report is carefully documented and treats of China's land and sea frontiers, race and religion on the border, the three Mongolias, "Inner" Tibet, revolt in Sinkiang, and Yunnan a French sphere, and contains a map. It concludes thus :

"In the test over Manchuria, the historic 'open door' policy of the United States, with its corollary requiring the maintenance of China's territorial integrity, has apparently suffered a decisive set-back. More than at any time since 1900, tendencies leading toward the dismemberment of China are definitely in the ascendant."

### *Shrapnel and Poison Gas*

"The Arbitrator" (England) states that at the close of the World War there were 1,500 blind men, victims of battle service, in Great Britain. Recent figures, however, show that since then, 500 additional service men have lost their sight from the effects of shrapnel wounds or gas poisoning.

"By the way," asks the bulletin of the Webster Groves, Missouri, Peace Council, "do you happen to know what country is now taking the lead in the production of poison gas? The great plant at Edgewood could produce in two months more poison gas than the Germans used throughout the War."—*World Events*.

### *Literary Activity in Soviet Russia*

No country in the world, according to recent claims of the *Soviet Union Review*, publishes as many books as Soviet Russia. In 1932, it contends, the U.S.S.R. issued more scientific works than were put out in Germany, Italy, France, and England combined. The Soviet Press, which is largely restricted to the governmental viewpoint, has 7,000 papers with a circulation of nearly 40,000,000. In 1912, Russia published 133,562,000 copies of all books, in 1932, the figure is said to be 1,300,000,000.—*World Events*.

### *India at the Olympic Games*

The Berlin *Olympic Games News Service* states :

At the meeting of the India Olympic Committee during the celebration of the All-India Olympic Games of 1934 at Delhi, the invitation to the XI Olympiad at Berlin was accepted. India will defend her old mastership in hockey, and also in various other events Indian competitors will meet the best athletes of the world at the Olympic Games, 1936.

### *University Teachers and Politics*

The Aligarh University Inquiry Committee of 1927-28, presided over by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, made the following observations

and recommendation with respect to members of the staff of that University seeking election to the legislatures :

Our attention has been drawn by many witnesses to the effect produced on the academic atmosphere of the University by members of the staff standing for election to a legislature and taking part in politics.

The political duties assumed by these teachers of the University are by no means inconsiderable. In addition to attendance at the meetings of legislatures, both (Dr. Ziauddin and Dr. Hyder) have sat on important Government commissions and committees and have been absent from duty for long periods of time. It is not surprising, therefore, that many witnesses have represented that the interests of the students have suffered.

In 1926 Dr. Hyder was re-elected and is now serving on a Government commission. Mr. Habib, Professor of History, was also selected a member of the provincial legislature. Dr. Ziauddin did not stand for re-election. Aligarh appears to be in danger of being used by some members of the staff as a stepping-stone to political advancement.

The work has suffered by the frequent absence of teachers of the University on political duty. It has also been pointed out in evidence that during those election contests numbers of students have been absent from the University for the purpose of canvassing.

We recommend, therefore, that university teachers should not be permitted to stand for election to a legislature. Should at any time a seat in the legislature be given to the Aligarh University, then there would be no objection to a teacher of the University standing for that seat.

The Allahabad University had a salutary rule on the lines of the Aligarh University Inquiry Committee's recommendation. But it has been, we hear, recently repealed, to facilitate Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan's political activities. It is rumoured that, as Dr. Khan is an official favourite, the Allahabad University authorities are afraid of the historico-political Doctor someday becoming the U. P. Education Minister and having it out with them.

### *Compulsory Education in U. P.*

The U. P. Government has, it is said, resolved to spend Rs. 100,000 for making a beginning in the direction of compulsory education. A not too early beginning.

### *Glimpses of U. P. Administration Report for 1932-33*

Some extracts are given below from the Government Report on the administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1932-33, the headings being mostly our own :—

## POSITION OF THE CONGRESS

"Any account of the political events of the year must, for practical purposes, be little more than an account of the activities of the Congress party, for it alone, among the shifting and overlapping interests of Indian politics, possessed for a short time a single policy and programme and an organization with some effective hold over large numbers of its followers. Outside the Congress and its offshoots there was less than the usual political enthusiasm, for most classes and communities were too absorbed in their own domestic difficulties to do more than record their reactions to the proposals for reform."

## THE LIBERAL PARTY

"The Liberal party, while disapproving of the Congress programme, was dissatisfied with the White Paper and continuously demanded the release of political prisoners so that the Congress party might participate in the discussions on the reforms."

## THE FUTURE PROGRAMME OF THE CONGRESS

"On the future programme of the Congress, opinion was divided. One section [of the Press] favoured the capture of the legislatures, while another showed sympathy with the views of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who, in a series of articles entitled 'Whither India?' stated that India's immediate goal was the abolition of all special class privileges and vested interests, and the severance of the British connection."

## "POLITICAL AND COMMUNISTIC PROPAGANDA"

"The *Chand* published an article urging that Indian Chiefs should be pensioned off and their States annexed to form a single State. Some papers sought to represent Russia as a modern Utopia for peasants and labourers, and the *Mazdoor* claimed that Russia afforded a proof of the administrative capacity of the peasants and their superiority over capitalists in the art of government. The same paper advocated the immediate establishment of a labour party in India in order to capture the legislatures and establish a government controlled by peasants and 'workers'."

## POLITICAL PRISONERS

"Many papers regularly published complaints of the ill-treatment of political prisoners in several jails in this province, particularly at Fyzabad, and the death of two political prisoners in the Andamans jail was followed by a prolonged campaign against the transfer of political prisoners to those islands."

## "MUSLIM AFFAIRS"

"Aerial bombing on the North-West Frontier evoked vehement protests, especially from the Muslim press. British policy and administration in Palestine were bitterly criticized by the same press, and some papers, usually moderate in tone and supporters of Government, affirmed that there could be no Anglo-Muslim *entente* in the face of the 'Anglo-Jewish crusade' against the Arabs."

## WARNING TO THE PRINCES

"Some papers warned the Princes that their security lay, not in depending on the paramount power for help, but in winning the good-will of

their subjects and in helping Indians generally towards the attainment of *Swaraj*."

## TERRORIST OUTRAGES IN BENGAL

"Newspapers of all shades of opinion condemned the terrorist outrages in Bengal but considered that the measures adopted by the Bengal Government for the suppression of terrorism would merely aggravate the evil, which could only be eradicated by the removal of the root causes of political and economic unrest."

## COW-KILLING AT BAKR-ID

"In a pamphlet published by Maulvi Mahesh Prasad of Benares University it was alleged that India was the only Muslim country where cows were killed at Bakr-Id."

## THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

"Newspapers generally expressed keen disappointment at the proceedings of the Conference, especially at the concluding speech of the Secretary of State, and urged that no constitution with the proposed safe-guards in military and financial matters could be acceptable to Indians. The *Star* characterized the reform scheme as reactionary, while the *Hamdam* described the Conference as a fools' paradise."

## "THE COMMUNAL AWARD"

"The comment was general that the excessive fragmentation of electorates was prejudicial to national interests, and was a manifestation of the Government's Policy of 'divide and rule.'"

## "The Viceroy's Bihar Relief Fund"

In a communication sent to us from New York Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar writes :

"I cannot understand the psychology of our people. You have started in India what is euphemistically called 'The Viceroy's Bihar Relief Fund.' Why the Viceroy's? Has the Viceroy donated a year's salary for the relief of the victims of the earthquake tragedy?"

Dr. Muzumdar is mistaken in thinking that the people of India have started the Viceroy's fund. It is called the Viceroy's Fund because it was he who started it. No doubt the richer people have contributed to it, for obvious reasons, in preference to the other funds started by men of the people. As regards the Viceroy's own contribution, that was for him to decide.

## Glasgow Indian Union

We have been asked by, the honorary information secretary of the Glasgow Indian Union (c-o the Glasgow University) to state that

The "Glasgow Indian Union" has an Information Department which supplies information to any

student intending to come to Glasgow to proceed with further studies.

Realizing the difficulties met by the newcomers in this country, and also the lack of information to those who intend to come over here, the Glasgow Indian Union has taken up the task of offering help to them. In case any individual student wishes to consult us, we will be glad to supply full information about the University of Glasgow and the various Colleges in Glasgow. The Glasgow Indian Union will help the newcomers with reception, lodgings, etc., if previously informed.

Some general information regarding exemptions from preliminary and first science examinations for the degree of B. Sc. in Engineering at the Glasgow University, have been sent to the Principals of most of the Colleges in India. During the last two years a good number of Indian students have come to Glasgow to attend the course of Sugar Technology at the Royal Technical College, Glasgow, a three year course for the Diploma of the College.

### *Laudable Public Spirit of Senhati Ladies*

Senhati is a village in the Khulna district of Bengal. Forty ladies of that village have set a noble example of practical philanthropy, as described in the following news item :

Khulna, May, 2.

The members of the Senhati Mahila Samity (a branch of the Saroj Nalini Nari Mangal Samity) have set an example in the direction of village welfare. A big reserve tank, which mainly supplied the drinking water of the majority of the villagers, has now fallen into disuse owing to the growth of excessive weeds. Repeated representations to the authorities of the Local Board for clearing these having proved of no avail, about 40 ladies, young and old, set themselves to the task and, after working for full four days, cleared the tank of the weeds. The Secretary of the Samity has now requested the chairman of the District Board to make arrangements for disinfecting the tank. Associated Press.

### *World Population Trends*

*The Commonwealth of New York* writes :

"Professor Charles Richet, winner of the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1913, has just issued a remarkable world population survey from which he draws three conclusions : (1) Yellow and mixed races are increasing in rate five or six times more rapidly than the white races. (2) Among the white races Europeans increase the least. (3) Among the European peoples the most civilized nations show the least population increase. If the trend continues at its present rate, the Asiatics will have increased 140,000,000 in the next ten years, the American nations by 35,000,000, the Europeans by 20,000,000. While Shanghai shows an increase of 55 births per thousand population annually and Tokyo 44 per thousand, New York increases only 19 per thousand annually, and neither London nor Paris has shown any birth increase in the last decade. On the basis of the present increase rates Professor Richet estimates that New York will be the world's

largest city in 1944, with Tokyo second and Shanghai third; London will be out-ranked by Berlin and Moscow. M. Richet held it impossible to estimate populations more than ten years ahead, but stated that if the present rate of increase continued, Tokyo would become the world's largest city by 1955."

So far as India is concerned, there is at present greater increase of population among the poorer and illiterate classes than among the middle class literate people—particularly in the Hindu community. There are several causes at work to lower the birth-rate among literate classes. The number of young men and young girls who remain unmarried—at any rate till a more advanced age than before—has been increasing, and there is also a progressive use of contraceptives among them. There are other causes also at work. If all these causes continue to work, the Hindu cultured classes may be swamped in course of time, if they do not in the meanwhile dwindle and die out.

### *Anti-war Demonstrations in America*

*The New Republic of America* writes :

It is, we think, both significant and important that in a large number of colleges throughout the country many thousands of students last week participated in anti-war demonstrations. We do not assume that such demonstrations, even on a much wider scale, will have any very important effect upon the likelihood of any given war in the future, or even that all of the demonstrators would live up to their anti-war principles when to do so might mean persecution and imprisonment. But we feel it is a healthy thing for so many young men and women to be thinking about the war problem and we assume that their interest in all probability extends to the causes of war, which in the modern world are so largely economic and an outgrowth of private capitalist enterprise. Among the demonstrators were Communists, Socialists and young people who are of neither of these faiths, and they showed an ability to co-operate for common ends that their elders have sometimes lacked. In some colleges, counter-demonstrations were arranged by students who (having been on the average four years old when the Great War ended) feel more friendly toward militarism, and it was probably a good thing that the pacifist marchers should realize thus early that their ideas are not accepted by the whole community. In a few places, the police were called in to beat up the participants in the anti-war parades, and this, also, was doubtless educative to the students, who got a vivid illustration of the fact that the way of the peace-maker is hard.

### *Sir C. V. Raman's Academy of Science*

We had come to know some weeks ago that Dr. Normand, Director of the Meteorological

Survey of India, had refused to be a member of Sir C. V. Raman's "Indian Academy of Science." We now find that the news has been published in newspapers in places so far apart as Lahore and Calcutta. We know that Dr. Normand has given Professor Raman some salutary advice, too, all of which has not appeared in the papers. So we shall not publish it in part or in its entirety.

It was not so very long ago that Sir C. V. Raman "conceded" the scientific leadership of Calcutta, though he has been latterly reported to have spoken of Calcutta scientists as a coterie or a clique. Wrote he in the sixth anniversary number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* :

It would be folly, however, to believe that Science can only flourish in monastic seclusion away from the surge of human life. Nothing could be further from the truth. Science derives her strongest impulses from the desire to serve human needs as well as from the purely philosophic desire to understand Nature more deeply. Hence, to be in touch with life, to understand the claims for service made by Humanity and to attempt to satisfy them, makes for true scientific progress. Further, Science cannot do without libraries and laboratories, and she must have the means to free her votaries from the necessity of otherwise earning their daily bread. If Science chooses to live and work in seclusion, she runs the risk of losing the sympathy of those who can provide her with resources. Thus, Science and Humanity need each other, and they both can flourish only when their obligations to each other are understood and discharged.

#### TYPICAL PARIS

In view of what has been said, it is not surprising that at least in some great centres of human life, we do also find flourishing schools of scientific research. Paris is a typical example of a great city which is not only the political and social but also the intellectual capital of its country. Calcutta claims a similar privilege so far as Bengal is concerned, but an impartial observer would probably also concede without hesitation that the proud privilege she once enjoyed of being the Imperial Capital has not yet disappeared in the sphere of scientific activity. She owes her prestige and influence in the sphere of learning to her century-old tradition of culture and research, to the long line of eminent scholars, both Indian and European, whom Calcutta has numbered and numbers among her citizens, and not least to the efforts of such men as the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar and Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, who strove to create the facilities for higher studies and research that others now enjoy.

#### CALCUTTA'S LEAD

Conceding the fact that Calcutta exercises a leadership in scientific research which extends far beyond the limits of the Province of Bengal, it must be a matter of pride and personal concern to every one of her citizens to see that such leadership is maintained for the future.

So those who strive to maintain the scientific position of Calcutta may not be an intriguing clique or coterie but only patriotic citizens.

#### *Promoting Drink and Drug Habit in Bihar*

In the course of his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Indian Miners' Association, Jharia, Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose said :

The Royal Commission on Labour, speaking about the condition in 1928, said that the Dhanbad Sub-Division collieries, which employed 55,000 male workers, were responsible for the consumption of country spirit to the value of six lacs and seventy thousand. The licence fees on the consumption of country rice beer brought a revenue of 1,20,000. Besides there were ganja and other intoxicating drugs. The Commission estimated that the total expenditure incurred by these miserable colliery workers in drink and drug in 1928-29 was ten lacs of rupees. The Commission recommended that the drink and drug shops should be gradually closed in the interests of the industry and of the workers. But we find today that far from giving effect to the recommendation of the Commission, the Government has reduced the price of country spirits, so much so that one bottle of country liquor which was formerly sold at annas eight or annas ten, is being sold at annas two now. The result is that the drink evil has become more widespread. It is idle to say that the illicit distillation would supply the want, if the Government stopped or reduced the sale of liquor. In 1930, due to picketing for six months, the liquor and drug shops were closed but illicit distillation did not supply the demand. You may punish illicit distillation, but why pander to a vice by making the satisfaction of it incredibly cheap? Mahatma Gandhi could not stop the practice, the labour unions cannot. The evil could be brought under control only by State action—absolute prohibition.

Mr. Bose added :

The large majority of the workers do not turn up on Monday for the effect of intoxication begun from Sunday. The collieries have, therefore, been forced to close on Monday. Even on Tuesday the attendance is poor. The effect continues till Wednesday. If anybody wants to see how human beings are systematically brutalized, let him come to coal areas. The workers cannot find the bare necessities of life, but drink and drug have been made cheap for them so that they may maintain an existence of forgetfulness. Can anybody expect the workers to be efficient in such condition? Can industry prosper with workers so debased?

#### *Flood-stricken Orissa*

It is mentioned in the papers that Mr. Damodar Das, whom Gandhiji had deputed to inquire into the condition of the villages devastated by floods last year, has reported that relief is still necessary. When last cold

weather we visited some flood-stricken villages in Cuttack district we came to the conclusion, which we published in the papers at that time, that help would be required for six months or so. But perhaps that help was not then forthcoming. Hence the inhabitants of many villages are still in distress.

### *Vernacular Medium in the Panjab*

It is stated that candidates for the Matriculation and school-leaving certificate examinations in the Panjab will be allowed the option of answering questions in the vernacular from 1937 onwards, except in the subject of English. That means that the examinees must be taught through the medium or vehicle of the vernacular. But which vernacular? Properly speaking there is one predominant vernacular in the Panjab, namely, Panjabi, which is spoken by the mass of the people, whatever their religious persuasion may be. But among three different religious communities there are zealous advocates of Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi.

### *Maithili in Bihar*

This reminds us that in Bihar there is a considerable section of the intelligentsia who want that Maithili should be recognized by the University and the education department as an independent language. They assert that it is spoken by one-third of the population of Bihar, and it has also a literature of its own. Its script is almost the same as that of Assamese and Bengali.

We do not wish to pre-judge the claims to recognition of any vernacular or any script of India. But perhaps the gradual approximation and the ultimate unification of several allied vernaculars would be desirable.

### *Tornado in Sylhet*

The benevolence of the generous public has not yet been equal to the task of relieving the victims of the earthquake in Bihar. Yet now the same public must attend to the needs of those who have been reduced to destitution by a destructive tornado in Sylhet. And there is scarcity of food, if not famine, in parts of the Mymensingh and Jessore districts.

### *Babu Rajendra Prasad's Appeal*

In the course of a few weeks Bihar will have its rainy season. Owing to the earthquake, in many areas there the levels of the land and of the river beds have changed. So floods and water-logging are anticipated. And these may cause outbreaks of various diseases. Babu Rajendra Prasad has therefore issued a timely appeal for medical workers to volunteer their services. Medical practitioners of both sexes will be required.

### *The Transfer of Sylhet to Bengal*

There are areas now included in the province of Assam which are really parts of Bengal and which formerly formed parts of the administrative province of Bengal, as their prevailing vernacular is Bengali. The district of Sylhet is one of these areas. The Bengali inhabitants of these areas, who form the majority, have for years expressed a desire to have them included in the administrative province of Bengal. And hitherto generally the Assamese have opposed their transfer to Bengal. But recently some leading Assamese gentlemen have petitioned the Government of India to transfer Sylhet to Bengal. We are not aware why they want this transfer now. On linguistic and similar other grounds, if Sylhet is to come back to Bengal, we do not see any reason why the Bengali-speaking regions of Cachar and Goalpara should not also come back to Bengal. If there is to be a transfer, all the Bengali-speaking areas should be given back to Bengal.

We must add that we have not been ardent advocates of the transfer of Sylhet and other Assam districts to Bengal. Nor do we advocate such transfer now. It is not necessary to say why. What we contend is that, if there is to be any such transfer, justice and logic would require the transfer, not merely of Sylhet, but of all Bengali-speaking areas in Assam to

The Bengali-speaking areas tacked on to Bihar should be similarly transferred to Bengal.

### *Textile Workers' Strike in Bombay and Nagpur*

The textile workers' strike in Bombay began more than a month ago and is still



going strong, though the police have fired on the strikers on several occasions, killing some and wounding many more. Firing is resorted to in India more frequently than in Great Britain, though the situations to be faced and controlled may be more menacing in Great Britain than in India. Bullets for (imaginary or real) bricks, is the maxim here.

As neither the millowners nor the workers evince any disposition to yield, it was and still is the duty of the Bombay Government to call a conference of both parties to settle the points in dispute. A better course would be for both parties to choose arbitrators in whom they have confidence. Wise Governments and wise employers of labour do not try to break the spirit of the people. They rather take advantage of it by directing it into profitable channels.

It has been contended on the part of the capitalists that Bombay wages are higher than elsewhere in India. That may or may not be true. But when wages are taken into consideration, living costs also have to be taken into consideration. And they are high in Bombay.

Both parties should be interested in saving the cotton industry in Bombay from ruin. If they go on fighting, they would be helping Japan and Lancashire. Moreover, the industry may be diverted more and more to other provinces in India.

Cotton mill operatives in Nagpur also have struck work. As in Bombay, so in the Central Provinces, the leaders of the people and the Government ought to take steps for the early termination of the strike.

### *Terrorism Again*

It is greatly to be regretted that terrorism of all kinds still persists in Bengal, as indicated by the attempt to shoot the Governor of Bengal at Darjeeling, who fortunately was not hurt, and by the steps taken to combat it.

Sir John Thompson, formerly Chief Commissioner of Delhi, has recently expressed his views on terrorism, condemning it in unequivocal terms. The attempted assassination of the Bengal Governor gave him the occasion for his observations.

Congratulating the Bengal Governor and his daughter on their fortunate escape, he added that

unhappily it was impossible to suggest that legislation in accordance with the White Paper policy would result in the disappearance of terrorism from India. It would almost certainly persist, whatever type of constitution was secured, though it would inevitably diminish as the Indians were increasingly entrusted with their own affairs. Then he uttered a timely warning and expressed his firm conviction that it would increase if reactionaries in England succeeded and their view prevailed that there should be no constitutional advance until terrorism disappeared.

### *Corruption in British Municipalities*

The following paragraphs have been published in some British and Indian papers:—

The Ministry of Health sent out a stern warning to municipal authorities throughout Britain.

That warning indicated that graft is rampant in certain towns and cities.

And the order was: "Stamp out graft!"

The chief forms of graft which the Ministry is determined to suppress are:

Acceptance by councillors of gratuities—not always money—from contractors and

Giving highly paid jobs to councillors' relatives.

An urban councillor secured well-paid positions with the local authority for four members of his family and three other relatives.

A rural district councillor placed two sons, two daughters and three other relatives in well-paid positions in the local council offices.

A concise statement of the law as it affects councillors is to be sent to all those likely to be affected.

Corruption in municipalities is a disgrace wherever it exists. Its existence in Britain would not make it less disgraceful in India, if and where it exists.

### *Britain's Silver Deal and India*

According to the *United Press*,

Sir Montagu Webb who only recently sent a cablegram to President Roosevelt in connection with the free mintage of silver, has issued the following statement to the press:

"There is a talk of Great Britain making another 'token' payment next month to the U. S. A. in silver. India should be keenly on her guard lest another twenty millions of her precious monetary metal are quietly removed without her permission and then not properly paid for."

"Last year, it will be recalled, in pursuance of the Hilton-Young policy of monetary restriction and silver demonetisation, 20,000,000 ounces of India's silver were without the Indian Legislatures' permission, quickly shipped to the United States, under arrangement with the British Government. But when, last year, the U. S. A. generously accepted 20,000,000 ounces of silver from Great Britain as a 'token' payment towards Britain's Liabilities to the U. S. A., President Roosevelt credited Great Britain with the same "fifty pence per ounce" that India had been compelled (by her own default) to pay to U. S. A. for the silver in 1918-19.

"But Great Britain only credited India with 20 and 7/16 pence per ounce, which was, of course, more than the current market rate at the time. But why was India not credited with the full 50 pence per ounce that she had paid?"

"Therefore, it is of vital importance that, if England makes a 'token' payment in silver to the U. S. A. next month, she does not do so by withdrawing precious metal from the working of the Reserve Bank of India Act. The recent issue in Calcutta by the Government of three crores of rupee notes based not on silver, but on the Government of India's sterling paper balance lying (quite uselessly and unnecessarily) in London, is now secretly working to push India off silver (just as they themselves have been forced off gold) so that India with a paper currency 'here' based on a paper currency 'there' may be more easily controlled within the sterling (paper) area in which London money powers are working to 'enmesh' and control the whole world."

### *Industrial and Commercial Enterprise in Bengal*

Presiding at the first quarterly general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce last month, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker referred among other things to Bengal's backwardness in industries. Said he :

The causes underlying the backwardness in the development of our industries are common knowledge. The foremost among these is the shyness of capital in this province for investment in industrial and commercial enterprise. This is due, firstly, to the exaggerated importance attached to investment in land prompted by a desire for safety and acquisition of the social standing conferred by the ownership of lands ; secondly, to the lack of confidence in industrial investment on account, perhaps, of the sad experiences in connection with our early industrial ventures accentuated by the lack of business enterprise and industrial opportunities.

As Mr. Sarker is an experienced and successful man of business his suggestions and advice, some of which are quoted below, are worthy of serious consideration :

Here, in Bengal, we shall have to depend for necessary capital primarily on the pooling of the scattered resources of its not very wealthy people. Such a state of affairs generally demands that an industry to be able to raise sufficient capital must inspire the confidence of the small investors. This is essential in view of our past experience of failures.

It seems to me that the only way out of the difficulty lies in an organized effort to start some model industrial, commercial and financial concerns - at least just a few such as would be assured of active public support and encouragement. In my speech at the last Annual General Meeting of the Chamber, I suggested the establishment of a voluntary development trust. My idea was this. We should first decide by an examination of all relevant facts what particular industries we can profitably develop in Bengal.

I am convinced that it should not prove difficult to raise sufficient capital for a few model

institutions if only before we embark upon any venture and seek the patronage of the investing public, we place before them all relevant facts as well as the opinions of experts in support of the soundness of the scheme. It is also necessary that only such persons should be associated with the promotion as well as management of these model ventures as will enjoy the confidence of the public in respect of their honesty and efficiency.

No company should, I think, be promoted or floated, in these circumstances, unless adequate capital money has already come into the hands of the promoters, or is perfectly assured. And if the requisite capital money be not forthcoming within a reasonable period, say, one year, or so, then all the money so far collected, should be returned to the subscribers without any deductions whatever. But, of course, this cannot be done, after the company has been formed, i. e., after its registration. The only way to return the money after registration, is by sending the company into liquidation.

The promoters should themselves shoulder the risks of preliminary expenses, etc., without any expectation of recovery unless the company is actually formed. Even when the company is actually started, they should not look for profits for some time. Only by this kind of disinterested service can confidence in joint-stock enterprise be restored and firmly established.

What I want to impress upon you is that in the matter of promotion of new companies in Bengal, means will have to be devised by which the share capital should be preserved in full as trust money unless and until the company can secure adequate share-capital to enable it to bring the concern to a stage of actual working. If within a reasonable time such a stage is not reached, the shareholders should be paid back in full.

In this country, directors of companies are generally satisfied with merely attending meetings and accepting fees for such attendance. It should, however, be remembered that their responsibility is great, inasmuch as they are vested with not inconsiderable powers for control and direction. To induce them to take more interest in their respective companies, I would suggest that they may be paid an additional remuneration out of the profits of the concerns with which they are associated.

### *Possibilities of Salt Manufacture in Bengal*

Mr. B. N. Sasmal has published a timely note on the possibilities of manufacturing salt in Bengal. He writes that

The Bengal Government has not yet spent a single farthing out of 13 lacs of rupees which have come to its hand from the additional salt import duty, though there was the definite assurance from the Central Government that the proceeds of the duty would be devoted to the development of Salt sources in the provinces which consumed the imported salt.

He is right in holding that

The real grievance of the people that the Government has not yet made any serious attempt at developing Salt industry in Bengal on a successful basis still remains to be removed.

The Press-note misleads the public as to the possibilities of salt manufacture in Bengal with statements which cannot but raise doubt in our mind as to the real motive behind the notes sometimes issued by the Press-officer and sometimes by the *Associated Press*.

His contention is that, "if the salt industry be taken up in right earnest both by the Government and the public on scientific and improved methods there is every possibility of its success in Bengal."

Perhaps in Bengal coal is as cheap as, if not cheaper than, in any country exporting salt, and therefore the discouraging argument based on coal prices need not prevent entrepreneurs in Bengal from undertaking the manufacture of salt on modern improved methods. In Mr. Sasmal's opinion,

The process of boiling is the best alternative to solar evaporation and is adopted by all salt producing countries save and except some desert places like Aden and Karachi. It has been adopted by Burma with success and shall have to be adopted by us in Bengal also. If Liverpool and Hamburg can manufacture salt from sea-water by boiling and export the same profitably to Bengal from a distance of thousands of miles with heavy transport costs, is there any earthly reason why Bengal alone should be frightened to give up salt manufacture at the supposed difficulty of cheap coal alone ventilated in newspapers for ignorant public consumption without any attempt to remove the same in the course of the last three years?

As to crusts of salt—the villagers on and near the sea-board are following the old crude process of manufacturing without any sort of encouragement and advice from the Government, and are producing salt which can stand competition even with that of Liverpool and Hamburg.

The cost of factory salt cannot exceed 6as. per maund as far as we know from the results of factories run on scientific lines in all advanced countries and specially in Burma. So if we add Re. 1-9as. as the duty on salt the price of one maund of factory salt together with retailers' profit and freight charge cannot exceed Rs. 2-5 as. which is much below the price of duty-paid imported salt which is fixed at Rs. 2-13 to Rs. 3-3as. given out in the press-note by the Press-officer.

Mr. Sasmal concludes with an appeal.

I appeal to the public of Bengal and the pioneers in the field of salt industry to concentrate their attention, energy and money on learning and adopting the Burma process of salt manufacture and put pressure upon the Government to train up young men at its own cost in Burma salt works and help the new salt concerns with funds for which they are unable to start factories on scientific methods out of the proceeds of the additional duty on foreign salt so that Bengal may produce her own salt in the next few years without depending on foreign supply for the same.

### *The Late Sir B. B. Ghose*

The late Sir Bipin Behari Ghose was a younger brother of the late famous jurist and

patron of education, Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose. Like his famous brother Sir Bipin Behari took to the profession of law after finishing his university education. He made his mark as a lawyer and was promoted to the High Court bench, where he distinguished himself as an impartial judge. After retiring from the High Court he officiated for some time as a member of the executive council of the Bengal Governor and of the Governor-General of India. He took great interest in educational and other public institutions for the promotion of public good. He kept up his cordial relations with his old class-fellows, among whom the present writer is one, and was a gentleman in every sense of the term and a man of varied culture.

### *Animal Sacrifices in Madras Presidency*

At the time of writing this note we do not know whether the ghastly animal sacrifices at Ellore fixed for the 27th May last were performed on that day.

On or about April 25 K. Bapayya and other trustees of the temples situated in the East and West streets of Ellore and persons conducting the said Jathara announced by beat of tom-tom that the festival known as Poleramma Jathara will be celebrated at Ellore on May 27. This Jathara or festival is celebrated to propitiate the deity Poleramma, who is supposed to influence the small-pox epidemic. The celebration of the Jathara consists chiefly of animal sacrifices such as goats, pigs and fowls. The heads of the animals sacrificed will be piled in a mound before the goddess and it is alleged that between 5000 and 6000 animals will be sacrificed on that day in the public street. Later in the night buffaloes will be sacrificed.

Mr. T. Prakasham and other enlightened gentlemen of Ellore and Madras who moved first the District Magistrate and finally the Madras High Court, though unsuccessfully, to obtain an order prohibiting the horrible sacrifices, are entitled to great credit.

Under the auspices of the South Indian Humanitarian League a public meeting was held in Madras on the 20th May last at which the following two resolutions were passed unanimously:

"That this meeting of the citizens of Madras convened under the auspices of the Humanitarian League have learnt with profound consternation that lives of 30 innocent goats are to be sacrificed in the Yaga that is proposed to be performed at Kumbakonam, and wish to protest against it, as such sacrifice involves, wholesale slaughter of

animals, and appeals to the organisers to give up the sacrifice and introduce such inanimate substitutes such as cocoanut, etc."

"A further 'Aj-medh' goat sacrifice, is reported to take place at Katpadi near Thiruvannamalai about the same time. This meeting expresses strong protests against this Yagam as well and authorizes the President to send similar representations to the organizers."

The speakers were all Hindus versed in the Shastras. There was general concurrence in the view that the Upanishads taught a higher religion, including *ahimsa*, than the religion of animal sacrifice inculcated in the Rigveda.

### *The Buddha's Birth-day*

The 27th of May, the day fixed for the sacrifice of 6,000 animals at Flore, was this year the anniversary of the day on which the Buddha was born, attained enlightenment and entered into Nirvana. On that day and on the next public meetings were held in different places for showing reverence to the great teacher and for dwelling on his teachings and the significance of his personality.

At one of these meetings presided over by Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhushan, principal of the Benares Hindu University Sanskrit College, the Pandit said :

It was a significant feature of the history of India that in the darkest hour of its history when the nation lay groping for a ray of light amid the encircling gloom, an "Avatar" had always come to the rescue of the nation and helped it to find its way to the path of progress and enlightenment. Lord Buddha was the greatest of all 'Avatars.' The truth that this Prince of Peace tried to inculcate through his teachings and deeds was that every man must strive to be a man in the truest sense of the word. There was nothing higher in this world than man. Reason—and not a blind, superstitious adherence to the Sastric injunctions, must be the guiding star in a man's voyage through life. Man must try to understand everything by the light of his reason and judgment. Lord Buddha preached the gospel of non-violence. That was his legacy to humanity, and India of the present age would do well to participate in this noble and rich heritage.

### *Mr. Subhas Bose's Activities in Europe*

Though in a weak state of health, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has been making strenuous endeavours for establishing cultural contact between India and various European countries.

Organization and inauguration at Vienna on May 3 of the Central Indo-European Society has resulted in a tremendous call on S. Subhas Chandra Bose's time and energies. An Indo-Czech Society is already functioning in Prague.

Under pressing invitations from pro-Indian friends in these countries, S. Bose has for the last few weeks been travelling in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Germany. He is now in Bucharest and will shortly proceed to Yugo-Slavia. Leading intellectuals, like Rene Fullop Miller, have extended tremendous response.

He has also received requests from several Turkish societies in Angora for delivering addresses on India and Indian questions. He has received invitations, too, for visiting the Turkish industrial centres. Proposals are under consideration for the establishment of an Indo-Turkish society.

### *Ghose Travelling Fellowship for a Lady*

This year for the first time the Calcutta University has bestowed a Ghose Travelling Fellowship on a lady student. She is Miss Sakuntala Rao, M. A. She passed the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University with credit twice, once in English and then in Sanskrit. She has also obtained the Sanskrit title "Veda-tirtha" after passing an examination. She has been a research scholar under Professor Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. She is engaged in preparing a thesis for obtaining the title of "Sastri", i. e., one versed in the Sastras.

### *Calcutta Mayoral Elections Fiasco*

It is to be hoped that the persons and parties concerned will be able to arrive at some agreement which will prevent Calcutta from being disgraced in the eyes of the world more than she has already been by the recent Mayoral elections fiasco. It would be a calamity if Government were compelled to interfere and take drastic steps. It should be remembered by all concerned that all the kinds of public welfare work for doing which the Calcutta Corporation has been brought into existence are not being properly carried on owing to the absence of a properly elected mayor.

### *"Bharati Works" & "Bharati" Pens*

Some days ago we had occasion to visit Messrs. G. C. Law and Co.'s "Bharati Works." This factory manufactures different kinds of fountain pens of different prices. All the parts, except the iridium-pointed gold nibs, are manufactured

in the factory. We were shown all the processes. These nibs will also be made as soon as the demand for fountain pens increases. We use a "Bharati" pen. It writes well and is as good as foreign pens of the same model. Some of the machinery also, used in the factory, have been manufactured there. Besides fountain pens, the factory makes pencils, pen-holders and nibs. We found the workers actually making all these things and could theoretically follow the processes.

### *Calcutta's Drainage Outfall*

Calcutta is a cosmopolitan city. In it literally more persons from the different provinces of India earn their livelihood and make money than in any other Indian city. Its health should, therefore, be the concern of all provinces of India. And its sanitary condition depends to a great extent on its drainage. It should, therefore, be a matter for satisfaction for the whole of India that

After more than four years of deliberation and through a maze of expert opinion, Dr. B. N. Dey's scheme for the disposal of the drainage outfall of Calcutta has been accepted by the Bengal Government. The conference of representatives of the Calcutta Corporation and the Government of Bengal have, after enquiry, been able to arrive at the decision that Dr. Dey's scheme would function satisfactorily and that action should be taken thereon forthwith.

### *Rabindranath Tagore in Ceylon*

On his arrival at Colombo in the evening of May 9th last, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore received a warm welcome. Next day *The Ceylon Observer* published the following account of his landing :

Despite the very wet weather and the late arrival of the ship, a large crowd had assembled from an early hour in the afternoon. Ticket-holders were accommodated on the lower landing. As Dr. Tagore came ashore he was garlanded by Sir Baron Jayatilaka, who also sprinkled perfume and offered sandalwood paste. "I extend to you a hearty welcome to this Island and hope your stay in our midst will be very pleasant," said Sir Baron in greeting the poet. The Mayor of Colombo then offered Dr. Tagore a welcome to the City.

As he walked up the stairs, the poet received a rousing ovation from those present. From the jetty he drove, in the company of his Secretary, to "Sri Ramya," Colpetty, the residence of Mrs. Helena Wijewardene, whose guest he will be during his visit to Colombo.

#### KINSHIP WITH CEYLON

Interviewed by an "Observer" representative last night, Dr. Tagore said he was no politician, but as an impartial observer he saw some ugly tendencies

in recent developments in international affairs. Dr. Tagore said that he felt a certain kinship with Ceylon. In her vegetation and scenery, Ceylon was in a way very like Bengal, although the latter did not have so much rain.

"I am very happy to be back once again in Ceylon," he said, "and I hope my special mission this time would be a success."

"I know your hospitality and this time I am sure my experience in the past will be repeated."

"As I have said, I have a special mission this time. I have brought something from India, some aspect of the culture, some delight of her arts and I hope you will realize that it is of eternal value."

"With politics I am not concerned. My mission is of spiritual delights, of art and beauty far and wide. I have no other gifts to offer you. I am not a politician. I do not want to reform the world."

"I do not know sufficiently of your culture," he said, "but I do hope you have a contribution to make to Indian culture. Politically you may have been apart from India, but culturally, you are part and parcel of India. You are really Indians. The blood which runs in your veins is the same as that of Indians. We want you to come to us and share our heritage."

Additionally it wrote, in part :

Ceylon should welcome in more than one way the visit of the distinguished Indian poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who arrived here yesterday on what may be described as a mission of cultural assistance. Never was the need for such an impact with all that is best in Indian poetry, music and art greater than at the present time when there is an increasing tendency to ignore the spiritual values of the indigenous arts and to glorify the catch-penny amusements of the modern machine age. No better *guru* could Ceylon have wished for in her ascent to the gleaming mountain tops of all that is pure and beautiful than the Sage of Santiniketan, who has combined the idealism of the seer with the practical qualities of a man who gets things done. Dr. Tagore's vision is not limited by the boundaries of his own country, and his effort to harmonize the cultures of the East and West has had the most encouraging response from savants all over the world.

He was accorded a civic reception by the Colombo Municipal Council at a special meeting held at the Town Hall and presented with an address of welcome. The Indian Mercantile Chamber of Ceylon gave him a separate reception. "A crowd of people, who had gathered opposite the Chamber gave Dr. Tagore a rousing reception."

The presentation of his musical play "Shap-Mochan" fascinated and made a deep impression on the spectators and audience. Column after column of appreciation appeared in the papers in Colombo, for which we have no space. We can quote only detached sentences from a few papers. *The Ceylon Observer* wrote :

"Gorgeous colour flooded the stage." "India of the past was presented fittingly to India of the

present in all its glamour and music." "This is a cultural event not to be missed by any one."

*The Ceylon Independent* wrote :

- ▶ "The play is a compact poem in which every movement fulfils a purpose, in which every detail is placed in a harmonious relation to the general purpose, and which also reveals that a static beauty can convey more than the impetuosity of passion of most occidental plays."

"The dances were also exquisite."

"The melodies were really wonderful."

*The Daily News* of Colombo expressed the opinion :

"Since the unknown artist put the last finishing touches to the frescoes on the face of the rock at Sigiriya, nothing greater in the way of oriental art has been achieved in this Island than that created by the Tagore players in the presentation of "Shap-Mochan."

The pictures from Santiniketan exhibited in Colombo have also been highly appreciated.

The Poet's addresses were largely attended and made a deep impression. Some of the subjects were "The Challenge of Judgment," "Ideals of Indian Art," "A Message to Youth," "Ideals of an Indian University," etc.

His visit has given a great impetus to the forces making for a national renaissance in Ceylon.

### *Four Ministers for Sind !*

The Dow Committee "makes provision for accommodation on the assumption that no less than four Ministers may be required" for Sind. This for a deficit province containing less than four million people ! No wonder we are told that

"the future University of Sind is to be provided by the autonomous Government of Sind but by means of a novel scheme under which two educational officers, employed by the Sind Government, one of them a British Professor of English, are to go round Sind with a beggar's bowl appealing to fatty lords of money-bags and wealthy widows to commemorate their name or that of their departed dear ones by subscribing funds to raise the University !" — *The Sind Observer*.

Similarly, Sind is to have a High Court by "waving a wand."

### *Art in the Panjab*

An academy of art has been recently founded in the Panjab with the artist Mr. M. A. R. Chughtai as the protagonist. As he is a Panjabi, the event is a fresh proof that

the art movement has taken root in that province.

### *Art Exhibition in Karachi*

Mr. Vinayak S. Masoji, an artist of Maharashtra, who has received his training in Santiniketan, exhibited some of his paintings at Karachi last month. They were all duly appreciated. Seeing that there is enthusiasm for art in Sindh it may be expected that some Sindhi artists will come into prominence ere long.

### *Howard League on Death Penalty in Bengal*

The latest criminal law amendment Act of Bengal (and of Assam, too) imposes the death penalty for the offence of carrying arms with intent to commit terrorist crime. It is not unlikely that such legislation may be undertaken for other provinces also.

Lord Mainhead of Exeter, President of the Howard League for Penal Reform, has written a letter on behalf of the League to Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, expressing the deep regret with which it has heard of the new legislation. The greater part of the letter is reproduced below. It will be noted that the arguments contained therein were brought forward in the Bengal Council by the opponents of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

"The Howard League fully appreciates the seriousness of the terrorist menace and the strain placed upon magistrates and the public servants who were working in constant danger of assassination. They realize that it is the bounden duty of the Government of India and the provincial Legislatures to provide adequate protection to these men. They are convinced, however, that security from crime, whether committed by terrorists or others, can never be gained by mere severity of punishment. They are supported in this view by the whole history of capital punishment at home and abroad, and far from believing that Bengal terrorism can be stamped out by a brutal penalty which has failed signally in every other country, they are convinced that the imposition of the death penalty for this crime is singularly impolitic. For it is not to be expected that the young men and boys of the terrorist movement will be deterred by the fear of death from a course to which they have been impelled by fanatical, however misdirected, patriotism. It is indeed possible that the added risk will mean greater glamour and therefore additional strength to the terrorist movement.

"Apart from the question of expediency, my committee would urge that this country should not

at this time, when barbarous and arbitrary punishments are being restored in many lands and applied with special harshness to political offenders, extend the scope of capital punishment, with its risks of irremediable injustice (all the greater when the offence is one depending on the unexpressed intention of the accused, apart from any overt act), in any part of the British Empire. Still more strongly would they protest against a law which would inflict the death penalty on the young men and boys, many under twenty years of age, concerned in the terrorist movements.

### *Peaceful Revolution in Bulgaria*

In the absence of details it is not possible to judge whether the bloodless revolution which has taken place in Bulgaria will be good for the Bulgarians. But in any case it is good news that it has been a peaceful change. One reform at least, however, which has been effected is in the right direction. The new cabinet-ministers of Bulgaria are to receive only £430 each per annum, which is equal to about Rs. 5733 at the present rate of exchange. Many Indian deputy magistrates get higher salaries than this, though India is the poorest country in the world under civilized rule.

### *Detenus to be Trained*

The Bengal Government have resolved to give detenus training in short-hand, book-keeping and type-writing in the Berhampore camp. Experience will show what this training will be worth. But whatever its value, it should be welcome as giving the detenus something to occupy their minds in jail.

### *Bengal Dacoities and Guns*

Week after week many dacoities are reported in Bengal, indicating, for one thing, the unsatisfactory economic condition of the province. During the week ending May 19 last there were 48 of them, in four of which guns were used. In the previous week the number of dacoities was less. As it is not reported that any of the dacoit gangs were terrorists and four possessed guns, it would not be right to presume that unlicensed guns are procured, possessed and used only for terroristic purposes.

By the by, why are not the police able to stop the illicit traffic in fire-arms?

### *Mr. MacDonald on Democracy and Freedom of the Press*

At the ninety-fourth annual dinner of the Newspaper Society in London Mr. MacDonald said in the course of his speech :

I am in favour of a free Press and if I live to the age of Methuselah that belief will never go. A free Press is a condition of a free democracy and a free democracy is a condition of a free Press.

Reading these two sentences, Indian journalists might be in a hurry to criticize Mr. MacDonald and to ask him, "Why don't you then break our chains?" But they should read his words carefully. He says a free democracy and a free press go together. But India is not a free democracy and the British National Government, of which Mr. MacDonald is the head, does not intend that it should be one. Why then should India have a free press?

### *Horrible Hecatomb at Ellore*

In a previous note we have written that the news of the actual performance of the ghastly animal sacrifices in Ellore has not yet reached us. It has now come.

Ellore, May 29

Five hundred animals and 500 fowls were sacrificed on Sunday to appease the goddess of small-pox. At midnight 8 buffaloes were decapitated. The chief priest wearing clothes soaked in the blood of the slaughtered animals led a procession through the town. Along the route rice mixed with blood was strewn.

—United Press.

This beats Kalighat hollow.

In each of numerous slaughter houses of big cities in Europe and America much larger numbers of animals are killed every day. But the difference is that they are killed to propitiate the stomach of carnivorous human beings, not any deity.

### *Wars in Two Hemispheres*

Fighting has been going on in Arabia and in some South American countries. These wars could not have gone on if some European countries had not gone on supplying them with arms and ammunition. And these European countries are among the leading members of the League of Nations, of which the main object—the *raison d'être*—is the establishment and maintenance of world-peace.

### *The League of Nations and India*

It is common knowledge that the main object of the League of Nations has not been gained. But it has done much useful work in other directions. It has investigated many economic and labour problems; inquired into and published reports on the traffic in

women and children and the trade in opium and other drugs; appointed committees to report on malaria, leprosy, sleeping sickness, tuberculosis, etc., and tried to create and maintain intellectual co-operation among nations. This is not an exhaustive list. But owing to India's subject condition and other causes, she has not derived much benefit from the Leagues' labours—she has not, in fact, received much direct attention. But in spite of that fact we are not in favour of severing connection with the League, as our country should preserve all the contact, direct or indirect, little or great, which it has with other countries and strive for more, as Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, for example, has been doing.

As an indication of the small interest which the League takes in India we will mention one little fact. In the "Index to the Monthly Summary of the League of Nations," Vol. XIII—1933, India is not to be found, though one finds Argentine Republic, Assyrians, Australia, Austria, Bangkok harbour, Bolivia, Bulgaria, China, Danzig, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Greenland, Guatemala, Hungary, Iraq, etc. That means that, though India suffers from a plethora of political, economic, social, sanitary, hygienic and educational problems, none were directly tackled by the League.

### *Chittagong Scratched!*

Reuter cabled the news a few days ago that "Chittogong has been scratched for the Derby." This will not bring any solace to the *Khandus* of Chittagong, nor will it mean any humiliation to the Bengal Government. For it does not mean that the Chittagong Policy of that Government, including collective fines, cufew orders, home internment *en masse*, etc., has been reversed. It means that a race-horse named Chittagong has been withdrawn from competition at the Derby race!

### *Sir Shadilal on Independence of the Judiciary*

Sir Shadilal sat on the bench of the Lahore High Court for a long term of years during fourteen of which he was chief justice. On his retirement he has been elevated to the judicial committee of the Privy Council. His reply to the tributes paid to him

by the Bench and the Bar of the Lahore High Court contained observations on the independence of the judiciary in Britain and India which are worthy of serious attention—particularly as they are the words, not of a "disgruntled political agitator", but of a man whose distinguished services have been appreciated and recognized by the British Government.

The essence of political liberty as recognized by British courts, observed Sir Shadilal, was that justice should be administered with complete impartiality and those who were innocent should receive and enjoy freedom. The Chief Justice mentioned a recent English case in which a communist, who had been convicted for breach of law, claimed damages against the head of the London police on the ground that the bundle of papers which the police had lawfully seized had been detained longer than was justified. The case was tried before the High Court and he was awarded for this ordinary mistake £30 as damages.

"Would it be improper to ask," continued Sir Shadilal, "what would be thought of the judge in India who, imbued with the traditions of British justice acted in a similar manner? Would he not thereby subject himself to disfavour and even resentment, which would be manifested in no uncertain manner? These and other disadvantages have sometimes to be borne 'sub silentio' by a person who is true to the oath which he solemnly takes on accepting the office of His Majesty's Judge."

He quoted from the memorandum prepared about two years ago by Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England in which it was pointed out that for two centuries it had been considered essential that judges' security and independence should be maintained inviolate.

It was long ago said that there could be no true liberty in a country where judges were not entirely independent of the Government, and the soundness of the remark had never been questioned.

Continuing, Sir Shadilal observed that no reasonable person could take exception to this authoritative pronouncement.

"It is, however, said that these doctrines of the English constitution cannot find a full scope in this country, where there are peculiar circumstances which tended to impair the independence of the Judiciary. On principle I am unable to see any valid ground for making such a distinction, and I trust, no Judge of this court will ever depart in the slightest degree from the solemn promise which he makes before entering upon the execution of the duties of his office even if he is subjected to personal disadvantages."

Sir Shadilal concluded:

"The confidence of Indians of all schools of thought in the even-handed justice as administered by High Courts is the greatest bulwark of the British rule in this country and that a person, who does any act tending to shake that confidence causes the greatest possible harm to that rule."



### *A Legal Dead Letter in India*

On taking over charge of the office of Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court Mr. Justice Young received addresses from members of the Bench and the Bar.

Replying to the addresses Justice Young referred to accumulation and delay in the disposal of cases in the High Courts in India and suggested various remedies.

"Justice delayed is justice denied" said His Lordship and observed litigation ought further to be reduced by a courageous modification of the personal law of the Hindus, especially that of Mitakshara.

For expediting the disposal of cases he has also suggested that the number of holidays enjoyed by the Judges ought to be curtailed.

Proceeding his lordship said :

"To no man will we sell, to no man deny and to no man delay justice or right. This great declaration of the Magna Carta is almost wholly a dead letter in India."

### *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Health*

It has been reported in the papers, that Pandit Jawaharlal's weight in Dehra Dun Jail is less than what it was in the Alipore Central Jail. He had already lost weight at Alipore. A further loss of weight must cause anxiety. Dehra Dun is believed to be a healthier place than Calcutta. The authorities of the Dehra Dun Jail should lose no time in scrutinizing the living conditions of the Pandit there.

### *The Chamber of Princes*

Dailies all over India have recently published long accounts of what the Princes or their Ministers have been doing or have been thinking of doing to revive the Chamber of Princes under its original constitution or to reconstitute it in a different manner. But whatever they may do, their only security lies in making themselves constitutional monarchs and giving their subjects a popular constitution and the reign of law. However buttressed, autocratic rule cannot last.

### *Fruit Culture*

Though India is an agricultural country, it imports fruit from abroad worth about two crores of rupees per annum. Physicians have been increasingly advising greater consumption of fruit. Indians should pay far greater attention to fruit culture and fruit research. There is enough land in India suitable for growing a

large variety of fruits for internal consumption as well as for export.

### *Sir Henry Page-Croft on the Safety of Christians in India*

Sir Henry Page-Croft had written in a letter to the Archbishop that in India the fury of the Hindu or the Muslim against the Christian was now suppressed by the British arm ; but was ready to burst out when that arm was withdrawn. But Sir Henry has been thrown overboard by many missionaries and other Christians.

There have been numerous Christians in India from before the age when the British emerged as a civilized people.

### *Legislation in Indian States Against "British-Indians"*

It is greatly to be regretted that "British-Indians" should be considered foreigners in any Indian State and that any Indian State should legislate against them under extraneous pressure. But that is what is happening, as the following messages show :

Bombay, May 26.

The "Sun" publishes the draft of a Bill which the Bikaner Darbar proposes to pass into law in order to deal with foreign subjects who reside in Bikaner State, either temporarily or permanently, or pass through or travel in the State.

The Bill does not affect the subjects of the State or law-abiding and peaceful foreigners.

The Bill 'inter alia' provides that any foreigner may be ordered to remove himself forthwith from the precincts of the State.

It also empowers the Government to apprehend and detain a foreigner who refuses to remove himself.

It further demands, that every foreigner should report himself to the authorities within forty-eight hours of his arrival, giving full particulars.

No foreigner is to travel through the State without a pass or permit.

Section 17 says that if a traveller is found without a permit he may be apprehended without a warrant by any officer exercising the powers of a Magistrate or by any commissioned officer not below the rank of a Sub-inspector.—Associated Press.

Bangalore, May 26.

A Bill to introduce Extradition and Foreign Jurisdiction Regulation in Mysore on the lines of the British Indian Act will be introduced at the ensuing sitting of the Legislative Council at Mysore next month.

The procedure that was being followed in the case of Mysore subjects being surrendered for trial before British Courts was under the Chief Commissioner's notification. But in a specific case brought to the notice of the High Court the validity of the Notification having the force of law in the State was negated in the light of the revised Treaty of 1931.—United Press.

### *Burma Retrenchment Committee*

Even the sweepers and the punkha-pullers have been recipients of the tender mercies of the Burma Retrenchment Committee. But the President of the Committee has pronounced the opinion that, if the five per cent. cut in the pay of the fat-salaried officials be continued, it will make them "discontented, slack and corrupt employees"! Pouring oil on oily heads has never been a rarity.

### *Ireland's Progress Towards Republicanism*

The following message is an indication of the determination of de Valera and his party to make Ireland a republic :

Dublin, May 25.

The Dail passed the Bill for the abolition of the Senate by 54 votes to 38.

Before the passage of the bill Mr. de Valera expressed his views on second Chambers forcibly at the Dail.

Mr. de Valera declared that a second chamber formed an effective safe-guard for neither the constitution nor people's liberties. Many in Europe existed only for the preservation of ancient rights and privileges.

The House of Lords in Britain, which had always been an ally of the Conservatives, was regarded as a sort of historical monument, only tolerated as long as it did not really become obnoxious.

The French Senate also opposed workers' holidays, prevented enfranchisement of women and opposed every modern social development.

Declaring Ireland's right of absolute freedom, Mr. de Valera opined that the majority of the people wanted a republic.

He said that a republic was not declared because the repetition of the civil war of 1921 was not wanted. But if the "threats of hostile action against the Irish people" were withdrawn, they would see how long Ireland would be without a republic.

Mr. McDermot on behalf of the Opposition declared that a million of Free State citizens had racial and other ties with Britain.

Mr. de Valera retorted that three-and-a-half million were dissatisfied with the membership of the Empire.

The Bill is expected to be rejected by the Senate but in any event can become law in about a year.—Reuter.

### *Holland Against Export of Arms to Belligerent Countries*

Geneva, May 26

Holland is the latest and thirteenth country to agree to the League's proposal for embargo on war munitions to Bolivia and Paraguay. No reply hitherto has been received from Czecho-Slovakia, which is one of the largest sources of supply for arms trade in South America.—Reuter.

Bravo Holland !

### *The Late Prof. S. C. Roy*

Professor Suresh Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., who retired long ago from his chair in Morris College, Nagpur, and was an Emeritus Professor of that College, recently died in Calcutta at the age of about 75. He was one of those pioneers of education who strove hard in the latter half of the nineteenth century to promote higher collegiate education, for which no facilities existed at the time within the Central Provinces. He was one of the three Indian graduates who joined the Morris College when it was formally opened in June, 1885. For more than 36 years he taught Mental and Moral Science at the Morris College and was very popular among the students. He was intimately connected with the Nagpur University and served as a member of its University Court, Academic Council, Faculty of Arts and Board of Studies in Philosophy and various other sub-committees. He was the first President of the Nagpur Philosophical Society. For a quarter of a century he worked as Secretary of the Dinanath Boys' School in Craddock Town, Nagpur.

### *C. P. Government and Jubbulpore Municipality*

The Central Provinces Government has been pressing the Jubbulpore Municipality to dismiss the "ex-civil-disobedience convicts from their employment," saying that otherwise Government grants to that municipality amounting to Rs. 20,000 would be suspended. But the president of the municipality continues to assert the right of local bodies to choose their own servants. These ex-"convicts" are six in number. As they were not guilty of any moral turpitude, we do not see why their dismissal should be insisted upon. Ex-"convicts" have served even as Ministers of Provincial Governments. The fact that civil disobedience has been withdrawn should also weigh with the Central Provinces Government.

### *League Policy and British Empire Policy*

A leaflet published by the League of Nations Union, London, concludes thus :

Let no one think that support of a League of Nations policy is contrary to British interests. In

the words of the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, late President of the Board of Education :

"The Policy of the League is the Policy of the British Empire."

Yes, the Policy of the British Empire is the Policy of the League.

### *Supplying Japan with Arms*

*The Daily Herald* of London says :

"British and European firms have arranged to supply Japan with munitions for the conquest of China and these munitions are being manufactured in India in the hope of keeping the whole thing secret."

As arms and munitions cannot be manufactured in India without the knowledge of the Government of India, that Government should be in a position to either confirm or contradict the news.

What would Great Britain and its allied European powers gain by making Japan still more powerful ? Moreover, China has not been fighting them, nor does she intend to do so. Is there any secret plan of parcelling out China ?

### *Uplift of Chota Nagpur Aborigines*

When Mahatma Gandhi visited Ranchi, a reception committee was formed there for welcoming him, with Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, the distinguished anthropologist, as its chairman. The address presented by him to Mahatmaji contains passages relating to the education and uplift of the aboriginal population of Chota Nagpur which deserve careful consideration. Some of these passages are transcribed below.

In this District the aborigines, who number about ten lakhs out of a total population of about 16 lakhs, form the most important factor in its population. And the problem of their education and social uplift is at least as important as, if not immensely more important than, that of the depressed classes. And we must hang down our heads in shame at the thought that though Government and the Christian Missions have done and are doing much for their education, we Indians have shamefully neglected our duty towards them.

We Hindus have so far stood much more aloof from the aborigines than even from the Harijans, and taken still less interest in their welfare. So far perhaps it has been in a way good for the aborigines, for, if they had entered the Hindu fold with its existing caste-divisions, they would undoubtedly have been relegated to as low and

degraded a position in Hindu Society as that assigned to the Harijans.

As for the aborigines themselves, if the caste-Hindus look down upon them as untouchables, the aborigines, or at least a large proportion of them, in their turn, reciprocate the feeling and avoid as much contact with the Hindus as they can. Though they have been an oppressed race, fortunately they cannot be called depressed. Being outside the caste-system, no barriers except their own lack of means and opportunities prevent the full development of their intellectual and spiritual capabilities. The So-called *Shuddhi* movement and similar other movements begin at the wrong end and necessarily end there, after helping to swell the number of depressed castes. And the activities amongst them of a certain class of avaricious *Gosains* and *Gurus* produce the same deplorable result. The inclusion of aboriginal tribes in the lowest grades of Hindu Society has had, in many cases, the disastrous result of introducing amongst them the vices of the lower orders of Hindu Society to which they had been strangers till then, without bringing any compensating advantages worth the name.

The first and essential thing required for the uplift of the aborigines is, therefore, not their Hinduization but the spread of education on right lines amongst them. As far as we Hindus are concerned, what is as essential for our own purification is the eradication, even from our subconscious minds, of the untouchability-feeling where it may lurk when all outward manifestations may have been suppressed. The feeling of inner purity or attention to the growth of *Salvaguna* or spiritual tendencies is quite different in kind from the untouchability-feeling connected with caste or race.

With this idea our Society here freely admits aboriginal pupils to our schools. In our humble view, to have separate schools for Harijans exclusively, in this District, would be to create a cleavage where none really exists. And further, for the social and economic progress of the country the elevation of the aborigines to our own level of culture is as essential as the similar uplift of the Harijans.

### *Turkish Women to be Enfranchised*

It is welcome news that a committee appointed by the Turkish Government to examine the question of the enfranchisement of women has recommended that women should have the right to take part in elections on the same terms as men. This pushes further Mustafa Kemal Pasha's work for the complete emancipation of Turkish women. Turkey has already got rid of polygamy and the purdah, education has been made compulsory for girls, and careers and occupations are now open to women in offices, factories, hotels, shops, etc.























